January 4, 1966

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
825 6th Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Wiley:

Thank you for the information as well as for the earlier advice on the matter of speaking engagements.

All of us here send our warmest greetings to the Brantons for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

12/29/65

Dear Paul,

I thought you would be interested in seeing the new guidelines for enforcement of Title VI by the Department of Justice. I am not involved in Title VI matters at this time.

All the best,

Wiley

THIS IS A COPY OF A LETTER SENT TODAY TO THE HEADS OF 21 DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES WITH TITLE VI RESPONSIBILITIES
(List Attached)

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

December 27, 1965

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am enclosing for appropriate circulation and use in your agency the Guidelines for Enforcement of Title VI prepared by the Department of Justice.

These Guidelines complement the view I expressed in my letter to you of October 29 that each department and agency with Title VI responsibilities should conduct regular, systematic inspections for possible discrimination to insure that the requirements of Title VI are in fact being observed by recipients of Federal assistance. This must be a positive and not merely a reactive responsibility. We cannot rely solely -- or even primarily -- on the filing of complaints by those who are the subjects of Title VI violations. The ultimate success of our Title VI efforts will in large measure depend on how effectively the responsible departments and agencies actually monitor compliance in the field.

Accordingly, I have:

(1) Asked the Civil Service Commission, with the assistance of the Commission on Civil Rights, to develop and conduct a training program for agency compliance officers who will have responsibility for conducting these periodic compliance inspections, reviews, and field investigations. Since we plan to begin the training session within 45 to 60 days, selection of your compliance officers should be promptly completed.

(2) Discussed with the Bureau of the Budget the critical importance of assuring that each agency with Title VI or other substantial civil rights responsibilities has the personnel and funds necessary to assure that it can fulfill its obligations promptly and effectively; representatives of the Bureau may have already contacted, or soon will be contacting, members of your staff to make certain that these needs have been fully provided for in your current and future budgeting.

The object of Title VI, of course, is to insure compliance with the national policy of nondiscriminatory treatment of all recipients. The Guidelines, therefore, suggest, in addition to cutting off Federal assistance, alternative methods of enforcement which in many instances can be more effectively used to secure compliance.

There should be no mistaking the clear intent and effect of the Guidelines -- Title VI must and will be enforced. Assistance will be refused or terminated to noncomplying recipients and applicants who are not amenable to other sanctions.

We have designed the Guidelines to insure that the nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI are effectively, fairly, and firmly enforced by all Federal agencies administering programs of financial assistance. Our purpose has been to assure consistency within the Federal Government while providing for the flexibility necessary to assure nondiscrimination -- by whatever method is most prompt, efficient, and appropriate.

The Guidelines are intended to operate only prospectively and do not require any reversal of actions already taken in individual cases.

It would be most helpful if you could provide me with copies of the assurance and other forms, instructions, directives, guidelines, policy statements, internal or public memoranda and other materials or documents which you have developed to implement or explain the application or administration of Title VI in the programs of your agency.

These materials may be sent to my special assistant, David Filvaroff. Any questions either on these Guidelines or on other Title VI matters may be referred directly to him; he may be reached on REpublic 7-8200 (Code 187), extension 3861, Room 1318, Main Justice.

Sincerely,

Attorney General

Enclosure

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES WITH TITLE VI RESPONSIBILITIES

Honorable Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture
Washington, D.C.

Honorable John T. Connor
Secretary of Commerce
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Secretary of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Honorable John W. Gardner
Secretary of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Robert Weaver
Administrator
Housing & Home Finance Agency
Department of Housing & Urban Development
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Stewart L. Udall
Secretary of Interior
Washington, D.C.

Honorable W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Dean Rusk
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Henry H. Fowler
Secretary of Treasury
Washington, D.C.

Honorable David E. Bell
Administrator
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Glenn T. Seaborg
Chairman
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Charles S. Murphy
Chairman
Civil Aeronautics Board
Washington, D.C.

Honorable General William F. McKee
Administrator
Federal Aviation Agency
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Lawson B. Knott, Jr.
Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, D.C.

Honorable James E. Webb
Administrator
National Aeronautics &
Space Administration
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Leland J. Haworth
Director
National Science Foundation
Washington, D.C.

Honorable R. Sargent Shriver
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Buford Ellington
Director
Office of Emergency Planning
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Ross D. Davis
Executive Administrator
Small Business Administration
Washington, D.C.

Honorable Aubrey J. Wagner
Chairman
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Honorable William J. Driver
Administrator of Veterans Affairs
Veterans Administration
Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

GUIDELINES FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF TITLE VI, CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Where the heads of agencies having responsibilities under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 conclude there is noncompliance with regulations issued under that Title, several alternative courses of action are open. In each case, the objective should be to secure prompt and full compliance so that needed Federal assistance may commence or continue.

Primary responsibility for prompt and vigorous enforcement of Title VI rests with the head of each department and agency administering programs of Federal financial assistance. Title VI itself and relevant Presidential directives preserve in each agency the authority and the duty to select, from among the available sanctions, the methods best designed to secure compliance in individual cases. The decision to terminate or refuse assistance is to be made by the agency head or his designated representative.

This memorandum is intended to provide procedural guidance to the responsible department and agency officials in exercising their statutory discretion and in selecting, for each noncompliance situation, a course of action that fully conforms to the letter and spirit of Section 602 of the Act and to the implementing regulations promulgated thereunder.

I. ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION

A. ULTIMATE SANCTIONS

The ultimate sanctions under Title VI are the refusal to grant an application for assistance and the termination of assistance being rendered. Before these sanctions may be invoked, the Act requires completion of the procedures called for by Section 602. That section requires the department or agency concerned (1) to determine that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means,

(2) to consider alternative courses of action consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statutes authorizing the particular financial assistance, (3) to afford the applicant an opportunity for a hearing, and (4) to complete the other procedural steps outlined in Section 602, including notification to the appropriate committees of the Congress.

In some instances, as outlined below, it is legally permissible temporarily to defer action on an application for assistance, pending initiation and completion of Section 602 procedures -- including attempts to secure voluntary compliance with Title VI. Normally, this course of action is appropriate only with respect to applications for noncontinuing assistance or initial applications for programs of continuing assistance. It is not available where Federal financial assistance is due and payable pursuant to a previously approved application.

Whenever action upon an application is deferred pending the outcome of a hearing and subsequent Section 602 procedures, the efforts to secure voluntary compliance and the hearing and such subsequent procedures, if found necessary, should be conducted without delay and completed as soon as possible.

B. AVAILABLE ALTERNATIVES

1. Court Enforcement

Compliance with the nondiscrimination mandate of Title VI may often be obtained more promptly by appropriate court action than by hearings and termination of assistance. Possibilities of judicial enforcement include (1) a suit to obtain specific enforcement of assurances, covenants running with Federally-provided property, statements of compliance or desegregation plans filed pursuant to agency regulations, (2) a suit to enforce compliance with other titles of the 1964 Act, other Civil Rights Acts, or constitutional or statutory provisions requiring nondiscrimination, and (3) initiation of, or intervention or other participation in, a suit for other relief designed to secure compliance.

The possibility of court enforcement should not be rejected without consulting the Department of Justice. Once litigation has been begun, the affected agency should consult with the Department of Justice before taking any further action with respect to the noncomplying party.

2. Administrative Action

A number of effective alternative courses not involving litigation may also be available in many cases. These possibilities include (1) consulting with or seeking assistance from other Federal agencies (such as the Contract Compliance Division of the Department of Labor) having authority to enforce nondiscrimination requirements; (2) consulting with or seeking assistance from State or local agencies having such authority; (3) bypassing a recalcitrant central agency applicant in order to obtain assurances from, or to grant assistance to complying local agencies; and (4) bypassing all recalcitrant non-federal agencies and providing assistance directly to the complying ultimate beneficiaries. The possibility of utilizing such administrative alternatives should be considered at all stages of enforcement and used as appropriate or feasible.

C. INDUCING VOLUNTARY COMPLIANCE

Title VI requires that a concerted effort be made to persuade any noncomplying applicant or recipient voluntarily to comply with Title VI. Efforts to secure voluntary compliance should be undertaken at the outset in every noncompliance situation and should be pursued through each stage of enforcement action. Similarly, where an applicant fails to file an adequate assurance or apparently breaches its terms, notice should be promptly given of the nature of the noncompliance problem and of the possible consequences thereof, and an immediate effort made to secure voluntary compliance.

II. PROCEDURES

A. NEW APPLICATIONS

The following procedures are designed to apply in cases of noncompliance involving applications for one-time or noncontinuing assistance and initial applications for new or existing programs of continuing assistance.

1. Where the requisite assurance has not been filed or is inadequate on its face.

Where the assurance, statement of compliance or plan of desegregation required by agency regulations has not been filed or where, in the judgment of the head of the agency in question, the filed assurance fails on its face to satisfy the regulations, the agency head should defer action on the application pending prompt initiation and completion of Section 602 procedures. The applicant should be notified immediately and attempts made to secure voluntary compliance. If such efforts fail, the applicant should promptly be offered a hearing for the purpose of determining whether an adequate assurance has in fact been filed.

If it is found that an adequate assurance has not been filed, and if administrative alternatives are ineffective or inappropriate, and court enforcement is not feasible, Section 602 procedures may be completed and assistance finally refused.

2. Where it appears that the filed assurance is untrue or is not being honored.

Where an otherwise adequate assurance, statement of compliance, or plan has been filed in connection with an application for assistance, but prior to completion of action on the application the head of the agency in question has reasonable grounds, based on a substantiated

complaint, the agency's own investigation, or otherwise, to believe that the representations as to compliance are in some material respect untrue or are not being honored, the agency head may defer action on the application pending prompt initiation and completion of Section 602 procedures. The applicant should be notified immediately and attempts made to secure voluntary compliance. If such efforts fail and court enforcement is determined to be ineffective or inadequate, a hearing should be promptly initiated to determine whether, in fact, there is noncompliance.

If noncompliance is found, and if administrative alternatives are ineffective or inappropriate and court enforcement is still not feasible, Section 602 procedures may be completed and assistance finally refused.

The above described deferral and related compliance procedures would normally be appropriate in cases of an application for noncontinuing assistance. In the case of an initial application for a new or existing program of continuing assistance, deferral would often be less appropriate because of the opportunity to secure full compliance during the life of the assistance program. In those cases in which the agency does not defer action on the application, the applicant should be given prompt notice of the asserted noncompliance; funds should be paid out for short periods only, with no long-term commitment of assistance given; and the applicant advised that acceptance of the funds carries an enforceable obligation of nondiscrimination and the risk of invocation of severe sanctions, if noncompliance in fact is found.

B. REQUESTS FOR CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL OF ASSISTANCE

The following procedures are designed to apply in cases of noncompliance involving all submissions seeking continuation or renewal under programs of continuing assistance.

In cases in which commitments for Federal financial assistance have been made prior to the effective date of Title VI regulations and funds have not been fully

disbursed, or in which there is provision for future periodic payments to continue the program or activity for which a present recipient has previously applied and qualified, or in which assistance is given without formal application pursuant to statutory direction or authorization, the responsible agency may nonetheless require an assurance, statement of compliance, or plan in connection with disbursement of further funds. However, once a particular program grant or loan has been made or an application for a certain type of assistance for a specific or indefinite period has been approved, no funds due and payable pursuant to that grant, loan, or application, may normally be deferred or withheld without first completing the procedures prescribed in Section 602.

Accordingly, where the assurance, statement of compliance, or plan required by agency regulations has not been filed or where, in the judgment of the head of the agency in question, the filed assurance fails on its face to satisfy the regulations, or there is reasonable cause to believe it untrue or not being honored, the agency head should, if efforts to secure voluntary compliance are unsuccessful, promptly institute a hearing to determine whether an adequate assurance has in fact been filed, or whether, in fact, there is noncompliance, as the case may be. There should ordinarily be no deferral of action on the submission or withholding of funds in this class of cases, although the limitation of the payout of funds to short periods may appropriately be ordered. If noncompliance is found, and if administrative alternatives are ineffective or inappropriate and court enforcement is not feasible, Section 602 procedures may be completed and assistance terminated.

C. SHORT-TERM PROGRAMS

Special procedures may sometimes be required where there is noncompliance with Title VI regulations in connection with a program of such short total duration that all assistance funds will have to be paid out before the agency's usual administrative procedures can be completed and where deferral in accordance with these guidelines would be tantamount to a final refusal to grant assistance.

In such a case, the agency head may, although otherwise following these guidelines, suspend normal agency procedures and institute expedited administrative proceedings to determine whether the regulations have been violated. He should simultaneously refer the matter to the Department of Justice for consideration of possible court enforcement, including interim injunctive relief. Deferral of action on an application is appropriate, in accordance with these guidelines, for a reasonable period of time, provided such action is consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with the action taken. As in other cases, where noncompliance is found in the hearing proceeding, and if administrative alternatives are ineffective or inappropriate and court enforcement is not feasible, Section 602 procedures may be completed and assistance finally refused.

III. PROCEDURES IN CASES OF SUBGRANTEES

In situations in which applications for Federal assistance are approved by some agency other than the Federal granting agency, the same rules and procedures would apply. Thus, the Federal agency should instruct the approving agency -- typically a State agency -- to defer approval or refuse to grant funds, in individual cases in which such action would be taken by the original granting agency itself under the above procedures. Provision should be made for appropriate notice of such action to the Federal agency which retains responsibility for compliance with Section 602 procedures.

IV. EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES

The Attorney General should be consulted in individual cases in which the head of an agency believes that the objectives of Title VI will be best achieved by proceeding other than as provided in these guidelines.

V. COORDINATION

While primary responsibility for enforcement of Title VI rests directly with the head of each agency, in order to assure coordination of Title VI enforcement and consistency among agencies, the Department of Justice should be notified in advance of applications on which action is to be deferred, hearings to be scheduled, and refusals and terminations of assistance or other enforcement actions or procedures to be undertaken. The Department also should be kept advised of the progress and results of hearings and other enforcement actions.

December 27, 1965

f/o -
U.S. Govt.
Dept. of Justice
- Katzenbach

March 1, 1966

The Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

This is to thank you again for your trip to Atlanta yesterday and for your excellent address. I am quite certain your presence here and your remarks will both be of considerable help.

Please know we are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
U. S. Dept. of Justice

March 2, 1966

Mr. Jack Rosenthal
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

Most of the reports we have gotten on the luncheon and on the speech have been highly favorable. We have not yet seen most of the papers in the region, but first indications are of good coverage. That includes the editorials in the two Atlanta papers (copies enclosed). I think we have every reason to believe that the occasion was a very successful one in terms of what we hoped to accomplish.

Thank you for all your help in this, and I look forward to further opportunities to work together.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MT - file

Rec'd 4/25/66

April 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Attorney General has asked me to thank you for your letter concerning the appointment of Federal Judges in the South.

The Statement enclosed with your letter has been carefully noted and the offer of your organization to assist in the selection of Federal Judges is very much appreciated, and if we find such assistance is needed we will certainly let you know.

Sincerely,

John T. Duffner
Executive Assistant to the
Deputy Attorney General

April 12, 1966

The Honorable Nicholas Katzenbach
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has requested that we forward to you the enclosed statement, along with our wish to be of any possible assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

See U.S. Govt - Dept. of Justice

June 23, 1966

The Honorable Nicholas Katzenbach
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

Enclosed is biographical data on several outstanding persons who, I believe, merit your consideration for appointment to the federal bench.

Mr. Branton is, of course, a member of your staff and currently resident of Washington. Previously he lived in Atlanta and earlier he grew up and practiced law in Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Mr. Hollowell has recently been appointed as regional director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission with headquarters here in Atlanta where he has had a distinguished career in private law practice for the past decade.

I am taking the liberty of sharing this information with Mr. John Doar on the assumption that he has a particular interest and responsibility in these matters which we share in common.

I respectfully call these men to your attention with the assurance that you feel, as we do, that now is the opportune time for the appointment of a distinguished Negro to one of the vacancies which exist in the federal judiciary in this region.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President
Southern Regional Council

JHW/mmj
cc: Mr. John Doar
Ecls Encls: Biographical Data for Don Hillsweller + Wiley Branton

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

May 3, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the absence of Mr. Marshall from the office, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 1, 1961, and the enclosed copies of application for transfer used in Atlanta and the administrative regulations.

As soon as Mr. Marshall returns to the office, I shall call your letter and enclosures to his attention.

Very truly yours,

Jane L. Evans

(Miss) Jane L. Evans
Secretary to Mr. Marshall

July 11, 1961

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Depprtment of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

It occurred to me that you and Harris Wofford might find interesting the enclosed report by Ben Muse covering his recent visit to Alabama; I am, therefore, sending a copy to each of you. You may find in it some new insights and perhaps some added information regarding that unfortunate state.

I suppose I shall see you tomorrow before you get this letter.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

R.S.

July 28, 1961

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Mr. Dunbar is on vacation, but thought you would be interested in the enclosed.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to the Director

Enclosures

Boyd Turner envelope
being passed out in att.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

PA ✓
MMB-file

Department of Justice
Washington

August 29, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you very much for sending me copies of your reports on Memphis and the University of Mississippi. I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the work being done by you and the Council and my appreciation at your willingness to let me share some of the major fruits of that work.

With my best regards,

Burke Marshall

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

December 13, 1961

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

The enclosed memordanum, particularly the marked passages, may be of interest to you.

Ted Lamb's re-election seems to me mildly historic: first time a "liberal" has defeated a "moderate".

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. P.R. 12/12/61 Field Report
on Arkansas

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

I M file

December 29, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have your request of December 27 and will send down the data.

Good for Wiley Branton.

Best regards,

Burke

Burke Marshall

Rib

January 30, 1962
Air Mail.

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

The enclosed names come from several very reliable people. I have put checks besides the few who are known to us, all of whom we think well of.

On the assumption that anyone who does this job is going to be furiously impugned anyway, it might be a case for choosing someone who already is; e.g., Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Durr.

I notice the political notes in Nat Welch's letter to you and they make sense. On the other hand, I have never been handy at figuring out things like this but I observe that it is often difficult in advance to predict who will be helped and who will be hurt if such and such is done. Nat's analysis seems to me suggestive but too simple.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 3

January 27, 1962

Hon. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Paul Rilling called me last night asking for recommendations for Federal Referee in Judge Johnson's Circuit. This will supplement my letter of January 25 to John Seigenthaler which is attached.

My key and trusted liberal Democrats that I have talked to in this area since Seigenthaler's call feel that it would be diastrous if Federal Referees were appointed now during our heated spring primary. We hope to elect a moderate as Governor and retire a Dixiecrat Congressman and elect some decent people in Macon County. Judge Johnson's appointment of Referees will probably torpedo this. Our white friends in Macon County urgently want an audience with you or Judge Johnson before action is taken. It will be OK to appoint referees after the June primary.

Here are people who I think will make good Referees:

1. Mrs. A. L. Thomas, 355 N. College St., Auburn

2. Dr. or Mrs. B. R. Showalter, 510 Samford Ave., Auburn

3. Mrs. J. B. Crawford, 548 W. Magnolia Ave., Auburn

4. Mrs. Fred Arnold, 572 S. Gay St., Auburn

5. Mrs. E. L. Spencer, Loachapoka Highway, Auburn

6, Mr. or Mrs. George Weber, 543 Auburn Drive, Auburn

These people have the time and are not subject to local financial pressure. They are people of integrity and the right motivations. The prestige or financial reward is virtually nil. Appeal to them on the basis of patriotism.

Here are Negroes who are well qualified:

1. Mrs. A. W. West, 729 S. Jackson St., Montgomery, Ala.

2. Mrs. Lois L. Reeves, Box 559, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

3. Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute

4. Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, Box 897, Tuskegee Institute

5. Mr. Linwood T. Dorsey, V. A. Hospital, Box 54, Tuskegee Inst.

6. Rev. K. L. Buford, Box 432, Tuskegee Institute

7. Mr. William P. Mitchell, Box 467, Tuskegee Institute

8. Mr. Charles E. Trout, Dir. of Public Affairs, Tuskegee Inst.

I have gone through cards on my 300 political contacts through the 10 southeastern counties of Alabama, Third Congressional Dist., all in Judge Johnson's Circuit. The only name I could find to make recommendations for rural South Alabama is Circuit Judge Eris Paul, Elba, Ala.

Please let me know if I can be of further help.

Cordially,

Nat Welch

cc: Paul Rilling

Names From Welton Gregory

White:

1. E. H. Pearson, Autaugaville
2. S. H. Johnson, Eclectic
3. G. H. Proctor, Sr., Andalusia
4. Merlin T. Bryant, Brundidge
5. Miss Nadine Turnipseed, Brundidge
6. Mrs. S. J. Casey, Elba
7. Ralph Paul, Geneva
8. Mrs. W. T. Benson, Geneva
9. Alto V. Lee, III, Dothan
10. George Y. Malone, Dothan
11. Alexander Nunn, Loachapoka
12. Roy Smith, Phenix City
13. Dr. Vernon Stabler, Greenville
14. George Little, Eufaula
15. M. S. Odom, LuVerne
16. O. T. Edwards, Ft. Deposit
17. Quinton James, Montgomery
18. Rusk Davidson, East Tallassee
19. Mrs. W. L. Turner, Union Springs
20. Mrs. J. D. Shoemaker, Abbeville

Negro:

1. Mr. James Kolb, LuVern
2. Freeman McGrady, Union Springs
3. Mrs. J. W. Darden, Opelika
4. Mr. W. L. Peterson, Opelika

List from Welton Gregory, Negro (continued)

5. Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee
6. J. C. Forester, Dothan
7. Mrs. Almedia Jemison, Dothan
8. J. B. Newman, Clopton
9. J. B. Baldwin, Phenix City
10. Robert Austin, Georgeiana
11. Mrs. Essie Handy, LaFayette
12. Marion Hawk, Dothan
13. J. H. Glanton, c/o Clark Funeral Home, Dothan
14. Dr. T. V. McCoo, Eugaula

Names From Dean C. G. Gomillion

White:

1. Nat Welch, Box 1192, Auburn (Businessman)

2. Henry Neill Segrest, Tuskegee (Attorney, former Tuskegee Board member)

3. Vester D. Martin, Shorter

Negro:

1. Father Vernon H. Jones, Box 1213, Tuskegee Institute (Episcopal Vicar)

2. Mrs. Vera Foster, Box 426 Tuskegee Institute (Social worker, Veteran's Hospital, wife of president of Tuskegee Institute)

3. L. W. Hemmons, Box 263, Tuskegee Institute (manager, Credit Union)

4. Mrs. Elnora Williams, Box 422, Tuskegee Institute (Housewife)

5. Clisby Patterson, Box 775, Tuskegee (Retired Veteran's Hospital worker)

6. Mrs. Julia B. Alexander, Drawer EE, Tuskegee Institute (Retired RN, Veteran's Hosp.)

February 22, 1962

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Burke:

The enclosed notes may be of interest to you. After Anthony Lewis' story in the Times on January 29, we took some spot checks ourselves around the South. These are only office notes, but they may add a bit to your picture of the waiting room situation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - Notes on Waiting Room Desegregation
(See: Files of Jean Levine - Research)

TELEGRAM - 2/22/62

BURKE MARSHALL
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Request copies, if available, your briefs in the New Orleans and Montgomery airport cases.

LWDUNBAR

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

HB
PAL

Department of Justice
Washington

March 30, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is somewhat belatedly to thank you for the copy of the Council's recent reports.

I am grateful for the comments in your letter. The report seems to me to be wholly up to the Council's high standards. I am sure that you realize that I think that the Council is one of the most valuable organizations in the United States.

With respect to Albany, the Attorney General was of course fully aware that the settlement reached last December was unsatisfactory. He also was aware of the reasons for the failure of the Negro groups to insist on a better solution. His telegram may have been a mistake, but it was sent in an effort to keep discussions going in the city and to support the efforts of the Mayor. At the same time, the Attorney General and I both discussed the matter in detail with Dr. King.

I also thank you for the copy of the press release on the voter registration project. It is a great relief to have the waiting period over with. I have no doubt that there are going to be a lot of problems, and I urge you to feel absolutely free to call me at any time that you think that we can be of assistance in any official or unofficial fashion.

With my best regards,

Burke

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Dept of Justice

LK
SB
MA-file

September 12, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you also for your note on the bus station at Baxley. Under our arrangement with the ICC, they will have the original jurisdiction on this, which is slow. But I will see that they go into it.

Best regards,

Burke

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

December 14, 1962

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Thank you for your letter of December 10 about the Greyhound Station in Baxley, Georgia. As Always, I am admiring of the way you have handled this waiting room matter: as Alexander Bickel put it in the New Republic this week, "well conceived and flawlessly executed."

Thank you also for sending Bob Owens down last month for our lawyers' meeting. There seem to be possibilities that a couple things may develop, and I hope that sometime after the first of the year we shall see at least partial movement.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

DEC 1 0 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your complaint regarding racial segregation in the Greyhound Bus Station in Baxley, Georgia, was forwarded to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The investigation conducted by the Commission disclosed that a Greyhound ticket agency was located in the center of a restaurant owned by the Mayor of Baxley. As a result of the investigation, Greyhound has required the ticket agent to move from the restaurant. She has done so and has informed Greyhound that she will comply with all Interstate Commerce Commission regulations.

In view of the remedial steps taken I am closing our file in this matter.

Sincerely,

Burke Marshall

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Free — U. S. Govt Dept. of Justice: Burke Marshall

March 5, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney-General
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

I have read with much interest and appreciation your letter of February 26. I think I would be correct in saying that the Notre Dame conferees would disagree with you less than you perhaps suppose, and such disagreement as there might be would be of emphasis more than substance.

For example, the conference did, if not face up to, at least show awareness of the question of the value of the federal system. I believe the conviction was that the value was large but less in these circumstances than that of the individual rights, after this many years of demonstrated obstruction. But the conferees specifically rejected Clark-Celler's plan for submitting desegregation plans to HEW, on the grounds that the procedure had little or no practical worth and would be an unnecessary vexation to the states and localities.

My personal view might be even closer to yours. Federalism as a juridical principle does not seem compelling to me. But I am profoundly (and almost instinctively) apprehensive about concentrations of power. And I do think that, when government has such an enormous lot to do as it has today, common sense

indicates that we should use fully these 50 governmental machines lying about the country.

I don't, for what it is worth, like to see the Supreme Court decree about school prayers and religious instruction; there are, concededly, individual rights at issue, but they are not -- as with too many Negro Southerners -- the rights of persons systematically excluded from political influence. The intrusion of federal authority in these cases seems to me, moreover, to undermine what I conceive to be the most ancient and the truly essential function of a small (or local) society, which is to define and teach a social morality. (Obviously, this paragraph has nothing to do with the Notre Dame conference.)

To be frank, I have always thought that your sixth-grade voting device chips at the federal system. I think the Notre Dame conference was here on more solid ground. It proposes that you not legislate to supersede state laws. It proposes that you treat specific, and not create a statute of general application. It calls for federal suppression of what was termed "outlaw communities," and not for measures that would permanently diminish state discretion.

The same approach seems, to me at least, applicable in the schools field and justifies enforcement powers for the Attorney-General. I know that there is a problem in bringing some suits but not every suit, in explaining a "decision not to enforce the law in a particular county." The only answer is that, just as with the Acts of 1957 and 1960, you do the best and the most you can.

I agree with you that an assistance bill would not be "a small accomplishment." I think all my Notre Dame colleagues would concur. I would be most grateful, incidentally, if you could have sent to me the bills which will support the President's message, when they are available.

With your last point I concur emphatically. Until Negroes obtain an equitable share of political power, progress will be hard fought and tenuous. If I may be

absolved from the sin of self quotation, I recently answered a professor's questionnaire, "In what areas of our national life would you suggest that civil rights leaders concentrate their activities?", with the following:

> I think that over the next couple of years the field of concentration should be on voting. I mean by this both voter registration and voting itself. I think a larger Negro electorate has got to be achieved, and soon, before much more headway can be made. I think of voting as the substratum of power which undergirds advance in other areas of civil rights, and the present strength of the foundation will probably not be able to hold up much more. So, we have to make the foundation deeper.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

P. S. -- As you may know, we have in a small way been offering professional desegregation assistance since mid-1960, in the person of J. J. Brewbaker, retired superintendent of Norfolk schools. The enclosure, from his most recent report, suggests some of the methods and the difficulties he works with. Unfortunately, Mr. Brewbaker will, for family reasons, probably resign in late spring of this year.

L.W.D.

cc: Dean Joseph O'Meara
Professor G. W. Foster
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

26 February, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1963

Dear Leslie:

It was most responsible and kind of you to take the time to write me at such length and in such detail on the consensus of opinion reached at Notre Dame regarding school legislation.

I have the following comments to make. They are personal rather than official and not intended to be public, although I have no objection to your use of them in a non-public fashion, at your discretion.

1. It is not possible to get school desegregation legislation through Congress this year. Next year may be a different question; I do not know. This year we are going to have an unhappy time in Alabama, and it is obvious that the situation is still unsatisfactory in Mississippi. I have to accept as a starting point that under these circumstances Congress simply will not pass a school desegregation bill.

Accordingly, my first comment is that if the Administration were to push for legislation of this sort, it would be purely for political reasons, in the broadest sense. These reasons would include partisan reasons, but would also include what I suppose you might call an exercise of the moral force of the White House.

2. Nevertheless, I think there is some chance, although it may be remote, of getting some legislation on schools. The kind of legislation, which would both be useful and put Congress into the area of school desegregation, would be to authorize technical and financial assistance from the Office of Education to school districts undergoing desegregation. The particular services which I think many school districts, whether operating under a court order or not, need from the federal government are (a) help with remedial instruction to make at least an effort to eliminate the effects of existing discrimination in separate schools; (b) counselling service and training for teachers; and (c) information on the plans followed and experience of other school districts. The latter is legal to some extent, and could be obtained from the Civil Rights Commission, but the first two are purely educational. This type of service (and perhaps others) could be provided either directly, or through financial assistance.

Good

?

I want to emphasize that I do not believe that an assistance bill would be a small accomplishment. It would fill the imperative need you speak of for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality.

yes & no

3. Since I start from the assumption that Congress will not pass any school legislation other than, possibly, a technical and financial assistance bill, I have not yet reached any conclusion myself as to what type of bill would be desirable.

I have some doubts about any absolute deadline, such as is in the Clark type of bill. I take it the Conference also had doubts. On the other hand, I am not sure what the effect would be of a bill such as the Conference suggests which would state that every school district has to start desegregation immediately. Obviously they would not. We have a great problem in maintaining respect for the law. This law would not be obeyed. And while it is emphasized that the Attorney General would be only authorized, not directed, to bring suits, how would he explain a decision not to enforce the law in a particular county?

On the other hand, I am afraid that problems of law enforcement in some places, before the free exercise of the franchise, are almost insurmountable at present under the federal system. It would perhaps be constitutionally permissible to destroy the federal system for all practical purposes in some states until school segregation has been ended. Obviously however, this is no minor matter, and I do not believe that the group at Notre Dame faced up to it. Closed schools on a large scale are also a serious possibility which should be thought about seriously and responsibly before embarking the nation on this course.

On this point I do not mean to suggest that the problem is impossible to deal with. But it certainly will be easier when the Negro has achieved sufficient political power, which I have no doubt will be achieved in the relatively near future, to be able to force state and local officials to be responsive to Negro rights.

With ~~my~~ best regards,

Burke

Burke Marshall

March 11, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

I plan to be up for the National Civil Liberties Clearing House conference on March 28-29. I would like to see you then, if you are in. I'd like to have your views on Plans for Progress, and other matters too.

I am sorry that you found our report "somewhat unfair." You are right, of course, that some of the local operations are quite small, and the report so stated. I told Ward McCready, the Committee's investigator, when he was here that the only change we would make, could we do over the report, would be to name these companies with very small Atlanta staffs; this would have explicitly removed them from some of the later findings. I think one can legitimately and helpfully point out that, taken together, none of the companies maintaining a few representatives hereabouts employs a Negro; I regret any implication there may have been in the report that this was the fault of local managers of these small offices.

But I do not follow you when you say that the "biggest employers in the area are the companies which the report stated were making progress." The report did not state this regarding Ford, General Motors, Westinghouse.

There has been a good bit of ruckus stimulated by this report, and we are not displeased. We understand, however, that the compliance reviews which have been ordered were caused, not by our report, but by the much more detailed study done by the Committee (which we, of course, have not seen). Our conclusion was simply and solely: "indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves."

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. John Wheeler
Mr. John Feild

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Burke Marshall 1963

Bo

TA
SB
MJ-file

Department of Justice
Washington

8 March 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter. I enjoyed our exchange. I sent you last week a copy of the President's message and will let you have the bills when they are in final form. I hope that we can have your support for them.

The Council's report on the Plans for Progress in Atlanta seemed to me to be somewhat unfair.

Most of those companies have virtually no employees in the area. The biggest employers in the area are the companies which the report stated were making progress. Some of the companies your reporter talked to had as few as four employees in Atlanta; I can think of no particular reason why an office like that should be a starting place for implementation for the Plans.

Ford
Atlanta
Westinghouse

Next time you are up this way, perhaps we might have a chat out of this.

Best regards,

Burke Marshall
bs.

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

April 9, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

We think the suggestion of occasional meetings between representatives of the Justice Department and groups interested in civil rights is an attractive one, and we would be interested in taking part in them if they are held. We are somewhat doubtful, however, that they would be required with the frequency Timothy Manring proposed.

Thank you for writing to us regarding this matter.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

APR 5 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter dated March 15, 1963, from Mr. Timothy A. Manring, National Affairs Vice President of the United States National Student Association.

As will be noted, Mr. Manring, for the reasons stated, suggests that several yearly meetings be held between representatives of the Justice Department and the organizations mentioned in the letter. I am disposed to go along with Mr. Manring's proposal, and would appreciate receiving the views of your organization as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Burke Marshall

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Mace Hubbard:
Will you suggest an answer? I think we should comment.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

March 15, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall, Director
Civil Rights Division
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Mr. Shaul and I want to thank you very much for taking time to talk with us on March 13. We certainly appreciated the time which you, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Heilbron took to talk with us.

We certainly realize the complexity of the work which the Justice Department is faced with. Our talk with you made this even more clear. No one should doubt, nor did we earlier, the sincerity with which the Justice Department has furthered the cause and the fight for civil rights. The approaches to solving the problems in the south and the rest of the country in this regard are not simple ones.

It is clear to us that the Justice Department enters each case with the attitude that it must win the case. Problems arise when other agencies active in civil rights, approach the questions from a different point of view. A number of the civil rights activist groups, both in the south and the north, approach the issue after deciding that not many legal battles will be won in the south. Thus, they often see government action as being support for a moral point of view which opposes discrimination, and are more interested in seeing the federal government involved in helping them oppose discrimination at every turn than they are in winning legal cases. These two points of view may often conflict when determining which policy should be adopted when involved in a civil rights battle. As a result, misunderstanding may often prevail.

The recent case of Deputy Marshall Short, is a prime example where misunderstanding in fact, did prevail. It would seem to us, that it might be worthwhile to provide periodic meetings, between the Justice Department officials and those of other organizations and agencies which are involved in civil rights work. Such meetings, four to six per year, might discuss, insofar as possible, the activities that each organization is involved in, their approach to specific cases, and how unnecessary duplications or misunderstandings can be avoided. Possible participants in the discussion besides the Justice Department might include Peter Countryman from the Northern Student Movement, Mr. Shaul or myself, representing the United States National Student Association, Mr. Charles McDew and Mr. James Foreman, from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, someone from the Southern

MAR 22 1963

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Reef's Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
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Saint John's University

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Professor
Queens College
Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH HAGY BROD

Regional Council in Atlanta, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress of Racial Equality, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and perhaps other civil rights organizations working in the south.

Once again, let me thank you for taking the time to talk with us, and I look forward to hearing from you in regard to the above proposals.

Very sincerely,

Timothy A. Manring

Timothy A. Manring
National Affairs Vice President

TAM:dt

February 21, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Harold Fleming and Bill Foster called me yesterday and suggested, I believe as a result of conversations they had had with you, that I send you some notes on the thinking of the Notre Dame conference regarding schools legislation.

A full report of the conference will be issued some weeks hence. Anything that I report to you now is, I am sure you will understand, a somewhat disembodied and unorganized statement, and also one which will have to depend exclusively on my notes. The outline of ideas which follows, may, however, be of help to you and others of the Administration at this time, and if you should want further enlargement upon it, please let me or others who were in attendance know.

It is tedious to do so, but I probably should here make clear that I am writing solely as an invitee, participant, and reporter of the conference, and not as an official of the Southern Regional Council.

The most general conclusion which the conference reached, regarding both the need and the aim of schools

legislation, was that Congress should define an affirmative duty to desegregate and an affirmative duty on the part of the Attorney General to bring suits when, in his judgment, required to enforce the right of attendance in a desegregated school system.

At the risk of over-simplification, three definitions, or aspects, of desegregation may be distinguished:

(a) the individual right of a child to be assigned to school without regard to the child's race;

(b) the individual right of a child to be enrolled in a school system which is not organized on racial principles, either in assignment of children, appointment and assignment of teachers, or in administration;

(c) the individual right of a child to attend an integrated school.

The courts have not yet clearly gone beyond "a." Legislation, however, should not be thought of as limited to the implementing of Brown v. Topeka, but should rather be framed in Congressional recognition that the Supreme Court defines only minimal rights and that the obligation of Congress toward the elimination of inequality is not limited by minimum considerations. There are, moreover, practical reasons for believing that "a" is not a stable definition of desegregation. On the other hand, "c" is a definition of murky import, which is only now begging acknowledgment in the courts. To put the matter differently, "b" may or may not be required by Brown v. Topeka, but is certainly within its ambit; "c", which looks toward "color consciousness" and not toward "color blindness", presents different and unresolved issues. The consensus of the conference was that, at least at this time, legislation should not attempt to reach the right claimed in "c".

In the numbered paragraphs which follow, paragraph #6 is written on the premise of definition "b". In the other paragraphs, although emphasis is the initial start toward desegregation, legislation should be drafted and administrative practices framed in such a way as to indicate that the desegregation sought is that which "b" defines.

The frame of reference for the conference's discussion was the Clark-Celler Bill. This served as a means of organizing both the discussion and thought, though it meant also that much of the thinking was limited to reaction to provisions of that bill. I believe that without making further reference to those provisions, you will be able to relate what is said below to them.

A principal, perhaps the principal, problem addressing itself to legislation was seen to be the existence of some 2,000 school districts, with bi-racial populations, in the South which have made no start toward desegregation. This is a matter which can be dealt with effectively and expeditiously only with the aid of legislation. The conference reached a consensus that what was needed was an enactment which would:

(1) Establish an affirmative duty to desegregate now. In effect, Congress should declare that, as of the time of enactment, "all deliberate speed" requires an immediate beginning. No target date should be specified in the law. Instead, there should be what amount to an implied Congressional endorsement of Brown v. Topeka and a Congressional declaration of the affirmative duty as asserted in Aaron v. Cooper.

(2) Make clear, therefore, that time is no longer a defense in a case seeking the desegregation of schools where no start has been made.

(3) Authorize (not direct) the Attorney General to bring suits to initiate desegregation and

to intervene in support of suits brought by private plaintiffs seeking initial desegregation. Although this should be in the form of an authorization, it should be accompanied by "whereas" clauses or other suitable language which would affirm the duty of the United States and, specifically, the Attorney General to establish the Constitutional rights involved. It was clearly recognized that the Department would require enlarged legal staff. As the first sentence of this paragraph suggests, the conference was, however, both unanimous and very firm in believing that authorization to the Attorney General and the means given to him for fulfilling it should not in any way diminish or interfere with the privilege of private plaintiffs to bring their own suits in advance of, or accompanying, or even in partial rivalry with, as to relief sought, suits brought by the United States.

(4) To facilitate the process every school district* where, at the time of enactment, there are both Negro and white children, and where there are no Negro and white school children in classes with each other, have imposed on it by statute a positive duty to prepare a plan to desegregate its school system. This plan should be, after its adoption, a matter of public record. There should be no requirement that it be filed with any federal office. Filing would be unnecessary unless there was some review by the federal office of the plan; such review could be dangerous insofar as it might create a presumption of approval of issues that are litigable. Had Congress moved into the field of school desegregation in 1954 or 1955, we would now have a different situation. The fact is, however, that the law of school desegregation has to date been constructed through judicial decisions, and it is too late for administrative guidance in

*School districts change frequently. Legislation which uses them as the unit of compliance must be carefully drafted.

the formulation of desegregation plans. The function of the Executive at this time should be defined by Congress as that of enforcing and of facilitating a process, not of shaping it. The plan should be a matter of public record and the non-existence of one a cause for appropriate proceedings, initiated either by the Attorney General or by counsel for private plaintiffs. The conference decided not to recommend a specific time period allowed to a school district for preparation of a plan, after enactment of the law, but there was a clear belief that the 180 days allowed by the Clark-Celler Bill was far too long.

(5) Give aid to those school districts undertaking initial desegregation by making available to them, through some federal office (and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would seem the logical one), information regarding the desegregation experiences of other localities. This service could be given only at request; however, it would make good sense to require HEW to do this as soon after enactment as it could ascertain which districts are subject to the law and could compile the information. In this particular, moreover, there would be no strong reason to confine the information service to districts making initial starts, and the statute might well provide that HEW be a clearinghouse for the accumulation and the supply of information about desegregation and integration developments, North and South. Here, again, caution should be taken that the HEW exercise its role in such a way as not to imply the approval of the United States for any particular methods of desegregation or integration used anywhere at the local level.

(6) Authorize an appropriation to a federal office (and again HEW would seem the logical one), in order to receive applications from school districts, in which the process of desegregation has begun, for project grants described by the applicant and intended to further the process of desegregation. I believe the consensus was that such grants be restricted to districts where, prior to 1954, there were no Negro and white children in classes with each other, though this is a point on which I shall need to get some clarification from my colleagues. In passing on the applications, HEW would have to make a finding that a project would, in fact, further the process of desegregation, although certain other educational criteria could be applied. The determination should be made, however, and the grant given, in relation to the "process" of desegregation, and not in relationship to the locality's "plan". (The distinction may, of course, not be easy to enunciate or observe.) These grants should be recognized as having to do with desegregation; in other words, should not be available for the needs of northern schools which, by such devices, as bussing, etc., are attempting affirmative efforts at integration. The conference concluded, after lengthy discussion, that there is an urgent need for federal assistance in helping schools, nation-wide, to overcome the handicaps of disadvantaged children, but that this problem, which is itself of gigantic proportions, ought to be addressed directly by the President and Congress, and should not be brought into a statute whose primary, and indeed exclusive, aim is the establishment of a Constitutional right which is no longer controvertible.

(7) Not legislate any withholding of federal funds. There were varieties of opinions on this question, rather than clear-cut division. I shall want to clarify, through

correspondence with the conferees, my understanding of the consensus reached, but I think it was that until the Hill-Burton cases are decided, any legislation would be premature and inexpedient. There was also a widespread belief that this was a matter susceptible to executive action and best left to executive policy making.

(8) Not legislate to the end of expediting cases (I undoubtedly should not use my role of reporter for injecting here a personal comment, but as a non-lawyer my opinions on this subject are weightless, and so I can safely note that I was disappointed in the conference at this point. Bill Foster had elaborated some suggestions along this line in his background memorandum, which seemed to me to be sensible.)

I believe I should conclude with a general remark which was a basic part of the consensus reached:

There is an imperative need for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality. Unless and until this is done, the national decision in behalf of equality is clouded and imperfect. Voting legislation has not achieved this end, because it creates and punishes crimes and because it falls short of a Congressional affirmation of equality, in that it reaches, or has in the past reached, only the matter of discriminatory application of laws. For reasons which are now a part of history, the Congressional entrance should be on the schools question. The conference believed that, as a matter of national urgency, schools has a priority, which considerations of legislative or political expediency, understandable or even commendable as they are in other circumstances and years, should not over ride.

I hope this may be of some use to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: U.S. Govt. Dept. of Justice

June 12, 1964

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney-General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Some weeks ago a personal friend of Mr. Roger Blough's approached me for suggestions that may be made to Mr. Blough regarding the use of TCI influence in Birmingham. In connection with this request I asked Paul Johnston to put some thoughts down on paper, and he has now done so. I thought you might be interested in his letter, which is enclosed.

I received today a carbon of a letter which Miss Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Service Committee wrote on June 9 to Commissioner Keppel; this is also enclosed. Jean's concern is certainly a realistic one, and her suggestion to Mr. Keppel seems to me to have merit, though some alterations in the form of the meeting she proposes might be considered. If you agree generally with her suggestion, I am sure she would value your assistance.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. Paul Johnston
Miss Jean Fairfax

Encls. - 2

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

What It *Is*

How It *Operates*

What It *Must* Do

What It *Can* Do

What *You* Can Do

"We must do something about the Constitutional rights of the individual. To my mind, every American whatever his religion, his color, his race or anything else, should have exactly the same concern for these matters as does any individual who may have felt embarrassment or resentment because those rights have not been properly observed."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower,
May 12, 1958.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

JOHN A. HANNAH, Chairman, President of Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

ROBERT G. STOREY, Vice Chairman, Dean of Southern Methodist University Law School, Dallas, Texas.

JOHN S. BATTLE, former Governor of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

DOYLE E. CARLTON, former Governor of Florida, Tampa, Florida.

REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, C. S. C., President of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana.

J. ERNEST WILKINS, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, Chicago, Illinois.

STAFF DIRECTOR

GORDON M. TIFFANY, former Attorney General of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire.

CREATION OF THE COMMISSION

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which was signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 9, 1957, established the bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights.

In November and December, 1957, the President sent to the Senate the nominations of six citizens to serve as Members of the Commission. Their approval was voted by the Senate on March 4, 1958. Three are Democrats; two are Republicans; one is an Independent.

The nomination of the Staff Director, made in February, 1958, was approved by the Senate on May 14, 1958.

HOW THE COMMISSION OPERATES

The Commission operates as an independent, fact-gathering government study group to advise the President and the Congress on conditions which deprive U. S. citizens of equal justice because of their color, race, religion or national origin.

The Commission names in each state an Advisory Committee, which serves without compensation to help in this job.

The Commission may receive help in its fact-gathering duties from other Government agencies.

Congress also gave the Commission the power to hold hearings in carrying out its functions and carefully indicated the rights of any individuals appearing before a Commission hearing.

WHAT THE COMMISSION MUST DO

The Commission is directed by the Act to investigate denials of voting rights based upon color, race, religion or national origin.*

The Commission studies and collects information on other legal developments "constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution" because of color, race, religion or national origin.

The Commission is also directed to see how federal laws and policies are carried out in this regard.

While the Commission has no power to enforce a law or act as a police agency, it must report its findings to the President and Congress and make recommendations for governmental action.

WHAT THE COMMISSION CAN DO

The Commission can choose particular areas of study. In addition to voting, the fields of housing and education have already been selected. Other fields where equal

---

* In regard to voting complaints, the Act states that the Commission shall "investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin; which writing, under oath or affirmation, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based."

justice is being denied because of race, color, religion or national origin may be selected in the future.

Similarly, the State Advisory Committees may select areas of study which are of particular concern to their States.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

You can write to the Commission stating the facts which you believe show that certain citizens are being denied their right to vote or their right to equal protection under the law because of race, color, religion or national origin. This will help the Commission collect information about such legal developments.

If you file a voting complaint, please do it in the way required by the Act, as stated in the footnote on page 5.

HOW IT AFFECTS EVERY AMERICAN

For the first time in history, Congress has set up a Commission to study the application of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted almost 100 years ago.

The solid collection of facts which the Commission gathers, studies, appraises and reports to the President and the Congress paves the way for future laws and governmental action in the broad field of civil rights.

Members of the Commission and enlightened citizens throughout the country regard its work as a major step toward bringing true equality to every American.

FURTHER INFORMATION

In addition to contacting the appropriate State Advisory Committee, those wishing further information about the Commission may write:

Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1958 O—471807

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

March 16, 1960

Mr. William H. Swan
State Advisory Committee Section
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Swan:

Under separate cover, air mail special delivery, we have mailed today the twenty-four (24) copies of the Special Report which you requested.

In checking with our Research Department I find that approximately two pages of the report concern the legal aspects of the situation. They are of the opinion that our comments and analysis ought not go beyond this.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

SAM W. TARSHIS

NEW ADDRESS
[illegible] AVE. NO.
SEATTLE 9

SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

NEW ADDRESS
[illegible] AVE. NO.
SEATTLE

March 29, 1960

Mr. Gordon M. Tiffany, Staff Director,
Commission on Civil Rights,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Tiffany,

Your recent memorandum telling about the March 20 meeting in Gatlinburg, Tennessee is before me. I regret that an intensive travel schedule made it impossible for me to reply sooner.

You have asked for suggestions with reference to the "Tentative Table of Contents for Proposed State Advisory Committee Chairman's Handbook". I compliment you and your staff for such a complete outline. My suggestions are in the nature of spelling out some factors which could be otherwise overlooked. Perhaps these would be parenthetical to the topic as announced in your outline. For example, under "II. Means and Methods", there is a section, "Sources of assistance". I should like to see some reference made to types of "Other Governmental Agencies" in order to indicate the type, itself, in particular. These would be such agencies as State Committees Against Discrimination, or Mayors' Committees on Human Relations, etc., or any group brought into being by statute or ordinance, or by order of a Governor or Mayor. Many times these groups have already accomplished much of the research and study which our State Advisory Committees may be asked to do, and if the Chairman would call on the executive secretary, or chairman, of one of these "Other Governmental Agencies", duplication would be avoided. In like fashion, I recommend that alongside "Outside sources", there be included the names of organizations noted for their interest both in improved human relations and civil rights (not in just human relations alone). These would be the Anti-Defamation League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League. The Chairman of a State Advisory Committe would thus be guided in utilizing all already existing community resources. I fear, from what I have observed and heard, that in many instances these invaluable resources have been ignored or sidestepped. I refer particularly to the privately supported agency with trained staff. I feel that at all times these agencies should be directly involved with us.

In the same section, along with "Use of questionaires", etc., I suggest adding "private testimony". We know painfully well that minority group representatives can be fearful of reprisal unless testimony will be private.

Finally, under "III. Areas of Possible Interest under the Civil Rights Act of 1957", I wonder whether "Police Brutality" might be added to "Administration of Justice". This may be tangential, but mentioning it would serve notice that even a Commission as important as ours considers it important.

I hope that my thoughts on the above subject matter will be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel W. Tarshis

Samuel W. Tarshis

SWT:ds

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State Advisory Committee Division

March 28, 1960

SUMMARY OF PLANS OF THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS FOR AREAS OF STUDY

This memorandum was prepared to keep the Commissions State Advisory Committees up to date on the nature of the studies that are being conducted or contemplated by the Commission's own staff, and to indicate in general terms the relationship between these studies and the activities of the State Advisory Committees.

There are five subject areas with which the Commission's staff is presently concerned. The Commission is continuing its studies in the three subject areas it has been interested in from the start: that is, Voting, Public Education and Housing. At its meeting on March 20, 1960, the Commission authorized the commencement of a study in the area of Administration of Justice. In addition, the Commission authorized some months ago the conduct of preliminary studies in a further area, Employment. This preliminary study has now been completed, and a report and recommendations for further studies in this area will be considered by the Commission at its meeting in April.

A brief discussion of the Commission's studies in each of these five subject areas follows.

PRESENT PLANS FOR COMMISSION STUDY

1. Voting

The Commission's studies in the area of voting are in general a continuation of the matters included in the Commission's report of September 1959. That is, the Commission is continuing to investigate allegations of denial of the right to vote on account of race and color; and to analyze and appraise the nature and effectiveness of Federal laws and policies which apply to such denials of the right to vote.

It is at present difficult to say in more precise terms what direction the Commission's activities in this field will take, for two matters are now pending which may have a considerable effect on the nature and scope of these studies in the future. One of these is a case now awaiting decision by the Supreme Court, which arose out of a hearing the Commission sought to hold in Louisiana on the subject of alleged denials of the right to vote, and which brings in question the propriety of the rules of procedure under which the Commission conducts such hearings. Until the Supreme Court has ruled on this question, the Commission will not, of course, schedule any further hearings of this nature. The case was argued before the Court in January, and a decision is hoped for soon.

The other development which may affect the nature of the Commission's studies is the legislation concerned with

protection of the right to vote which is now being considered by the Congress. At this writing it is not possible to say what sort of new laws, if any, will come out of the vigorous debate now in progress. If a law in this area is passed, however, it will clearly be a substantial addition to the Federal laws and policies which are a critical aspect of the Commission's studies in this field.

2. Public Education

The Commission's studies in the area of public education are not only bringing up to date the studies summarized in the September 1959 report, but also branching out in new fields. ~~The Education Conference which you will be attending at Gatlinburg, should offer an instructive view of one aspect of the Commission's activities in this field. It is the second conference the Commission has held devoted to the examination of the problems involved in the desegregation of public schools pursuant to the Brown decision. The Public Education Section of the Commission's Laws, Plans and Research Division has also recently completed a current review of legislative, judicial and administrative developments in public school desegregation since the publication of the Commission's first report, and is currently making a study and analysis of the pupil placement laws which are now in effect in ten states.~~

By way of new areas of study, the Commission staff has undertaken a project concerned with higher education. This project, which the staff hopes to complete before September of this year, is a comprehensive survey of equal protection of the laws in the enjoyment of the privileges of publicly-controlled higher education. The study includes an examination of the origin, development and present status of Negro colleges in the United States; analysis of legislation and court decisions regarding segregation in public institutions of higher education; a survey of admission policies and procedures in such institutions as they bear on questions of discrimination in the admission of students; and a study of the nature and the reasons for the decisions of Negro students in choosing the institutions of higher education that they attend.

3. Housing

The Commission's examination of the subject of discrimination in housing accounted for the largest single portion of its September 1959 report. At the National Conference of State Advisory Committee Delegates which convened in Washington, June 9-10, 1959, the synopsis of the roundtable discussion on housing concluded that: "In all of the sections on housing, there was general agreement that minority groups

in virtually all the states do fail to enjoy full civil rights in obtaining housing." This statement substantiated our findings that the denial of equality of opportunity to acquire safe, decent and sanitary housing is a nationwide problem, and that every community with a sizable minority population is involved with this problem.

The studies now under way are pointed toward bringing up to date the materials included in the September report, with particular emphasis on changes and developments in Federal policies affecting minority housing; the collection and analysis of state and local laws concerned with discrimination in this area; and an examination of the experience that is being accummulated in the application of such laws.

New areas of possible study in the housing field are also being explored in a preliminary way.

4. Administration of Justice

A preliminary exploration of the field has been conducted and a report of this study has been made to the Commission. Upon the basis of this report, the Commission authorized further preliminary studies to be made. Nothing concrete can therefore be reported as to the exact scope of the Commission's probable studies in this area.

For the State Advisory Committees which are interested in conducting studies of Administration of Justice of their own, however, there may be some interest in the document designated as Appendix A, attached hereto, which is a topical breakdown of some of the subjects that fall under the very broad label, "administration of justice." This breakdown was prepared during the course of the preliminary study of this subject, for the purpose of defining the Commission's potential jurisdiction in this field. It must be emphasized that the topical breakdown is intended to show the limits of possible jurisdiction, and does not attempt to specify those areas actually recommended or authorized for study by the Commission. A study of the entire subject of administration of justice, including all these possible aspects would, of course, be far beyond the means of the Commission. This is even more the case with regard to the State Advisory Committees. The topical breakdown could be referred to as a list of possible subjects for inquiry by any committee which may be interested in conducting a study of the administration of justice, but it is definitely not recommended that any committee attempt to cover all, or even a major part of, the subjects listed here.

POSSIBLE NEW SUBJECT FOR STUDY

5. Employment

Only a preliminary study has so far been made by the Commission staff

in this area. A report on this study, together with recommendations for further studies in depth, is being presented to the Commission at its meeting in April; and a report of the Commission's action in this regard will be made to the State Advisory Committees soon thereafter.

Appendix B, also attached to this document, is a general analysis of the nature and scope of possible Commission jurisdiction in this field and should help provide a basis for Advisory Committee discussions. The caveats expressed with respect to the Administration of Justice outline apply to Appendix B as well.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS

While the Commission's studies are for practical reasons, divided into subject areas, the Commission is currently focusing particular attention on the interrelationships between the several fields.

The last conferences held by the Commission, which took place in January in Los Angeles and San Francisco, were pointed toward illuminating such interrelationships. The role of racially restricted housing patterns in producing segregated school systems, the reflection of limited educational opportunities in limited employment opportunities, and the effect of the latter upon participation of minority groups at the polls were among the matters touched on at these hearings.

It is hoped that a more unified view and a profounder understanding of the dynamics of discrimination will result from this new emphasis in the Commission's studies.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES WITH REGARD TO THE COMMISSION'S STUDIES

The studies discussed above are those which are being conducted or considered by the Commission's staff. The State Advisory Committees are not limited in their activities to participation in the Commission's efforts, nor are they even limited in their choice of subjects for study by the Commission's decisions as to its own studies. However, as to each of the studies undertaken by the Commission staff, there will arise from time to time specific matters as to which the assistance of the State Advisory Committees will be solicited -- in collecting information, in making contacts with local officials and others, in reporting on specific local developments, and so forth. When such needs arise, committees in question will, of course, be contacted through the usual channels.

In addition to assisting the Commission's staff by responding to such specific requests, the State Advisory Committees can offer valuable help of a general and continuing sort, by bringing to the attention of the staff matters which might not otherwise come to it. There are two sorts of assistance in this line which are always helpful. The first of these

consists in keeping the Commission informed of local developments of the sort that may not be reported in the national newspapers -- such, for instance, as particular problems or solutions to problems arising out of the desegregation of schools; the enactment of new laws or ordinances dealing in one way or another with segregation or discrimination in education, housing or employment; changes in zoning laws that affect racial housing patterns; and the like. Reports of such matters not only can apprise the Commission staff of developments of which they might otherwise remain unaware, but can also give the staff a feel for local color and local situations which they are simply unable to obtain in their offices far off in Washington.

The other respect in which the committees can be continually helpful is in the gathering and forwarding to the Commission published materials in its fields of study: such, for instance, as briefs in cases involving the desegregation of schools and other public facilities, and studies, whether official or unofficial, of such things as the problems involved in the desegregation of schools, results of new ordinances with respect to desegregation or discrimination, projected plans for public housing affecting minority groups, and so forth.

One current development of which the State Advisory Committees of the Southern States are particularly well suited to

keep the Commission informed is the current wave of "sit-in" strikes and demonstrations protesting against various aspects of the pattern of segregation in the South. The Commission has not undertaken to study either public accommodations as such, nor anything to do with patterns of segregation in restaurants, hotels and other privately run facilities. Indeed, except where there is some element of state participation in such matters, no question of the equal protection of the laws is involved and the Commission would not have jurisdiction to study them. However, in order to know whether the state or local governments are sufficiently involved in the enforcement of private patterns of segregation to give the Commission jurisdiction, and in order to be fully enough acquainted with the subject to know whether study is warranted, the Commission needs to have a thorough understanding of what, in fact, is happening. Moreover, in some cases these incidents may involve areas of Commission study: for example, the use of the police, either in enforcing patterns of private segregation or in regulating the demonstrations which are directed toward protesting such patterns, may in some instances raise questions of discrimination in the administration of justice. For these reasons, the Commission needs information with regard to these

events, which can often be better supplied by the State Advisory Committees than by any other means open to the Commission. Any efforts in this direction that the committees can make will, therefore, be most valuable and much appreciated.

APPENDIX A: TOPICAL BREAKDOWN OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

I. DEVELOPMENTS CONSTITUTING DENIAL OF EQUAL PROTECTION: STATE ACTION

A. ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

1. Protection provided by the state to its inhabitants against the commission crimes.

   (a) failure to provide police protection

   (b) tolerance of crimes by one group and not another

   (c) effect of discriminatory punishment

   (d) right to inform the police

2. Manner of arrest.

   (a) wrongful search

   (b) arrest without warrant

   (c) arrest on suspicion (dragnet)

   (d) arrests for vagrancy (dragnet)

   (e) harassing arrests

   (f) arrests of one group and not another

3. Charging of offences.

   (a) Nature of the offences with which persons are charged.

   (b) Whether or not persons are charged with offences.

   (c) Nolle prosequis

4. Procedural rights prior to trial: prompt arraignment; informing accused of the right to be represented by counsel; informing accused of the right not to testify against himself, etc.

5. Protection from police violence while in custody.

6. Protection from the coercion of confessions while in custody.

7. Protection from mob violence while in custody.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

8. Availability of bail.

   (a) amount of bail

   (b) access to bondsmen

9. Right to counsel.

   (a) Availability of counsel

      (1) indigents

      (2) racial or other minority groups.

   (b) Timing of access of counsel

      (1) with respect to arrest

      (2) with respect to trial

10. Disabilities of counsel belonging to minority or representing groups.

11. Selection of Juries

   (a) constitution of jury panel

      (1) grand jury

      (2) petit jury

      (3) special (blue ribbon) juries

   (b) selection of petit jury: problem of pre-emptory challenges.

   (c) procedural problems

12. Representation in the instrumentalities of justice

   (a) Police forces

   (b) Prosecuting agencies

   (c) Judges

   (d) Court administration

   (e) Probation administration

   (f) Prison administration

13. Fair trial

    (a) speedy trial

    (b) segregated courtrooms and courthouse facilities

    (c) prejudicial atmosphere

    (d) proceedings in a language not understood by the defendant

    (e) prejudicial comments by judge or prosecutor

    (f) access to witnesses

14. Sentencing

    (a) type of sentence imposed

    (b) severity of sentence imposed

    (c) suspension of sentence

    (d) discrimination by jury

15. Right to appeal

    (a) procedural limitations

    (b) requirement of pre-payment of costs

    (c) right to be represented by counsel

    (d) access to transcript of trial

    (e) requirement of appeal bond

    (f) availability of bail

16. Administration of punishment

    (a) peonage

    (b) segregated prisons

    (c) mistreatment of prisoners

17. Probation

18. Executive clemency

19. Rights of former offenders

B. CIVIL JUSTICE

1. Imprisonment for debt

2. Enforcement of restrictive covenants

3. Selection of juries

4. Availability of counsel

5. Disabilities of counsel

6. lunacy commitments

C. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Laws forbidding barratry, champerty, maintenance, etc.

II. LAWS AND POLICIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

A. ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

(same items as under 1 A)

B. ENFORCEMENT OF RIGHTS AGAINST STATE ACTION

1. Scope and effectiveness of Civil Rights Acts.

2. Administration of Civil Rights Acts:
Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

3. Need for further measures (e.g., Title III).

April 6, 1960

Mr. William H. Swan
Consultant
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bill:

We are glad to put the State Advisory Committees Division on our all-purpose mailing. As for the state committees themselves, we have for some time been sending our materials to members of the Southern advisory committees in those cases where we had the names and addresses. We never secured the list for several states, and I'm sure that our lists are outdated for others. If you can send us up-to-date rosters, we will revise our mailing list accordingly.

I should add that the area covered is the eleven states of the old Confederacy, plus Kentucky. If you think we should include chairmen, or all members, of other committees, let me know.

We are weak on Louisiana names, particularly outside New Orleans. Since I am temporarily inactivated by jury duty, I have asked Paul Rilling of our staff to pull together such names as he can and send them on to you.

Let me hear from you whenever you're down this way next, and whenever we can be of service to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 29, 1960

be sure to put on SC's All-Purpose list

Dear Harold:

I wonder if the State Advisory Committees Division could be put on your full mailing list for materials. I am also wondering what it would cost to have the Chairmen of all states where segregation is a problem put on your mailing list.

Our Louisiana Committee needs strengthening. I am wondering if you could send me a roster of people who might be willing to serve on that Committee. As you know, Dr. Rufus Harris, who has been a pillar of strength, is moving to Macon where he will be President of Mercer.

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Swan
Consultant

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JC
MF

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

DIRECTORY

APRIL 15, 1960

ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
JAMES DOUGLAS BROWN, SR. Tel: PR 4-5172 (Bus.)
35 South Court Square 4-5328 (Res.)
Ozark

Occupation: Attorney; Mayor of Ozark, Chairman of the Board Commercial Bank.

State Senator 1942-1946; Chairman Dale County Industrial Development Board.

Vice Chairman:
DR. E. B. GOODE
1072 Davis
Mobile

Occupation: M.D.

Southern Conference, Human Relations, P.M. Masons

WALTER D. AGNEW Tel: MA 4-5143
Greensboro

Occupation: Retired college president, Huntington College Montgomery

32 Scottish Rite Mason; Alabama Council on Human Relations

LOUIS A. ECKL Tel: EM 3-3434, x 25
747 Nellie Avenue AT 2-7784
Florence

Occupation: Executive Editor

Past President, Alabama Associated Press Association; member, Alabama Council on Human Relations

MRS. VERA FOSTER Tel: 350
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee

Occupation: Social Worker, VA Hospital, Tuskegee

National Association of Social Workers; Alabama editor for Christian Century

DR. ARTHUR GRAY
Talladega College
Talladega

Tel: EM 2-2752 (Bus.)
EM 2-3150 (Res.)

Occupation: President, Talladega College

Former member, Board of Directors on Human Relations under Adlai Stevenson

DR. ROBERT A. LAMBERT
67 Magnolia Avenue
Fairhope

Tel: WA 8-2196

Occupation: Medical Administrator and teacher (Retired)

Assoc. Director for the Medical Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation 1928-48 (New York); Teacher of Pathology, Columbia, Yale

MRS. FRANCES P. McLEOD
1540 College Court
Montgomery

Tel: AM 4-2577

Occupation: Housewife

Charter member of Alabama Division SRC (Alabama Council on Human Relations).

ALASKA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
BRAD PHILLIPS Tel: BR 6-9301
Box 34
Anchorage

Occupation: Travel Agent

Director, Alaska Visitor's Association; former director, Chamber of Commerce.

Vice Chairman:
CLINTON GRAY Tel: BLack 120
Nome

Occupation: Printer

Former member territorial House of Representatives; Eskimo leader.

Secretary:
CLARENCE V. COLEMAN Tel: 5-6785
Box 958
Anchorage

Occupation: Contractor

President, Anchorage Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

CAPTAIN CHARLES M. BINKLEY Tel: 700
Box 636
College

Occupation: President, Alaska Riverways, Inc.

Board of directors, Alaska Visitor's Association.

ANDREW GAMBLE Tel: [illegible]
Angoon

Occupation: Mayor of Angoon

Past Vice President, Alaska Brotherhood (Indian leader).

PATRICK J. GILMORE, JR. Tel: 2204
Box 2158
Ketchikan

Occupation: Attorney

Former United States Attorney, 1st Division of Alaska.

MRS. BELLE SIMPSON
200 Seward Street
Juneau

Occupation: Owner, Nugget Shop

Past national Vice President of the American Legion Auxiliary; Past President of the Juneau Business & Professional Womens Club; member of Eastern Star and Soroptomists.

ARIZONA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
JAMES F. McKALE
801 East Second Street
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Tel: MA 2-0173

Occupation: Retired coach and athletic director, University of Arizona.

Vice Chairman:
ARTHUR VAN HAREN
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Occupation: Business executive.

Parliamentarian of Vesta Club.

Secretary:
MRS. FORREST C. BRADEN
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Tel: SUnset 3-4348

Occupation: Housewife

Chairman, Social Relations, Arizona Episcopal Church.

HENRY W. BEUMLER
1530 Tenth Street
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EMpire 4-5860 (Res.)

Occupation: Mayor of Douglas, Lawyer, School Teacher, Member of Arizona Development Board 1956-1960, Former Deputy County Attorney.

PAUL JONES
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2-3178 (Res.)

Occupation: Bureau of Indian Affairs

Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council.

ARIZONA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

WILLIAM F. MULLINS
2446 West Washington — Tel: ALpine 3-1359
Phoenix

Occupation: Palmer Manufacturing Company.

Chairman, Arizona AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee.

WALTER ONG
3440 North 16th — Tel: AMherst 5-5418 (Res.)
Phoenix — AMherst 5-4759 (Bus.)

Occupation: Businessman and real estate developer.

President, Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

CCR/SAC/3/31/60

ARKANSAS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
J. GASTON WILLIAMSON
314 West Markham Street — Tel: FRanklin 4-5577
Little Rock

Occupation: Attorney

Secretary:
DR. LAWRENCE A. DAVIS
Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College — Tel: JEfferson 4-2216
Pine Bluff

Occupation: President, Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College

Member, Commission on Farm Labor Conditions

JOSEPH R. BOOKER — Tel: FRanklin 2-4248
Century Building
Little Rock

Occupation: Attorney

Former president, National Bar Association

RICHARD C. BUTLER
Boyle Building
Little Rock

Occupation: Attorney

Past President, Little Rock Chamber of Commerce
Past President, Little Rock Boys Club
Chairman, Board of Trustees of Little Rock University

MRS. W. L. JAMESON — Tel: CEntral 4-1868
c/o Lake Sue Ranch
Post Office Box 247
Magnolia

Occupation: Housewife

Eastern Star leader.

(continued)

ARKANSAS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

ROBERT A. LEFLAR
University of Arkansas Law School
Fayetteville, Arkansas Tel.: HILLcrest 2-2361, ext. 517.

Occupation: Professor of Law

Associate Justice, Arkansas Supreme Court 1949-50

Chairman, Arkansas Statute Revision Commission 1945-54

Dean, School of Law, University of Arkansas 1943-1954

JAMES L. SHAVER
Ben Block Bldg. Tel.: 19
Wynne

Occupation: Attorney

Former Lt. Gov. of Arkansas; former president, Arkansas Bar Assoc.

Subcommittee: Housing

CCR/SAC/4/4/60

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CALIFORNIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:

DR. MABEL E. KINNEY Tel: AX 1-6775
3726 Grayburn Avenue
Los Angeles 18

Occupation: Doctor of Religious Science - Public Relations and lecturer in Religious Science Church.

Member, State Board of Education, Legislative Chairman, California Federation of Women's Clubs.

JOHN A. DESPOL Tel: SU 1-2838
995 Market Street
San Francisco 3

Occupation: General Vice President, California Labor Federation AFL-CIO

IRA MICHAEL HEYMAN
School of Law
University of California
Berkeley 4

Occupation: Associate Professor of Law, University of California

Chief Clerk to Justice Warren, 1958-59; Associate, Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, New York City, 1956-57.

WILLIAM H. D. HORNADAY Tel: CA 1-6459
890 Rome Drive
Los Angeles

Occupation: Minister, author, lecturer

Member, World Affairs Council of Los Angeles; Director, Cancer Prevention Clinic; Member, Jonathan Club, Urban League of Los Angeles; Past President, Lion's Club, Monterey Park.

SABURO KIDO Tel: RE 2-1276 (Res.)
2626 So. Dalton Avenue MA 9-2373 (Bus.)
Los Angeles 18

Occupation: Attorney at Law; President and Publisher of New Japanese American News, bi-lingual daily.

President of Japanese American Citizens League, 1940-46; Member Mayor's Committee on Human Relations; Member of the California Bar, the Utah Bar, National Association of Nationality and Immigration Attorneys, and National Committee of American Civil Liberties, 1944-46.

IGNACIO E. LOZANO, JR. Tel: RI 8-6173
1436 South Main Street
Los Angeles

Occupation: Publisher of La Opinion (daily Spanish language newspaper).

JOHN H. STEINHART Tel: EX 2-6430
111 Sutter Street
San Francisco 4

Occupation: Attorney

Former president, Jewish Family Service Agency.

PAUL R. WILLIAMS Tel: DU 2-1173
3757 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles

Occupation: Architect

Former member, California Housing Commission.

COLORADO ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:

ARTHUR BALLANTINE, JR. Tel: CH 7-3504 (Bus.)
Durango Herald News CH 7-1361 (Res.)
Durango

Occupation: Editor and publisher, Durango Herald News.

Editor and publisher, Cortez Sentinel.

Vice Chairman and Secretary:

WENDELL A. PETERS Tel: DU 8-2274
3401 Columbine Street
Denver

Occupation: Attorney

Legal Counsel for Denver Branch and Colorado State Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MRS. L. ARTHUR HIGGINS Tel: SP 7-1082
1219 South Race Street
Denver

Occupation: Housewife

Director, National Council of Catholic Women.

RABBI MANUEL LADERMAN Tel: CH 4-6543
1555 Stuart Street
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Occupation: Rabbi

Member, Executive Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; President, Adult Education Council.

MAX TORRES Tel: VI 6-6849
1108 East Main Street
Trindad

Occupation: Ranch operator

Member, Southern Colorado Livestock Association.

CCR - SAC, 6 April 1960

CONNECTICUT ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
RABBI ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN Tel: AD 3-8215
701 Farmington Avenue
Hartford 7

Occupation: Rabbi

Past President, Synagogue Council of America and Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Secretary:
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Former pres., Nebraska League of Women Voters; former chairman, Nebraska Board of Control.

Vice Chairman and Secretary:
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Former president, Omaha Bar Association; member, Omaha Board, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

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Former Dean of Graduate School, Creighton University.

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Former State President, Nebraska United Church Women.

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Former Las Vegas City Commissioner.

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Director, Nevada Trucking Association.

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Executive Board, Las Vegas Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Carl J. Christensen — See news release June 22, 1960
Mr. Leslie B. Gray "

NEW HAMPSHIRE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Former Wing Commander, New Hampshire Wing, Civil Air Patrol.

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Retired Executive Director, Urban League, NAACP - Founder, Newark Welfare Federation & Community Chest

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Occupation: Packaging Manager, Philco Corp., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Delegate, Republican National Convention 1952, 1956, 1960
Industry member, Packaging Division, Am. Management Association

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Occupation: Contributing editor, Conde Nast Publications, Inc.

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Former Assistant Prosecutor, Essex County

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NEW MEXICO ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Former Carlsbad representative, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

IRVIN SANTIAGO
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Occupation: Tribal Secy of Pueblo of Laguna-elected for 2nd term; on leave of absence from Anaconda Co.

Elected Regional Vice Pres. of the National Congress of Am. Indians, 1960.

JOHN FIELD SIMMS, Jr.
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Former Judge, Domestic Relations Court; former Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments of New York City.

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Former member, Catholic Interracial Council; former member, New York State Assembly.

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Publisher of Il Progresso Newspaper - 200,000 daily circulation; owner and president of Radio Station WHOM in NYC.
Member of the Board of Directors of the Sterling National Bank & Trust Co., the America-Italy Society, and American Chamber of Commerce for Trade with Italy. Twice decorated by the Government of Italy with the Italian Star of Solidarity First Class, and the Gold Star of the Italian Red Cross.

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District chairman, Committee for Christian Social Action.

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Cosmopolitan Committee (Ethnic leadership).

OKLAHOMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Former president, International Association of Lions Clubs.

Secretary:
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HICKS EPTON
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Former president, Oklahoma Bar Assn.; member, Governor's Committee on Higher Education.

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Secretary:
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Member, Oregon State Senate.

PENNSYLVANIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Member, Advanced Placement Commission, College Entrance Examination Board.

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Director, NAACP Legal Education and Defense Fund, Inc.; member, Philadelphia Community Chest, Inc.

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Occupation: Judge of the Superior Court of Pa.

Former Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania; National President, Confederation of Ethnic Groups; former Chairman of the Board of Polish National Alliance of North America.

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President, Scranton Chamber of Commerce.

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RHODE ISLAND ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Occupation: Professor of Literature, Brown University.

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SOUTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
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Secretary:
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Occupation: Director, Penn Community Services.

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Member, South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

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SOUTH DAKOTA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Vice Chairman:
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Occupation: Jeweler

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Former Mayor of Rapid City.

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Member, Human Relations Council.

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Former City Manager and Mayor of Knoxville.

Vice-Chairman
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UTAH ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Lowell School PTA - Treasurer
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Former member, House of Delegates of Virginia.

Secretary:
MRS. FRANCES ROGERS HARTZ
P. O. Box 38
Waverly

TEmple
Tel: 4-2228 (Bus.)
TEmple 4-2355 (Res.)

Occupation: Housewife

Former president, Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs; member, State Board of Welfare and Institutions.

W. C. DANIEL
P. O. Box 2272
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Bus. Tel: SWift 2-2211
Res. SWift 2-1088

Occupation: Textile manufacturer; assistant to President, Dan River Mills, Inc.

Former National Commander of The American Legion.

DR. L. C. DOWNING
31 Centre Avenue, N.W.
Roanoke

Bus. Tel: DIamond 5-7515
Res. DIamond 2-8856

Occupation: Physician

Member, Roanoke School Board.

HERBERT J. GERST
8005 Blandford Road
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Bus. Tel: MAdison 2-1635
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Occupation: Attorney
Former president, Norfolk Community Fund.

WASHINGTON ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
ARTHUR G. BARNETT — Tel: MA 4-8428 (Bus.)
Northern Life Tower — LA 3-0835 (Res.)
Seattle 1, Washington

Occupation: Attorney

President, Seattle Civic Unity Committee; Governor's Committee Displaced Persons; Chairman, American Friends Service Committee; Vice President, Seattle Council of Churches; Executive Board, YMCA; four-year Chairman, Washington State Committee for Enactment F.E.P.C.

Vice Chairman:
SAMUEL W. TARSHIS — Tel: MAin 4-0296
121 Boren Avenue North
Seattle 9

Occupation: Wholesale furniture distributor

Past President, District 4, B;nai B;rith; National Commissioner, National Commission of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Secretary:
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Occupation: Housewife

Chairman of the Cosmopolitan Club and Spokane Institute of International Relations

MISS SOESTER I. ANTHON — Tel: CHestnut 8-1251
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Yakima

Occupation: News Director, Yakima Morning Herald

Chairman, Yakima City Planning Commission; Secretary, Central Washington Fair Board

RICHARD J. DOLACK — Tel: SKyline 2-4196 (Res.)
1334 N. Jackson Avenue — FUlton 3-2541 (Bus.)
Tacoma, Washington

Occupation: Attorney

Secretary of Legal Aid, Pierce County; District Representative for Legal Aid on State Committee; Member of Board of Directors, "Adastra" - School for gifted children

WASHINGTON (cont.)

HAROLD J. GIBSON Tel: 3-8775
1104 Mercer Street
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Occupation: General Vice President, N.W. Division, International Association of Machinists.

CHARLES M. STOKES Tel: MAin 2-1776
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Seattle 1

Occupation: Attorney

Member, Washington State Legislature; former member, Seattle Civic Unity Committee

DAVID E. WILLIAMS Tel: RIchland 7-8310
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Richland

Occupation: Attorney

Member, Executive Board, State Labor Council; former member, Tri Cities Committee on Human Relations

WEST VIRGINIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
MILES C. STANLEY
1624 Kanawha Boulevard
Charleston

Tel: DIckens 4-3557 (Bus.)
POplar 8-1881 (Res.)
Dunbar, West. Va.

Occupation: President, West Virginia Labor Federation (AFL-CIO)

Vice Chairman and Secretary:
HOWARD V. CORCORAN
Elmwood Place
Wheeling

Tel: CEdar 3-3800 (Bus.)
WOodsdale 1240 (Res.)

Occupation: Owner of Corcoran's Church Goods Company

B. PAUL BROIDA
1800 Market Street
Parkersburg

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GArfield 8-1293 (Res.

Occupation: President, Broida, Stone and Thomas Department Store

MISS HELEN GOLDSBOROUGH
Leland Orchard
Shepherdstown

Tel: 3561

Occupation: Owner of the Leland Orchard

Member, State Federation of Women's Clubs.

MRS. DOUGLAS C. TOMKIES
166 Woodland Drive
Huntington

Tel: JAckson 5-8355

Occupation: Educator of pre-school children

Former president of West Virginia Division, American Association of University Women

WISCONSIN ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
DR. FRED O. PINKHAM Tel: BLack 660
Ripon College
Ripon

Occupation: President, Ripon College

Vice Chairman:
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208 East Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee 2

Occupation: Attorney

Former member, Governor's Commission on Human Rights; former chairman, State Public Utility Arbitration Board.

Secretary:
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3432 North 16th Street
Milwaukee 6

Occupation: Housewife

Former member, Governor's Commission on Human Rights

GEORGE W. HAMILTON Tel: LOcust 2-6560
2843 North 18th Street
Milwaukee 6

Occupation: Attorney

Chairman, State Committee on Fair Employment Practices; former administrative assistant to the Governor, Virgin Islands

VICTOR MINAHAN Tel: REgent 3-4411
Appleton Post Crescent
Appleton

Occupation: Editor, Appleton Post Crescent

Member, Governor's Commission on Human Rights

WISCONSIN (Cont.)

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616 Exchange Building
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Occupation: Attorney

Former executive legal counsel to the Governor of Wisconsin

GEORGE SCHLOTTHAUER Tel: ALpine 6-1977
20 N. Carrol Street
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Occupation: Attorney

Chairman, Judiciary Committee Dane County Bar Association; Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Insurance Counsel; Delegate to 1944 Democratic National Convention

CCR/SAC/4/12/60

WYOMING ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman:
REVEREND JOHN P. McCONNELL — Tel: FRanklin 5-2061 (Bus.)
Union Presbyterian Church — FRanklin 5-3149 (Res.)
215 South 11th Street
Laramie

Occupation: Minister, Union Presbyterian Church

Vice Chairman:
MELVIN M. FILLERUP — Tel: 925 (Bus.)
2007 Kerper Boulevard — 970 (Res.)
Cody

Occupation: Attorney

President, Wyoming Jr. Bar Conference

Secretary:
MRS. P. E. DALEY — Tel: EAst 4-4297
706 14th Street
Rawlins

Occupation: Housewife

Former State President, American Association of University Women

MRS. NELLIE F. SCOTT — Tel: OL 5J3
Post Office Box 305
Fort Washakie

Occupation: Housewife

Chairman of Araphoe Business Council

WILLIAM WEXALL — Tel: 3-7182
Post Office Box 317
Casper

Occupation: Businessman

American Legion Leader

JC - Some of these are already on. Let's add remaining members of Southern ctees.
HCF

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 18, 1960

Return rosters to MF for filing.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is tentative roster of State Advisory Committees. I would appreciate it if you can put at least the Chairman of the southern Committees on your mailing list. In some instances, such as in Alabama, I think all members of the Committee should be put on the mailing list.

Bob and I enjoyed our meeting with you last Wednesday night. We will appreciate your further thoughts on areas wherein southern State Advisory Committees can be of special utility.

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Swan
Consultant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Remaining members have been added to our list.
LEC

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 4, 1960

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you for your letter of April 21, regarding people who might serve on our Louisiana Committee.

I have just returned from that State where I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Moise Cahn.

Sincerely,

William H. Swan
Consultant
Commission on Civil Rights

Mr. Paul M. Rillings
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 19, 1960

Mr. William H. Swan
State Advisory Committee Section
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Swan:

We are still trying to develop some potential names for you for membership in the Louisiana Advisory Committee, but in the meantime, I will send on a few names for your possible use:

1). Mrs. Moise Cahn, 40 Versailles Boulevard, New Orleans 15. Mrs. Cahn is very active in social and civic affairs in New Orleans. She is the past national president of the Council of Jewish Women. Her husband is a prominent businessman in New Orleans.

2). Mrs. Charles Keller, 1701 Arabella Street, New Orleans. I believe that Mr. Keller, a prominent businessman was at one time considered for an appointment. Mrs. Keller has been quite active in moderate and liberal causes in New Orleans. She has been a member of the board of the local Urban League and was at one time active in the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. I believe her brother is chairman of Delta Air Lines.

3). Dr. Harold Leif, a professor of Psychology at Tulane University. I imagine you would prefer to have nominations from outside the ranks of the clergy and college professors and from outside New Orleans, but New Orleans names keep cropping up.

4). Dr. Waldo McNeir, a professor at L.S.U. in Baton Rouge.

5). Mr. Moise Dennery, attorney in New Orleans.

Mrs. Cahn is known to be interested in serving on the committee. The others were not asked by us whether or not they would be receptive to an invitation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 10, 1960

JC, please do!
MF
Rosters shd go to JC for checking against our mailing list.
HCF

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for extending the warm hospitality of your home to Bill Swan and I during our visit to Atlanta in April. Our conversations were very interesting and informative. I recall promising you a copy of our current directory of State Advisory Committee members. I am enclosing herewith current copies of the rosters for the southern states. The complete directory is still being corrected and as soon as we have it in final form, which should be in the near future, I will send you a bound directory for all states. In the meantime the enclosed rosters will be of some interest and use to you.

William A Mottolese, an attorney in our Laws, Plans, and Research Division, is planning to be in Atlanta on May 16th. He has already written Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, your director of research for an appointment, which has been arranged. I hope that he will be able to visit with you while in Atlanta for a general exchange of information. He is presently conducting a study in the local administration of justice.

I look forward to meeting you again soon and appreciate any assistance you may furnish Bill Mottolese.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Falise
Deputy Assistant Staff Director

Enclosures

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 13, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Again many thanks, this time for your letter of May 10, 1960 with roster of possible appointees for our Louisiana committee.

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Swan
Consultant

May 10, 1960

Mr. William H. Swan
Consultant
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Swan:

I am including some additional suggestions for your Louisiana Advisory Committee. These names have come from John Yungblut of the American Friends Service Committee, who is presently director of the Community Relations Program in Mississippi and Louisiana.

Mrs. Gregor Thompson Goethels, 505 Roselawn Street, Monroe. (Graduate of Yale Divinity School, currently teaching in the Northeastern Louisiana State University in Monroe.)

Mrs. E. N. Jackson, 209 Roselawn Street, Monroe. (Very active in the Methodist Women's Group on Christian Social Relations; a widow, and would probably have time to give to this work.)

Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Drive, New Orleans 26. (Also very active in Christian Social Relations department of the Methodist Women.)

The Rev. Benjamin R. Oliphant, St. Paul's Methodist Church, Lexington Boulevard, Monroe. (Native of Louisiana with background of advanced work at Union Theological Seminary and the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.)

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

May 17, 1960

Mr. Robert A. Falise
Deputy Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Thanks for the Southern rosters and the word of Mottolese's coming. He was in our office today. We had quite a long and, for me at any rate, interesting discussion.

I am painfully aware that I haven't yet written the letter Bill Swan wanted concerning the role of the advisory committees. I literally haven't had enough uninterrupted time in the office to do it justice. If it's still timely, I will try to send along something soon.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

via air mail June 16, 1960

Mr. A. William Mottolese
Staff Attorney
Administration of Justice Section
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Attached is a list of counties reflecting the combined judgments of Ruby Hurley, Les Dunbar, and myself. Shown in parentheses are additional counties that were thought of as possibles, but not chosen for the first string, for one reason or another. Several of the second string -- e.g., Terrell -- have had much notoriety; you are in the best position to decide whether you would like to include one or more of these in preference to less well known counties.

As I told you by telephone, this is an arbitrary, impressionistic selection. With more time, we could check our impressions against the files and polish the list up accordingly. But this may help your men get started; you can always make substitutions if the initial research suggests them.

We will be prepared to make our files available and give any other cooperation we can to your staff members.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. -- I should make it clear that Ruby wasn't on hand to participate in the choice of the final 15 counties out of the total shown. Les Dunbar did this.

HCF

ALABAMA

Jefferson Montgomery Dallas Sumter	(Tuscaloosa, Wilcox, Marengo, Greene, Monroe, Hale)

FLORIDA

Lake Leon	(Gadsden, Okaloosa)

GEORGIA

Sumter Laurens Muscogee	(Terrell, Baker, Dougherty)

LOUISIANA

Caddo	(Rapides)

MISSISSIPPI

Holmes Forrest Yazoo	(Humphreys, Pearl River, Amite, Tallahatchie, Coahoma)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Florence Dorchester	(Abbeville, McCormich, Union)

(TENNESSEE: Haywood, Fayette, Hardeman, Grundy)

(ARKANSAS: Jefferson)

(TEXAS: Harrison)

~~Peter~~
~~Harmon~~

(6) South Carolina

Florence (Abbeville, McCormick,
Dorchester Union)

(3) Georgia

Sumter (Terrell, Baker,
Laurens Dougherty)
Muscogee

(2) Florida

Lake (Gadsden, Okaloosa)
Leon

(1) Alabama

~~Jefferson~~ (Tuscaloosa, Wilcox,
~~Lee~~ Marengo, Greene,
Montgomery Monroe, Hale)
Dallas
Sumter

(5) Mississippi

Holmes (Humphreys, Pearl River,
Forrest Amite, Tallahatchie,
Coahoma)
Yazoo

(4) Louisiana (Rapides)

Caddo

(over)

(Tenn. - Haywood, Fayette, Hardeman, Grundy.)

(Ark. - Jefferson.)

(Texas - Harrison)

LWD
Pls return with advice + info.
H.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please accept my apologies for not writing earlier; I have delayed until a decision was reached concerning the methodology to be employed in our administration of justice study. I wish to express, belatedly but sincerely, my gratitude to you and the members of your staff for extending your gracious assistance to me on my last trip. I found our discussions most fruitful and my examination of your files extremely useful.

After careful consideration we have decided, with respect to the deep South, to select no more than twenty areas (both urban and rural) in which to conduct an intensive survey of administration of justice. It has been determined that the selection of these areas will be influenced by two principal factors: our prior knowledge of the extent of the abuses which exist in these areas and the probable availability of information concerning them. Since you and Mrs. Ruby Hurley are in a unique position to recommend these troublesome areas and to assess the probabilities of success of such a study we should very much appreciate having your collective judgement on these points.

After receiving the names of the counties and cities which you recommend, we should like to initiate our study by examining your clipping files for data reporting incidents of lawlessness which have occurred in

these areas. It is our hope that this phase can be accomplished within a few weeks. Therefore, you can see that we are extremely anxious to have your suggestions as to geographical areas for study at the earliest convenient date.

As I indicated to you in your office, we are also in need of names and addresses of individuals, both white and Negro, throughout the South who would be willing and able to furnish information of a general nature to the Commission. Since we are conducting a rather comprehensive study (distinct from the administration of justice study) of a number of counties scattered throughout the deep South, a contact in most any area has considerable potential. Of particular interest would be possible leads, Negro and white, in Greene, Hale, Marengo and Monroe counties in Alabama and white leads in Georgia and South Carolina.

I hope that we are not imposing too heavy a burden upon you in requesting this information. You are, I am sure, aware of the immeasurable assistance it will provide. We will be very grateful for your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

A. William Mottolese
Staff Attorney
Administration of
Justice Section

✓MF - Pls send these.
H.

Sent 7/20/60
MF

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are most anxious to expand our working library by obtaining more valuable written materials in the field of civil rights. In the September 1952, and October-November, 1953, issues of "New South", there are several articles pertaining to Negro police, that are of considerable interest to our Administration of Justice Section. We are, therefore, trying to obtain a copy of these issues for their inspection and it is hoped that you might be able to supply us with them.

If there is a charge for this material or if you do not have a supply on hand for distribution, we would appreciate being so notified.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you and the staff of the Southern Regional Council for the consideration they have shown the Commission in supplying us with so many reports and documents in the past two years. Your assistance in this area of mutual interest has greatly facilitated the work of the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Garland W. O'Donnell

(Mrs) Garland W. O'Donnell
Commission Librarian

Enclosure - 1

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE DIRECTORY

JULY 15, 1960

ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

James Douglas Brown, Sr., Chairman
35 South Court Square
Ozark

Tel: PR 4-5172 (Bus.)
4-5328 (Res.)

Attorney, Mayor of Ozark, Chairman of the Board, Commercial Bank: State Senator 1942-46, chairman, Dale County Industrial Development Board.

Dr. E. B. Goode, Vice Chairman
1072 Davis
Mobile

Tel: HE 2-5132 (Bus.)
2-3971 (Res.)

Physician: member, Southern Conference on Human Relations, Masons.

Dr. Walter D. Agnew
Greensboro

Tel: MA 4-5143

Retired President, Huntington College, Montgomery: 32° Scottish Rite Mason, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Louis A. Eckl
747 Nellie Avenue

Tel: EM 3-3434 x 25 (Bus.)
AT 2-7784 (Res.)

Executive Editor: past president, Alabama Associated Press Association, member, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Mrs. Vera Foster
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee

Tel: Tuskegee 780
x 204 (Bus.)
350 (Res.)

Social Worker, Veterans Hospital, Tuskegee: National Association of Social Workers, Alabama editor for Christian Century

Dr. Arthur Gray
Talladega College
Talladega

Tel: EM 2-2752 (Bus.)
2-3150 (Res.)

President, Talladega College: former member, Board of Directors, Illinois Commission on Human Relations, former pastor, Plymouth Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Robert A. Lambert
P. O. Box 54
Fairhope

Tel: WA 8-2196

Medical Administrator and teacher (retired): Associate Director for the Medical Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation 1928-48 (New York), teacher of pathology, Columbia , Yale, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Mrs. Frances P. McLeod
1540 College Court
Montgomery

Tel: AM 4-2577

Housewife: charter member of Alabama Division, SRC, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

CCR/SAC/7-15-60

ALASKA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Brad Phillips, Chairman
Box 34 Tel: BR 6-9301
Anchorage

Travel Agent: director, Alaska Visitor's Association, former director, Chamber of Commerce

Clinton Gray, Vice Chairman
Box 26 Tel: BL 120
Nome

Printer: former member, Territorial House of Representatives, Eskimo leader.

Clarence V. Coleman, Secretary
Box 858 Tel: 5-6785
Anchorage

Contractor: former president, Anchorage branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Captain Charles M. Binkley
Box 636 Tel: 700
College

President, Alaska Riverways, Inc.: Board of Directors, Alaska Visitor's Association.

Andrew Gamble
Angoon

Mayor of Angoon: former Vice President, Alaska Brotherhood (Indian leader).

Patrick J. Gilmore, Jr.
Box 2158 Tel: 2204
Ketchikan

Attorney: former United States Attorney, 1st Division of Alaska

Mrs. Belle Simpson
200 Seward Street
Juneau

Owner and manager of Nugget Shop and Simpson Building: former National Vice President of the American Legion Auxiliary, former President of the Juneau Business and Professional Women's Club, member of Eastern Star and Soroptomists.

ARIZONA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Frank J. Barry, Chairman
262 North Meyer Avenue — Tel: MA 3-4301 (Bus.)
Tucson — AX 8-0204 (Res.)

Attorney: member of board, Tucson Council for Civic Unity.

Mrs. Forrest C. (Margaret M.) Braden, Secretary
700 Second Avenue — Tel: SU 3-4348
Yuma

Housewife: chairman, Social Relations, Arizona Episcopal Church.

Henry W. Beumler
1530 Tenth Street — Tel: EM 4-5472 (Bus.)
Douglas — 4-5860 (Res.)

Mayor of Douglas, lawyer, school teacher: member of Arizona Development Board, 1956-1960, former Deputy County Attorney

Norval W. Jasper
630 Alamo — Tel: ME 4-8886 (Bus.)
Tucson — AX 8-9182 (Res.)

Attorney: former member, Arizona House of Representatives, former Deputy County Attorney, Pima County, member School Board (District #1).

Paul Jones
P. O. Box 103 — Tel: 2-3681 (Bus.)
Window Rock — 2-3178 (Res.)

Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council.

William P. Mahoney, Jr.
6248 North 7th Avenue — Tel: AL 2-4045 (Bus.)
Phoenix — AM 6-8114 (Res.)

Attorney: former Assistant Attorney General, State of Arizona, chairman, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

William F. Mullins
2446 West Washington — Tel: AL 3-1359
Phoenix

Palmer Manufacturing Company: chairman, Arizona AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee.

Walter Ong
3440 North 16th — Tel: AM 5-5418 (Res.)
Phoenix — AM 5-4759 (Bus.)

Businessman, real estate developer: President, Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Edward H. Spicer
Department of Anthropology
University of Arizona

Tel: MA 4-8181 x 304 (Bus.)
EA 5-3843 (Res.)

Professor of Anthropology: chairman, University of Arizona Indian Affairs Committee, member, Advisory Board, Arizona Council for Civic Unity.

ARKANSAS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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314 West Markham Street — Tel: FR 4-5577
Little Rock

Attorney.

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Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College — Tel: JE 4-2216 (Res.)
Pine Bluff — 4-5171 (Bus.)

President, Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College: member, Commission on Farm Labor Conditions.

Joseph R. Booker
Century Building — Tel: FR 2-4248
Little Rock

Attorney: former president, National Bar Association

Richard C. Butler
Boyle Building
Little Rock

Attorney: former president, Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, chairman, Board of Trustees of Little Rock University.

Mrs. W. L. Jameson
c/o Lake Sue Ranch — Tel: CE 4-1868
P. O. Box 247
Magnolia

Housewife: co-owner, Lake Sue Cattle Ranch, president of Lake Sue Forest Properties--timber growers.

Robert A. Leflar
University of Arkansas Law School — Tel: HI 2-2361
Fayetteville, Arkansas — x 517 (Bus.)

Professor of Law: Associate Justice, Arkansas Supreme Court, 1949-1950, chairman, Arkansas Statute Revision Commission, 1945-1954, Dean, School of Law, University of Arkansas, 1943-1954.

James L. Shaver
Ben Block Building — Tel: 19
Wynne

Attorney: former Lieutenant Governor of Arkansas, former President, Arkansas Bar Association.

CALIFORNIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dr. Mabel E. Kinney, Chairman
3726 Grayburn Avenue — Tel: AX 1-6775
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Doctor of Religious Science, Public Relations and Lecturer in Religious Science Church: member, State Board of Education, Legislative Chairman, California Federation of Women's Clubs.

John A. Despol
995 Market Street — Tel: SU 1-2838
San Francisco

General Vice President, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.

Ira Michael Heyman
School of Law, University of California — Tel: TH 5-6000 x 2281
Berkeley

Associate Professor of Law, University of California: chief clerk to Justice Warren, 1958-1959, associate, Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, New York City, 1956-1957.

Dr. William H. D. Hornaday
890 Rome Drive — Tel: CA 1-6459
Los Angeles

Minister, author, lecturer: member, World Affairs Council of Los Angeles, director, Cancer Prevention Clinic, member, Jonathan Club, Urban League of Los Angeles, past president, Lion's Club, Monterey Park.

Saburo Kido
2626 South Dalton Avenue — Tel: MA 9-2373 (Bus.)
Los Angeles — RE 2-1276

Attorney, President and publisher of New Japanese American News, bilingual daily: president of Japanese American Citizens League, 1940-1946, member, Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, member of the California Bar, the Utah Bar, National Association of Nationality and Immigration Attorneys, and National Committee of American Civil Liberties, 1944-1946.

Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr.
1436 South Main Street — Tel: RI 8-6173
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Publisher of La Opinion, Spanish Language Newspaper.

Rt. Rev. James A. Pike
Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of California
1055 Taylor Street
San Francisco

Tel: PR 6-6611 (Bus.)
WE 1-2661 (Res.)

Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California: Member of the Bar of California, former Professor of Religion and Law, Columbia University, chairman, Committee on Housing, Urban League of New York, 1956-1958, co-chairman (with John Gunther) of the South Africa Defense Fund; board member, Freedom House, New York City, member, Committee of 100, National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

John H. Steinhart
111 Sutter Street
San Francisco

Tel: EX 2-6430

Attorney: former president, Jewish Family Service Agency.

James L. Flournoy
252 West Manchester Avenue
Los Angeles 3, California

Tel: PL 3-5148 (Bus.)
RE 4-1326 (Res.)

Attorney: Member of Urban League, Past President of the Los Angeles Collegiate Council, Past President of the Los Angeles Bishop College Club

COLORADO ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Durango Herald News — Tel: CH 7-3504 (Bus.)
Durango — 7-1361 (Res.)

Editor and Publisher, Durango Hearld News, editor and publisher, Cortez Sentinel.

Wendell A. Peters, Vice Chairman and Secretary
3401 Columbine Street — Tel: DU 8-2274
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Attorney: legal counsel for Denver branch and Colorado State Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mrs. L. Arthur (Mary Agnes) Higgins
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Housewife: director, National Council of Catholic Women.

Rabbi Manuel Laderman
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Denver

Rabbi: member, executive committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, president, Adult Education Council.

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Trinidad

Ranch operator: member, Southern Colorado Livestock Association, vice president, Model Land and Irrigation Company, member, School Reorganization Committee, President, John's Flood Ditch Company.

James D. Childress
Lewis, Grant & Davis — Tel: ALpine 5-5475
818 Seventeenth Street
Denver 2

Attorney: Member, American Bar Association, Denver Bar Association

CONNECTICUT ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Chairman
701 Farmington Avenue — Tel: AD 3-8215 (Bus.)
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Rabbi: past president, Synagogue Council of America and Central Conference of American Rabbis.

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Rawlins

Housewife: Former State President, American Association of University Women

Mrs. Nellie F. Scott — Tel: OL 5J3
Post Office Box 305
Fort Washakie

Housewife: Chairman of Araphoe Business Council

William Wexall — Tel: 23-7-7182
Post Office Box 317
Casper

Businessman: American Legion Leader

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 27, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for the most helpful material on HOPE and SOS which arrived today. This material has enabled me to include in my draft report a section on citizens' movements to keep the schools open which otherwise could not have been written.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Neil Cotter

Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #111-A

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 6, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Dr. Barry A. Marks, professor of literature at Brown University, has been named chairman of the Rhode Island State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Dr. Marks, who had been a member of the committee, replaced Nivelle Beaubien of 310 Roger Williams Ave., Rumford, as chairman. Mr. Beaubien resigned the chairmanship, but will remain as a member of the committee, Mr. Tiffany said.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR # 111-B

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 6, 1960

WASHINGTON — James L. Flournoy, an attorney of 2912 Eleventh Avenue, Los Angeles, has been appointed to the California State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. Flournoy is a member of the Los Angeles Urban League, a past president of the Los Angeles Collegiate Council, and a past president of the Los Angeles Bishop College Club.

Chairman of the committee is Dr. Mabel E. Kinney, 3726 Grayburn Avenue, Los Angeles.

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THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #111-C

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 6, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Norval W. Jasper, a Tuscon attorney who lives at 630 Alamo Street, has been appointed to the Arizona Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Taffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. Jasper, who was graduated from the University of Arizona in 1948, is a former member of the Arizona House of Representatives, a member of the Pima County School Board, and a former deputy county attorney for Pima County.

Chairman of the Arizona committee is Frank J. Barry, an attorney, of 262 North Meyer Ave., Tuscon.

##################

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR# 111-D

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 6, 1960

WASHINGTON — Two members have been added to the Missouri Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

They are Clarence A. Powell of Dexter and Edmund B. Smith of Kansas City. Both are attorneys.

Mr. Powell is a former Assistant Attorney General of Missouri, former prosecuting attorney for Stoddard County, and a member of the State committee named to revise the Missouri Rules of Criminal Procedure. He lives at 303 South Walnut Street in Dexter.

Mr. Smith is a member of the City Charter Review Commission of Kansas City, and for 15 years was judge of Kansas City Municipal Court. He is also active in Boy Scout work. He lives at 6024 Walnut Street in Kansas City.

Chairman of the Missouri committee is J. Norman McDonough, dean of the School of Law, St. Louis University.

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THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #111-F

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 6, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Bruno V. Bitker, Milwaukee attorney and former member of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, has been appointed chairman of the Wisconsin Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. Bitker, who lives at 208 East Wisconsin Ave., replaces as chairman of the Wisconsin committee Dr. Fred Pinkham of Ripon, resigned.

Mr. Bitker, for 30 years active in civic affairs in Milwaukee, has held numerous posts on city and State boards and commissions. He received the City of Milwaukee Citation for Distinguished Public Service in 1944, the Amity Award in 1950 and the Human Rights Citation in 1954.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR # 111-G

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 6, 1960

WASHINGTON — James D. Childress, a Denver attorney, has been appointed to the Colorado Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. Childress, 29, is a native of Durango. He was graduated cum laude from the University of Colorado in 1952, and with honors from the Columbia University School of Law in 1955.

Chairman of the Colorado State Advisory Committee is Arthur Ballantine, Jr., editor and publisher of the Durango Herald News.

##################

JC
Fyi
Please return
WS

August 10, 1960

Mr. Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cotter:

We appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending us the latest State Advisory Committee Directory and in arranging for us to receive subsequent replacement sheets. This is helpful, since we send our materials to the members of the Southern committees.

I hope I will have a chance to meet you one day soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JC
MA
MM

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

1. should ta people go on mailing list?
2. do we file these?

September 6, 1960

Dear Advisory Committee Member:

On July 22nd we forwarded a copy of the latest Directory of State Advisory Committees to you.

There have been some changes in the membership of the Committees in several States, and we are enclosing new pages for insertion in your copy of the Directory.

Sincerely yours,

Neil Cotter

Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director

LOUISIANA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dr. Albert W. Dent, Secretary
President's Office
Dillard University
New Orleans

Tel: WH 3-8861 (Bus.)
7-4217 (Res.)

President, Dillard University.

Bernard R. Ariatti
5401 Chamberlain Drive
New Orleans

Tel: MA 4597 (Bus.)
EV 5612 (Res.)

Labor representative, New Orleans AFL-CIO: former president, AFL Labor League for Political Education in New Orleans, former business agent, Glass Workers Local 936, New Orleans.

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versailles Boulevard
New Orleans

Tel: UN 6-6282

Housewife: president, Urban League, New Orleans, 1948-1951, National President, National Council of Jewish Women, 1954-1959, National Board, American National Red Cross, 1959.

Reverend William T. Handy, Jr.
815 North 20th Street
Baton Rouge

Tel: Di 2-3163

Minister, St. Mark Methodist Church.

Dr. Harold I. Lief
1430 Tulane Avenue
New Orleans

Tel: TU 7611, x314 (Bus.)
EX 1686 (Res.)

Professor of Psychiatry, Tulane University: member, Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Board of Directors, Save Our Schools of New Orleans, Inc.

John P. Nelson, Jr.
312 Civic Center Building
238 Loyola Avenue
New Orleans

Tel: JA 2-9983 (Bus.)
UN 6-2154 (Res.)

Attorney: former Assistant District Attorney, Orleans Parish, Vice Chairman, Save Our Schools, Inc., New Orleans, member, Young Men's Business Club, Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Reverend Alexander O. Sigur
Catholic Student Center
Southern Louisiana University
Lafayette

Tel: CE 4-2331

Priest, Catholic Student Center.

ALASKA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Daniel Plotnick, Chairman
Box 2072 Tel: BR 4-9712 (Bus.)
Anchorage FE 3-1110 (Res.)

President, Federal Distributing Company, Inc.: former military advisor to UN in New York and Korea, Major, US Air Force Reserve.

Clinton Gray, Vice Chairman
Box 26 Tel: BL 120
Nome

Printer: former member, Territorial House of Representatives, Eskimo leader.

Clarence V. Coleman, Secretary
Box 858
Anchorage Tel: 5-6785

Contractor: former president, Anchorage branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Captain Charles M. Binkley
Box 636 Tel: 700
College

President, Alaska Riverways, Inc.: Board of Directors, Alaska Visitor's Association.

Andrew Gamble
Angoon

Mayor of Angoon: former Vice President, Alaska Brotherhood (Indian leader).

Patrick J. Gilmore, Jr.
Box 2158 Tel: 2204
Ketchikan

Attorney: former United States Attorney, 1st Division of Alaska

Brad Phillips
Box 34 Tel: BR 6-9301
Anchorage

Travel Agent: director, Alaska Visitor's Association, former director, Chamber of Commerce.

Mrs. Belle Simpson
200 Seward Street
Juneau

Owner and manager of Nugget Shop and Simpson Building: former National Vice President of the American Legion Auxiliary, former President of the Juneau Business and Professional Women's Club, member of Eastern Star and Soroptomists.

ARIZONA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Frank J. Barry, Chairman
262 North Meyer Avenue — Tel: MA 3-4301 (Bus.)
Tucson — AX 8-0204 (Res.)

Attorney: member of board, Tucson Council for Civic Unity.

William P. Mahoney, Jr., Vice Chairman
6248 North 7th Avenue — Tel: AL 2-4045 (Bus.)
Phoenix — AM 6-8114 (Res.)

Attorney: former Assistant Attorney General, State of Arizona, chairman, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Mrs. Forrest C. (Margaret M.) Braden, Secretary
700 Second Avenue — Tel: SU 3-4348
Yuma

Housewife: chairman, Social Relations, Arizona Episcopal Church.

Henry W. Beumler
1530 Tenth Street — Tel: EM 4-5472 (Bus.)
Douglas — 4-5860 (Res.)

Mayor of Douglas, lawyer, school teacher: member of Arizona Development Board, 1956-60, former Deputy County Attorney

Norval W. Jasper
630 Alamo — Tel: ME 4-8886 (Bus.)
Tucson — AX 8-9182 (Res.)

Attorney: former member, Arizona House of Representatives, former Deputy County Attorney, Pima County, member, School Board (District #1).

Paul Jones
P. O. Box 103 — Tel: 2-3681 (Bus.)
Window Rock — 2-3178 (Res.)

Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council.

William F. Mullins
2446 West Washington — Tel: AL 3-1359
Phoenix

Palmer Manufacturing Company: chairman, Arizona AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee.

Walter Ong
3440 North 16th — Tel: AM 5-5418 (Res.)
Phoenix — 5-4759 (Bus.)

Businessman, real estate developer: President, Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Edward H. Spicer
Department of Anthropology
University of Arizona
Tucson

Tel: MA 4-8181 x304 (Bus.)
EA 5-3843 (Res.o

Professor of Anthropology: chairman, University of Arizona Indian Affairs Committee, member, Advisory Board, Arizona Council for Civic Unity.

MISSOURI ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dean J. Norman McDonough, Chairman
515 Purdue Avenue
University City
St. Louis

Tel: PA 5-0819 (Res.)
JE 5-3300 x 328 (Bus.)

Dean and Professor of Law, St. Louis University.

Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, Vice Chairman and Secretary
1209 North Grand
St. Louis

Tel: GA 1-3856

Attorney: Associate General Counsel, St. Louis Housing Authority.

Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene
1204 East Atchinson
Jefferson City

Tel: 6-9151 (Res.)
6-8121 (Bus.)

Professor, Lincoln University: chairman, Human Rights Committee, Missouri Association for Social Welfare.

Abe J. Kaplan
2912 West 67th Terrace
Kansas City

Tel: JE 1-4818

President, Kaplan Fabrics: chairman, Community Relations Bureau, Kansas City Jewish Foundation.

Clarence A. Powell
303 South Walnut Street
Dexter

Tel: MA 4-4564

Lawyer: former Prosecuting Attorney, Stoddard County, former Assistant Attorney General, member Stoddard County, Missouri and American Bar Associations.

John I. Rollings
1401 Hampton - Room 105
St. Louis

Tel: MI 7-5055

President, Missouri State Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

Reverend Arnold A. Wessler
Concordia Publishing House
3558 South Jefferson Avenue
St. Louis

Tel: TO 5-1172

Lutheran clergyman: editor, The St. Louis Lutheran, executive secretary, Council of Lutheran Churches.

Judge Edmund B. Smith
415 Argyle Building
Kansas City

Tel: VI 2-1490 (Bus.)
DE 3-3960 (Res.)

Lawyer: served 15 years as Judge of Municipal Court of Kansas City, 1940-1955.

Mrs. Hugh P. (Elsa Wade) Williamson
707 Hollyhock Drive
Fulton

Tel: MI 2-6100

Chairman, department of English, William Woods College, Fulton: president, Missouri Association for Social Welfare, 1954-1956, member, State Board, Missouri Association for Social Welfare.

OKLAHOMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

John Rogers, Chairman
Drew Building
P. O. Box 911
Tulsa
Tel: LU 2-5201

Attorney and business executive: Trustee and former Dean, Tulsa Law School.

Dr. Jack Stauffer Wilkes, Secretary
Oklahoma City University
2501 North Blackwelder
Oklahoma City
Tel: JA 5-9218

President, Oklahoma City University, Methodist Minister.

Hampton W. Anderson
524 East Court Street
Atoka
Tel: 209

Minister, District Superintendent, The Oklahoma Indian Mission: Tribal delegate and representative, 1932-1936, National Congress of American Indians, president, Protestant Indian Council of Oklahoma.

Charles R. Anthony
P. O. Box 994
701 N. Broadway
Oklahoma City
Tel: RE 6-0533

President, C. R. Anthony retail department store chain.

Dr. Eugene S. Briggs
Phillips University
Enid
Tel: AD 7-4433

President, Phillips University: former president, International Association of Lions Clubs.

Hicks Epton
Drawer 131
Wewoka
Tel: 1720 (Bus.)
901 (Res.)

Attorney: former president, now director in, Oklahoma Bar Foundation, member, American College of Trial Attorneys and the International Association of Insurance Counsel.

C. Felton Gayles
202 South Drexel
Guthrie
Tel: BU 2-1376

Director of Athletics, Langston University.

Mrs. Everette Lee (Anita) Hairston
2140 North Peoria Avenue Tel: DI 3-1400
Tulsa

High school teacher: Board Activities--WYCA, Urban League, Moton Memorial Hospital, Dunbar Day Nursery, distinguished service award in race relations, Tulsa Council of Churches, 1950.

WEST VIRGINIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Miles C. Stanley, Chairman
1624 Kanawha Boulevard
Charleston

Tel: DI 4-3557 (Bus.)
PO 8-1881 (Res.)
(Dunbar, W. Va.)

President, West Virginia Labor Federation (AFL-CIO).

Howard V. Corcoran, Vice Chairman
Elmwood Place
Wheeling

Tel: CE 3-3800 (Bus.)
WO 1240 (Res.)

Owner of Corcoran's Church Goods Company.

Mrs. P. R. (Gwendolyn H.) Higginbotham, Secretary
132 Williams Street
Bluefield

Tel: DA 7-9242

Housewife: President, State Medical Auxiliary; president, Bluefield State College Alumni Association; member, Cancer Board, Bluefield; former teacher, Washington, D.C. schools.

B. Paul Broida
1800 Market Street
Parkersburg

Tel: GA 2-3546 (Bus.)
GA 8-1293 (Res.)

President, Broida, Stone and Thomas Department Store

Miss Helen Z. Goldsborough
Leland Orchard
Shepherdstown

Tel: 3561

Owner of the Leland Orchard: member, State Federation of Women's Clubs.

John A. Jones
1407 Overlook Drive
Weirton

Tel: WE 1000 x232 (Bus.)
WE 4255 (Res.)

Director of Public Relations, Weirton Steel Company: lecturer, industrial journalism and public relations, chairman, publications section, Better Business Relations Committee, National Chamber of Commerce.

James B. McIntyre
c/o Prosecuting Attorney
Kanawha County Court House
Charleston

Tel: DI 3-5141 (Bus.)
DI 2-8314 (Res.)

Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Kanawha County: co-chairman, Kanawha Valley Unitarian Fellowship, chairman, Kanawha County Assoc. for the UN, member, Washington, D.C. and West Virginia Bar Associations.

Mrs. Douglas C. (Constance) Tomkies
166 Woodland Drive Tel: JA 5-8355
Huntington

Educator of pre-school children: former president of West Virginia Division, American Association of University Women.

Dr. William J. L. Wallace
West Virginia State College Tel: PO 8-3981
Institute

Educator, President of West Virginia State College: Ordained Elder in Allegheny Conference of the A.M.E. Zion Church, 1958; President's Advisory Committee of the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics, 1959; member, American Teachers Association, American Association of University Professors.

via air mail

September 26, 1960

Mr. David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans and Research
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Isbell:

I am afraid we have drawn a blank on Hertford County, except for NAACP channels with which you are undoubtedly already in touch.

I think we can do better, however, on at least some of the other counties and will be writing to you about them in due course.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

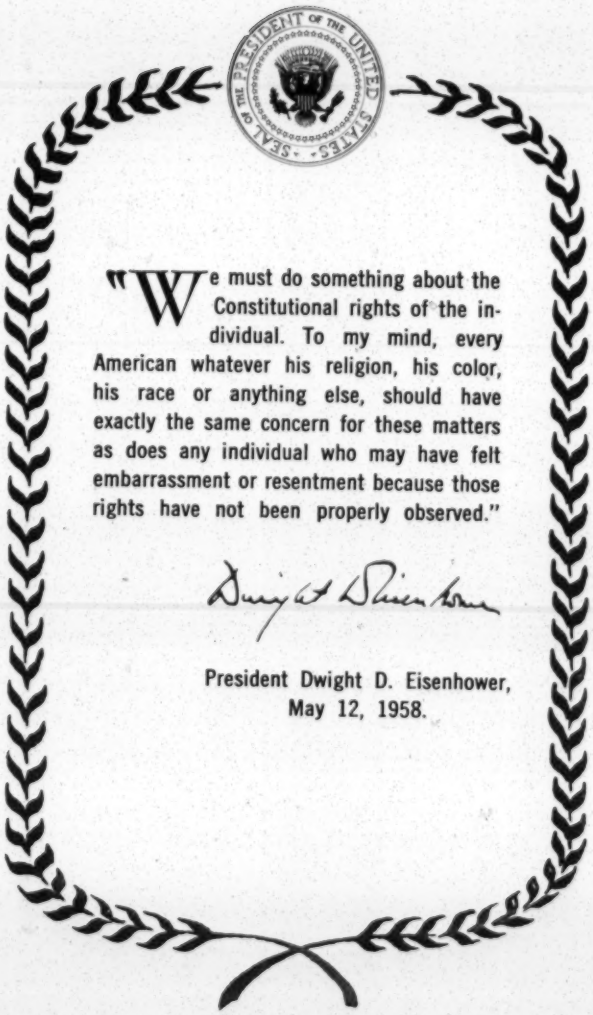
RECEIVED
OCT 28 1960
MF- File

the UNITED STATES COMMISSION on CIVIL RIGHTS

WHAT IT IS

HOW IT OPERATES

WHAT IT MUST DO



CREATION OF THE COMMISSION

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which was signed by President Eisenhower on September 9, 1957, established for two years the six-member bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights. The act specifies that "not more than three of the members shall at any one time be of the same political party". Although the 1957 act did not require it, the President appointed three members from the North and three from the South. This geographical balance has been maintained in the filling of subsequent vacancies. On September 15, 1959, Congress extended the life of the Commission to November 8, 1961.

WHAT IT IS

The Commission is an independent government fact-finding agency which studies deprivations of the rights of people in America upon grounds of race, color, religion or national origin.

The Commission's first report of its activities, findings and recommendations was sent to the President and the Congress on September 8, 1959. In it were fourteen specific recommendations for executive or legislative action in the field of civil rights. The next statutory report will be published by the Commission not later than in September 1961.

HOW IT OPERATES

The Commission reports findings and recommendations resulting from its studies to the President and Congress. Its attention is not restricted to any one region of the United States, nor to any single minority group. Its interest extends to every State.

Information for the Commission's reports is gathered from many sources:

- The Commission's own trained staff in Washington conducts continuing studies in the Commission's areas of interest.
- The Commission investigates complaints and holds public hearings in all sections of the Nation—North, South, East and West.
- Other Government agencies, on request, furnish information to the Commission.
- The Commission's State Advisory Committees submit reports and gather information on local situations at the Commission's request.

Congress gave the Commission the power to hold hearings in carrying out its functions and carefully described the rights of any individuals appearing before a Commission hearing. The Supreme Court of the United States upheld the constitutionality of the law creating the Commission and its right to hold hearings on June 20, 1960.

THE STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Under authorization of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 the Commission has established Advisory Committees in all fifty States. In creating these committees, the Commission recognized the great value of local opinion and advice in conducting its studies. With the help of these approximately 350 citizens across the Nation (who serve without compensation), the Commission's opportunities to see civil rights problems in the perspective of their local settings are greatly increased.

The State Advisory Committees may develop additional studies in fields that come within the Commission's jurisdiction but which are not presently the subject of study by the Commission itself. Examples of such studies are discrimination in public accommodations, transportation facilities, apprenticeship programs and migratory labor.

WHAT THE COMMISSION MUST DO

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 directed the Commission to:

(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin which writing, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based.

(2) study and collect information concerning legal

developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and

(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

Having completed these studies and investigations, the Commission then reports the facts it has found, together with recommendations for general corrective action to the President and the Congress. It has no power to give a specific remedy in a particular case.

WHAT THE COMMISSION CAN DO

In addition to its study of alleged denials of the right to vote, the Commission also has selected other areas of study in which there is reason to believe that the equal protection of the law is being denied because of color, race, religion or national origin.

Consequently, its Report of 1959 embraced not only the field of voting, but also the fields of housing, and public education. In 1960 the Commission decided to continue its studies in these areas and to add two more fields of inquiry: governmentally-connected employment and the administration of justice.

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT

To file a voting complaint, a person must:

(1) State in writing that one or more citizens of the U.S. are being deprived of the right to register, or vote, or have that vote counted;

(2) State that the denial was because of one or more of the following: color, race, religion, or national origin, specifying the basis of the denial;

(3) List in the complaint the facts, such as names, places, times, and manner of the denial.

(4) Swear to this written complaint before a notary public or other official authorized to take an oath.

(5) Mail the complaint to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D. C.

All voting complaints **must be under oath.**

Filing complaints other than voting complaints:

If a person believes he is denied his right to equal protection of the law in some other field of activity, time and expense will be saved if a similar procedure is followed by filing the complaint, in writing and under oath, giving the particular circumstances of the denial and whether the denial is believed to be based upon either color, race, religion, or national origin.

COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

In its report to the President and Congress in 1959, the Commission recommended (in summary):

(1) That the Census Bureau make a nationwide count of registered voters by race, color, and national origin.

(2) that Congress require that all State registration and voting records be preserved for five years and be open to the public.

(3) that the Civil Rights Act of 1957 be amended to provide judicial relief against the arbitrary actions of individuals who are clothed with state authority where such action results in a deprivation of the right to register and vote.

(4) that the Commission be empowered to apply directly to the Federal courts for enforcement of its subpenas without having to rely on legal representation by other government agencies.

(5) that the President be authorized to appoint temporary Federal registrars in areas where it has been demonstrated that there exists a practice of voting deprivations based on race, color, religion, or national origin.

(6) that the Commission, if extended, be authorized to serve as a clearinghouse for information about state and local desegregation procedures.

(7) that the Commission, if extended, be authorized to establish an advisory and conciliation service to help local school officials develop plans for the transition from segregated systems to desegregated systems.

(8) that the U. S. Office of Education, with the cooperation of the Census Bureau, conduct an annual census showing the number and race of all students enrolled in public educational institutions in the United States.

(9) that all cities and States with substantial nonwhite populations establish biracial committees on housing.

(10) that the President issue an Executive order stating the constitutional objective of equal opportunity in housing, directing all Federal agencies to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal.

(11) that the administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency give high priority to the problem of gearing the policies and the operations of his constituent housing agencies to the attainment of equal opportunity in housing.

(12) that the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration strengthen their present agreements with cities and States having anti-discrimination housing laws by requiring that builders using FHA and VA machinery agree in advance, in writing, to abide by those laws.

(13) that the Public Housing Administration encourage selection of building sites on open land in good areas outside the present centers of racial concentrations.

(14) that the Urban Renewal Administration assure that spokesmen for minority groups will be among the citizens who work with URA in preparing community programs for urban renewal.

COMMISSION PUBLICATIONS

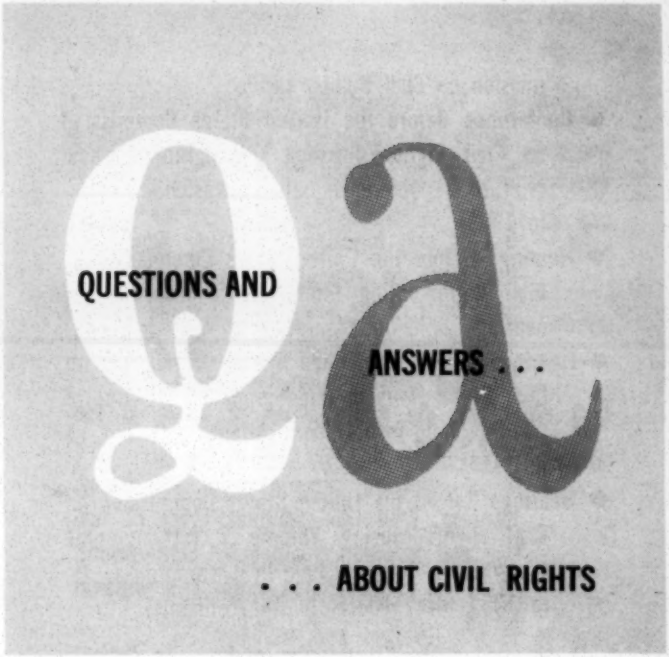
In addition to its 1959 Report, which is available from the Superintendent of Documents for $2.00 a copy, the Commision has issued several other publications. An abridgement of that report, entitled **"With Liberty and Justice for All"**, is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. for sixty cents a copy.

The following publications are available on the shelves of all Government depository libraries and many school, college and municipal libraries:

- **The National Conference and the Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Com-**

mission on Civil Rights, 1959

- **Conference Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights-Education** (stenographic transcript of a conference held in Nashville, Tenn., in 1959).
- **Hearings Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights-Voting** (stenographic transcript of hearings held in Montgomery, Ala., in 1958)
- **Hearings Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights-Housing** (stenographic transcript of hearings held in New York, Atlanta, and Chicago in 1959).
- **Hearings Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights-Housing Volume 2** (stenographic transcript of hearings held in Washington, D. C., in 1959 with Federal housing officials).



1. Q. How and when was the Commission on Civil Rights established?

A. The Commission on Civil Rights was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The law was amended in 1959 to extend the life of the Commission until November 9, 1961.

2. Q. How is the Commission organized?

A. The Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency, created by Congress. The President of the United States appointed, with the advice and consent of the Senate, six commissioners and a full-time staff director. The commissioners have supervisory powers over all activities. The staff director has direct charge over the day to day decisions and work. In addition to representing different political parties, the Commission also represents differences in race, religion and national origin.

3. Q. Does the Commission have any power to provide remedies for individual deprivations of rights?

A. No. The Commision on Civil Rights is a "study and advisory" organization, not a prosecuting agency. It has the power to compel testimony under oath at its hearings. But its only function is to study denials of the right to vote and denials of equal protection of the laws, and to make recommendations to Congress and the President for their consideration and action.

4. Q. What are the major areas of study at the present time?

A. It is studying discrimination in Voting, Housing, Education, Administration of Justice, and government-connected Employment, based on race, religion, color and national origin.

5. Q. How does the Commission perform its duties?

A. All available sources of information are utilized. In an effort to determine objectively the facts of illegal discrimination, the Commission among its other activities conducts field investigations and holds hearings and conferences in various sections of the country.

6. Q. Do both sides in a controversy have an opportunity to tell the Commission their version of the story?

A. Yes. Although not expressly required by law to do so, the policy of the Commission is to give both sides an opportunity to be heard where there is dispute over the true state of affairs regarding discrimination.

7. Q. Under what circumstances can it be said that a person has been deprived of equal protection of the law?

A. This is an intricate question, not yet fully answered by the courts. In general, a person can properly claim denial of equal protection of the law if a law or governmental official treats him in a discriminatory manner based on his race, color, religion or national origin.

8. Q. May a person properly claim denial of equal protection of the law or of his right to vote if he has been discriminated against or has been treated unfairly by someone who is not a governmental official?

A. In general, no. There are a few exceptions to this rule, however. For example, it was held in 1944 that the voting rights of Negroes under the Fifteenth Amendment had been violated by the Democratic Party of the State of Texas, a "private" organization, when it refused to allow nonwhites to vote in the Democratic primary election. In this instance, the Supreme Court reasoned, the Party's action had the full impact of governmental action, and effectively denied Negroes the right to vote since victory in the Democratic primary was tantamount to election in that state.

9. Q. What is the present status of civil rights in this country?

A. Hopeful. Great advances have been made in recent years toward assuring all citizens full enjoyment of these rights, but much remains to be done to translate constitutional ideals into living realities.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

JOHN A. HANNAH, Chairman, President of Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

ROBERT G. STOREY, Vice Chairman, Head of Southwestern Legal Center and former Dean of Southern Methodist University Law School, Dallas, Texas.

DOYLE E. CARLTON, former Governor of Florida, Tampa, Florida.

REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, C. S. C., President of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana.

GEORGE M. JOHNSON, Professor of Law and former Dean of Howard University School of Law, Washington, D. C.

ROBERT S. RANKIN, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

STAFF DIRECTOR

GORDON M. TIFFANY, former Attorney General of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire.

HOW IT AFFECTS EVERY AMERICAN

For the first time in history, Congress has set up a Commision to study the application of the "equal protection clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted almost 100 years ago.

The facts the Commission gathers, studies, appraises and reports to the President and the Congress pave the way for laws and governmental action in the broad field of civil rights.

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Further information about the Commission may be obtained by writing:

Public Information Section
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

GSA WASH DC 61-2736

... One nation under God,
indivisible....

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

November 25, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation on Wednesday, I am forwarding enclosed a copy of my original letter mentioning the counties we are interested in, and in addition a copy of the only reply I have a record of receiving.

As agreed, I shall phone again early next week -- on the chance that your earlier inquiries may have turned up some leads in DeSoto, Tate and Fayette counties other than those provided by Mr. Dunbar.

Sincerely yours,

David B. Isbell

David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director

Enclosure

via air mail special

October 18, 1960

Mr. David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans and Research
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Isbell:

The pickings are both slim and slow, I'm afraid, but here are a few suggestions for Georgia which I hope are not too late to be of some use. As you will see, most of the persons indicated are not resident in the county under investigation; but they are supposed to be knowledgeable about conditions in the respective counties, and the fact that they are presently non-resident may make them less inhibited than they otherwise would be.

For Lee County:

Rev. Louis Gholdson, Dawson, Ga., Methodist Church, (white) just moved from Lee County, where he pastored for four or five years. Suggested by Dr. George Clary, of the Methodist North Georgia Conference in Atlanta, whose name may be used.

Dr. E. D. Hamilton, Albany, Ga. (Negro), home 604 Mercer Avenue. (HE. 5-5190), office 221 S. Jackson (HE. 5-4954). Acquainted with civil rights problems in Southwest Georgia, helpful to SRC in determining the facts of the Terrell County situation.

C. B. King, Attorney, Cochran's Record Shop, Albany. Same characterization as Dr. Hamilton.

For Liberty County:

Ralph Quarterman (Negro), Allenhurst, Ga. Recently ran for public office in Liberty County, intelligent, well informed. Suggested by Lucius Pitts, executive secretary, Georgia Teachers and Education Association, whose name may be used with Quarterman.

Rev. Clyde Harvard, Methodist minister, Savannah, pastored for a long time in Liberty County. Suggested by Dr. Clary.

For Hancock County:

James Clayton (Negro), employee at VA Hospital, Augusta, Ga. Taught public school in Liberty, his home county, where his wife still teaches and lives with the children. Reported to be both well informed and outspoken about civil rights conditions in Liberty. Suggested by Mr. Pitts.

I hope these suggestions will be of some assistance.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Same ltr (with diff. counties) to: Ga ①, Ala ②, La ③, Miss ④

① Cowart - cc Pitts + Bragg
② Hughes
③ Dent + Bigger
④ Coy

October 3, 1960

Via Air Mail

The Rev. William Williams
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami, Florida (55)

Dear Bill:

The Commission on Civil Rights is undertaking a survey of a number of black belt counties across the South. They have asked us where possible to give them the names of persons, Negro and white, who might be willing to assist representatives of the Commission by providing information as to local conditions and events. They are interested in such things as interference with Negro voting, threats and intimidation, economic pressures, etc.

In Florida they are particularly interested in Gadsden County. If you know contacts in this county to which Commission representatives could be referred, please let me know as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 22, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing, pursuant to our telephone conversation today, to give you the list of the counties where we would be particularly grateful to have the names of persons, Negro and (particularly) white, who might be willing to assist representatives of the Commission by providing information as to local conditions and events.

The counties are as follows:

Alabama: Greene, Monroe
Florida: Gadsden
Georgia: Lee, Liberty, Hancock
Louisiana: Claibourne, Tensas, St. Helena, St. James
Mississippi: Carroll, Desoto, Issaquena, Leflore, Quitman, Tate.

P; HS

(W.H. Ingram, retired teacher
Jas. Clayton, VA Hosp, Augusta
wife + children and
Hancock, ex-teacher

Any assistance you may be able to provide in this regard will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

David B. Isbell

David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans & Research

Ralph Quarterman
Allenhurst, Ga.
(Liberty Co.)

+ 29 63

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DIRECTORY

JANUARY 19, 1961

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2-3971 (Res.)

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Greensboro

Tel: MA 4-5143

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747 Nellie Avenue
Florence

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AT 2-7784 (Res.)

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Social Worker, Veterans Hospital, Tuskegee; National Association of Social Workers; Alabama editor for Christian Century

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Talladega College
Talladega

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2-3150 (Res.)

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1540 College Court
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Mayor of Douglas, lawyer, school teacher: Member of Arizona Development Board, 1956-60, former Deputy County Attorney

Norval W. Jasper — Tel: ME 4-8886 (Bus.)
630 Alamo — AX 8-9182 (Res.)
Tucson

Attorney: Former member, Arizona House of Representatives, former Deputy County Attorney, Pima County; member, School Board (Dist. #1)

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818 Seventeenth Street
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1219 South Race Street
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1555 Stuart Street
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310 Roger Williams Avenue
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Assistant Manager, Industrial National Bank (Six Corners Branch)

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341 Sharon Street
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Joseph K. Levy — Tel: DE 1-2422
741 Elmgrove Avenue
Providence 6

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Attorney: Former president, Norfolk Community Fund

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2730 Avenham Avenue, S.W. — DI 3-0256 (Res.)
Roanoke

Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, St. John's Episcopal Church: Member, Board of Directors, Virginia Council on Human Relations, and Roanoke Interracial Commission

John D. K. Smoot — Tel: JA 5-6000 (Bus.)
1430 North Uhle Street — EL 6-3398 (Res.)
Arlington

Attorney: Chairman, Fairfax County Hospital and Health Center Commission

WEST VIRGINIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Miles C. Stanley, Chairman — Tel: DI 4-3557 (Bus.)
1624 Kanawha Boulevard — PO 8-1881 (Res.)
Charleston — (Dunbar, W.Va.)

President, West Virginia Labor Federation (AFL-CIO)

Howard V. Corcoran, Vice Chairman — Tel: CE 3-3800 (Bus.)
Elmwood Place — WO 1240 (Res.)
Wheeling

Owner of Corcoran's Church Goods Company

Mrs. P. R. (Gwendolyn H.) Higginbotham, Secretary — Tel: DA 7-9242
132 Williams Street
Bluefield

Housewife: President, State Medical Auxiliary; president, Bluefield State College Alumni Association; member, Cancer Board, Bluefield; former teacher, Washington, D.C.Schools

John A. Jones — Tel: WE 1000 (Bus.)
1407 Overlook Drive — WE 4255 (Res.)
Weirton

Director of Public Relations, Weirton Steel Company: Lecturer, industrial journalism and public relations; chairman, publications section, Better Business Relations Committee; National Chamber of Commerce

James B. McIntyre — Tel: DI 3-5141 (Bus.)
c/o Prosecuting Attorney — DI 2-8314 (Res.)
Kanawha County Court House
Charleston

Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Kanawha County: Co-chairman, Kanawha Valley Unitarian Fellowship; chairman, Kanawha County Association for the United Nations; member, Washington, D.C. and West Virginia Bar Associations

Mrs. Douglas C. (Constance) Tomkies — Tel: JA 5-8355
166 Woodland Drive
Huntington

Educator of pre-school children: Former president of West Virginia Division, American Association of University Women

Dr. William J. L. Wallace — Tel: PO 8-3981
West Virginia State College
Institute

Educator, President of West Virginia State College

JA[illegible]S M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
[illegible]ARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
[illegible]T W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
[illegible]PHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
[illegible]US E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
[illegible]OSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] [illegible]nc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH ST[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]764

A Council to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Green copy

April 28, 1961

Mr. David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans and Research Division
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Isbell:

We have gone over your letter of April 14 and compared your holdings with ours. The results are indicated below. At a number of places I have not indicated the figures used by the Department of Justice in a number of its actions because I assume you have these yourself.

We are grateful of your offer to share with us any figures which you have. We shall be glad to accept them under any conditions you may prefer.

Alabama. -- We do not have Birmingham News 1960 statistics and would be glad to receive. One small note: Sumter County - according to chairman of Board of Registrars, about 3200 white and 300 Negro registered (Chattanooga Times, 1/7/61).

Arkansas. -- Have same data. You might note (see Arkansas Gazette 4/2/60) that for mail payments clerks have no way of knowing race; mark all receipts "white," at least in Pulaski County.

Florida - have same data. Some small notes: Union Co. - local press complain that most of Negro inhabitants shown in data are state prison inmates, not "free" citizens; Dade Co. - 325,120 white Dem, 23,656 Negro Dem, 51,257 white Rep, 4,042 Negro Rep, 3,743 white others, 71 Negro others (N.Y. T. 10/16/60). Pinellas Co. - 92,594 white Dem, 4,491 Negro Dem, 85,571 white Rep, 1,154 Negro Rep, 4,932 white others, 46 Negro others (Tampa Tribune 1/6/6/).

Georgia - see attached. Georgia Advisory Committee in supposed to be digging for social breakdown.

Louisiana - have same data. Figures do not always agree with those used in CCR hearings 9/60.

Mississippi - we do not have Aaron Henry data and would be glad to receive. New Orleans Times - Pic. estimates 5,000 Negroes registered in Jackson, 24,000 in state (2/8/61).

North Carolina - have the Advisory Committee's data of 4/25/60.

South Carolina - have official 1958 figures; these compiled after decennial re-registration.

Tennessee - have statistics on county voter totals from Secretary of State; no racial breakdown. Shelby County - 172,786 white, 76,582 Negro. Memphis - 72,975 Negro (Chatt. Times, 11/1/60 and 10/20/60). Hamilton County - about 20,000 Negro (Chatt. Times, 7/31/60).

Texas - we have nothing later than our 1958-59 survey and would be glad to receive your data. Houston Post (102/60) estimated 214,000 eligible Negro voters.

Virginia - have only official state totals; would like to receive county figures. (See attached.)

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosures

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 14, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Pursuant to my telephone conversation with you the other day, I am writing to inform you of the status of our efforts to collect racial statistics on voter registration in the Southern States. Our situation is as follows:

no	Alabama	Complete 1960 statistics; obtained from BIRMINGHAM NEWS.
yes	Arkansas	Complete 1960 statistics; obtained from poll tax receipt sales for 1959.
yes +	Florida	Complete 1960 statistics; obtained from Secretary of State.
+	Georgia	None.
yes	Louisiana	Complete 1960 statistics; obtained from State Board of Registration.
	Maryland	We have statistics for 16 of the 24 counties; obtained from the registrars by our State Advisory Committee. We plan to contact the remaining 8 registrars directly.
no	Mississippi	We have figures on Negro registration only from 65 of the 82 counties, compiled by Dr. Aaron Henry. We have no other figures as yet.
yes	North Carolina	Our State Advisory Committee is collecting the statistics in this State, and we expect their returns to be complete.
?	South Carolina	None.
?	Tennessee	A questionnaire survey by our State Advisory Committee obtained returns from the registrars of 27 of the 95 counties. We plan to re-canvass the remainder directly by questionnaire.
no	Texas	We have surveyed the tax assessor collectors by questionnaire, receiving complete returns from 173 of the 254 counties. We are about to re-canvass the remainder.
no	Virginia	Complete official estimates from registrars.

We have hoped to add to the above States figures from Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia, so that the coverage of our voting studies would coincide with that of our studies of desegregation of public schools. However, so far we have had no luck at all.

Sincerely,

David B Isbell

David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans and Research Division

V. Fairy Harvard.

July 17, 1961

Mr. William L. Taylor
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I have for some time been meaning to drop you a note to tell you that I have read your article "Actions in Equity by the United States to Enforce School Desegregation." It is a first-rate job and I hope you have seen to it that everybody in the Civil Rights Division has read it.

There is a chance I may be in Washington late in August, perhaps somewhere between the 23rd - 25th. If so, I would like to come by and chat for a while with you and Berl. My plans right now are very tentative, but when you get a chance, would you let me know if you will be in town around this time?

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

5-4-61

MEMO

To Leslie W. Dunbar

From: William L. Taylor

My belated thanks for forwarding copies of the excellent study by the Southern Regional Council.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed.

file with L

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

File

July 21, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for your kind words about my article. The people in Justice have seen it.

As matters look now, both Berl and I will be in Washington from the 23rd to the 25th of August. Why don't you call us when you get in town and we can get together. I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Bill

William L. Taylor
Special Assistant to the
Staff Director

September 21, 1961

Mr. Peter M. Sussman
Deputy Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Sussman:

Thank you very much for the State Advisory Committee Reports and the New Orleans report. We received three copies of each, except in the case of South Carolina where there were two.

Since we make good use of three full sets of the reports may we have another for South Carolina?

Congratulations on the continuing work of the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

PA - pls
MBV
MA

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 7, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Under separate cover, we are sending you several recent publications of the State Advisory Committee Division of this Commission.

As you will note, the reports of the individual States are being issued as separate reprints this year. For your information and use, we are sending you three copies each of the reports of the following States:

Alabama	Mississippi	Texas
Georgia	North Carolina	West Virginia
Kentucky	(2) South Carolina	
Louisiana	Tennessee	

Further copies of these individual State reprints are available. You will also receive the bound volume of all fifty State reports in the near future.

In addition, we are sending you a report by the subcommittee on education of the Louisiana State Advisory Committee entitled "The New Orleans School Crisis."

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Peter M. Sussman

Peter M. Sussman
Deputy Assistant Staff Director

March 9, 1962

Mr. William L. Taylor
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

More reflection made me realize that I could not fairly ask you to take time to read our monstrosity entire. Many thanks, however, for offering.

I would like to take advantage of your offer in another way. As I told you I have had difficulty keeping track of all the cases. I would like to put four (4) questions, therefore, on your desk three of which deal with Burke's cases and if you possible could telephone your answers to me sometime Monday or early Tuesday I would be ever so grateful.

(1) Eight bus terminal suits have been brought. I believe there have been judgments reached in five: McComb, Greenwood, Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Birmingham. Right? The first three resulted in the invalidation of state laws. Right? A ~~Would~~ Baton Rouge and Birmingham also? The remaining three cases -- Rustin, Monroe, Jackson --have not yet been decided. Right?

Alexandria

(2) Twenty-four voting suits have been brought of which nine (counting the one filed January 19 in East Carroll) were brought by the preceding Administration. These nine have all been decided. Of the ones brought

by Burke only one (the John ~~Woods~~ HARdy case) has reached judgment. Right?

(3) The St. Bernard case which you and I talked about the other day has not been dropped but will probably not be called up unless the government requests it and this is not expected. Right?

(4) I have read the regulations issued by the President's Committee (Title 41, Chapter 60) a couple of times and I get the feeling that they are not clear and perhaps deliberately ambiguous as to whether the prime contractors' entire operation is covered or only the plant(s) which is doing work on the contract. Am I wrong about this?

It was good seeing you and the others on Tuesday.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 3/29

PR
MJ - file

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 21 containing the names of individuals who should be considered for membership on State Advisory Committees. Rest assured that we shall make good use of this list. I hope that you will feel free to send along additional suggestions as they occur to you.

Best wishes.

Very sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director
for State Advisory Committees

C.O. file
file
CRC

March 21, 1962

Mr. Cornelius Cotter
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Neil:

Here are some names which you may want to consider for state advisory committees in the four states you asked me about when I was in Washington.

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Gordon (Elaine) McNeil, member of NAIRO, teacher in the Sociology Department of the University of Arkansas, Little Rock, former LWV President, active in Unitarian Fellowship, very knowledgeable.

Mr. James E. Youngdahl, member of McMath law firm, specializing in labor union matters, Little Rock.

Mr. Fred Darragh, businessman, past chairman, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Route 5, Box 339, Little Rock.

FLORIDA

Mr. Cody Fowler, head of Governor Collins' Commission on Racial Relations; prominent attorney of Tampa.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Vice President, University of Miami, Coral Gables; member, Executive Committee, Southern Regional Council.

Florida - continued

Mr. Herbert Davidson, editor and publisher Daytona Beach News Journal, Daytona Beach; board member, Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Mayme Williams, board member, Florida Council on Human Relations; past president, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, 1200 N. W. 6th Avenue, Miami.

Bishop H. I. Louttit, Episcopal Church, Board member, Florida Council on Human Relations, 458 Virginia Drive, Winter Park, Florida.

Mr. I. H. Burney, businessman, board member Southern Regional Council, P. O. Box 660 Jacksonville, Florida.

Mr. Don Shoemaker, associate editor, Miami Herald, Miami, Florida.

Mr. Burnett Roth, attorney, active leader in the Anti-Defamation League, and other liberal cause, Miami Beach, Florida.

TEXAS

Professor Douglas Jackson, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, board member, Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Pliny Shaw, social and civic leader, president of the Houston Council on Human Relations, 8402 N. Bayou Road, Houston, Texas.

NORTH CAROLINA

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, physician, board member, Southern Regional Council, 1012 Kings Drive, Charlotte, North Carolina.

North Carolina - continued

Mr. Henry Ruark, minister in Laurinburg, North Carolina, active in the Chamber of Commerce, president, North Carolina Council on Human Relations, also very close to the Governor, 1st Methodist Church, Laurinburg, North Carolina.

I hope this will be of some help. Let me know if we can do any further checking.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Courtney Siceloff

From the desk of
NAT GRISWOLD

3/12/62

We are especially anxious to have these two persons appointed: - (to Ark. Advisory Com. to U.S. Civil Rights Co,.):

Mrs. Gordon (Elaine) McNeil, member of NAIRO, teacher in the Sociology Department of the University of Arkansas, former LWV President, active in Unitarian Fellowship, very knowledgeable.

Mr. James E. Youngdahl, member of McMath law firm, specializing in labor union matters.

Nat

Nat

Of course Orzell & Ruth concur as in all decisions, including literary criticism!

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

MEMO

TO Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council

FROM **Bill Williams**
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 SW 109 Court, Miami 55, Florida

RE Rec. for Advisory Comm.,
Civil Rights Commission

Your pal Courtney S., from S.C., called me last week saying that he had been in conversation with you on this subject and that you had suggested he contact me.

I did some calling and some thinking, and called him back the next day recommending

✓ Bishop Louttit, Winter Park

✓ ~~Ralph Odum, Ass't Atty Gen.~~ (He might not, but then he might, and I think he'd be a real asset.)

✓ T.H. Burney, N Jacksonville.

George Lewis, Jr. (President Lewis State Bank, Tallahassee. Brick of a guy, real liberal, and high on the social totem pole.)

Mrs. C.D. Johnson (formerly on Collins Fowler Commission. From Quincy)

✓ Burnett Roth (Attorney, Miami Beach. Known to you, doubtless. Strong ADL man)

✓ Don Shoemaker- MIAMI HERALD

✓ Hal Lewis, Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.

Happy hunting.

Bill

March 12, 1962

✓ top 5 in my judgement.

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON "PROBLEMS OF SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS"

State Department Building

Washington, D.C., May 3 and 4, 1962

The Commission on Civil Rights

The Commission was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 essentially to study and collect information concerning denial of equal protection of the laws by reason of color, race, religion or national origin and to appraise Federal laws and policies concerning such protection.

The present members of the Commission are: John A. Hannah, Chairman, President of Michigan State University; Robert G. Storey, Vice Chairman, Head of Southwestern Legal Center and former Dean of Southern Methodist University Law School; Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President of the University of Notre Dame; Robert S. Rankin, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Duke University; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of Harvard University Law School; Spottswood W. Robinson III, Dean of Howard University School of Law.

Public Education Study

In the spring of 1958, the broad field of denial of equal protection of the laws in public education was selected by the Commission as an area of concentrated effort because of the impact of the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 that compulsory racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

The Commission's first report on its studies was made to the President and the Congress in September 1959. With regard to its study in the field of public education, it is therein stated:

> "The Commission based its study of legal developments constituting a denial of the equal protection of the laws in the field of public education upon two fundamental premises:

"(1) The American system of public education must be preserved without impairment because an educated citizenry is the mainstay of the Republic and full educational opportunity for each and every citizen is America's major defense against the world threat to freedom.

* * *

"The problem, therefore, is how to comply with the Supreme Court decision while preserving and even improving public education. The ultimate choice of each State is between finding reasonable ways of ending compulsory segregation in its schools or abandoning its system of free public education." (p. 324)

This statement of the Commission's position continues to guide its work in this field.

Purpose of the Conference

The general purpose of the 1962 conference, like previous conferences, is to hear directly from educators who have dealt personally with the educational and administrative problems resulting from segregation in and desegregation of public school systems. The factors that should be considered in planning desegregation and various approaches to preparation for desegregation will also be subjects for discussion this year.

Although the information obtained at the conference will be reported to the President and the Congress, the Commission's conferences serve more than a fact-finding purpose. Participants have an opportunity to learn directly what other educators are doing to meet common problems. Informal discussions between sessions have been valuable to all.

Participation

About one hundred professional educators, lay leaders in education and representatives of national organizations having a particular interest in the educational problems of segregation and desegregation, are expected to attend the conference as participants or observers. Some forty public school systems both in the North and in the South will be represented.

Procedure

At each session the subject for discussion will be presented by a speaker or panel of speakers. Thereafter, the Commissioners and other participants will have an opportunity to question speakers or comment upon the subject in the light of their own experience.

Report

A verbatim transcript of the proceedings will be published as soon as possible together with a summary thereof and the Commission's findings.

CONFERENCE

BEFORE THE

UNITED STATES

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Fourth Annual Conference

Problems of Segregation & Desegregation
of Public Schools

Washington, D.C., May 3 and 4, 1962

Tentative Program

Session I - Thursday, May 3, 1962, 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon:

Greetings and Introduction of Commissioners, Special Guests, Staff Director and Staff Members present.

Opening Statement:

The Honorable John A. Hannah, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights

Explanation of Procedure:

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director

Interest of the United States Office of Education:

The Honorable Sterling M. McMurrin, United States Commissioner of Education

Educational Problems of Segregation & Desegregation of Public Schools:

Dr. John H. Fischer, Dean, Teachers College, New York University, New York

Comments from the Northern Viewpoint:

Dr. Houston R. Jackson, Assistant Superintendent of Baltimore City Schools, Baltimore, Maryland

Comments from the Southern Viewpoint:

Dean J. B. White, Department of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

Recess

General Discussion

12:00 Noon - Recess for Lunch

Session II - May 3, 1962, 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.:

Continuation of General Discussion on Educational Problems

Factors to be Considered in Planning Desegregation - Panel:

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Chairman, Department of Education, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Richard M. Peters, Chairman of the Board of Education, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Other members to be announced

General Discussion

5:00 P.M. - Adjournment

Session III - Friday, May 4, 1962, 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon:

Continuation of General Discussion on Planning

Preparation for Desegregation - Panel:

Dr. Dan Dodson, Director, Center of Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University, New York

Mr. Sam R. Bloom, Member, Dallas Citizens Council, Dallas, Texas

Dr. John W. Letson, Superintendent of Schools, Atlanta, Georgia

Fourth member to be announced

General Discussion

12:00 Noon - Recess for Lunch

Session IV - May 4, 1962, 2:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.:

Continuation of General Discussion on Preparation

Summary of Principal Unsolved Problems:

Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

General Discussion

5:00 P.M. - Adjournment

Rec'd 4/13

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Commission is pleased that you can attend its education conference on May 3 and 4, 1962.

Please note that the meetings will be held in the MAIN CONFERENCE ROOM of the State Department, 2201 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Your identification badge which will admit you to all sessions should be picked up before 9:00 A.M., May 3, in the registration room at the entrance to the conference room.

LWD - for future ref.

April 10, 1962

Mr. Berl Bernhard
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Berl:

Thanks for the invitation to attend the Commission's fourth annual conference on school desegregation. I have a prior commitment to be at Monteagle on May 4, but I shall attend the sessions on May 3.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

MAR 19 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Dunbar:~~ Les

It is my pleasure to invite you to attend, as an observer, the Commission's fourth annual conference on "Problems of Segregation and Desegregation of Public Schools." The conference will be held at the State Department Building, 2201 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., May 3 and 4, 1962.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the tentative program and a general statement about the Commission and its studies in the field of public education.

If you have any questions about the Commission or the conference, please telephone collect Mrs. Elizabeth R. Cole, Chief of the Public Education Section, Sterling 3-0860, Extension 3763.

I look forward to receiving a favorable reply from you in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

Berl

Berl I. Bernhard

Enclosures

June 15, 1962

Mr. Arnold Trebach
Chief, Administration of Justice Section
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Trebach:

Enclosed are those materials which we have readily available on the student protest movement. Many of them are outdated, but will give you some idea of the kinds of information we may be able to gather.

If you will give us an idea of the kinds of statistical information, case histories, and the like that you need, we will be happy to try to work on it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

Encls: Mississippi reports: March 6, 1961; March 13, 1961;
August 23, 1961; October 14, 1961
April 30 1962

July 31, 1962

Mr. Berl Bernhard
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Berl:

Will Campbell requested that I send you the enclosed Mississippi field reports done by Ben Muse. He thought you and Clyde Ferguson might find them of interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 5.

bc: Benjamin Muse

Answered Aug 22

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Frogmore, S. C.
August 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The Commission on Civil Rights is anxious to add some new members to the Georgia Committee. I gather this committee has not been the most active in the region. I am enclosing a list of current members of this committee and would like some suggestions on additional persons to be contacted.

I understand there is a need for representation in South Georgia and perhaps in other areas as well. Likewise it would seem that additional able Negroes may be included. So far the only names given me are Dr. Rufus Harris of Mercer College, Macon; Mr. Heilson of Cartersville, and John Maddox of Jessup. I would be interested in having your recommendation of these persons as well, if you know them.

Any help that you can give me on this will certainly be appreciated.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs:bbm

P.S. Slyan thinks Atlanta pretty well represented, though I imagine many of the Negro leaders are found there

November 27, 1962

Mr. William L. Taylor
Assistant Staff Director
for Liaison and Information
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I have your letter of November 19 requesting that the Commission be put on our mailing list.

On one or another of our lists at the present time we have you, the State Advisory Committee Division, Howard Rogerson, Berl Bernhard, Elizabeth Coles, and Carl Holman; for good measure, we have also still on the list prior to today, Peter Sussman, who I believe has gone, and Henry Shine, who I know has gone. In addition, we send a flock of copies to various state committees and, for all I know, may have a few more of you in Washington tucked away on mailing lists which I did not check. And now would you please take another look and, if all you folks aren't getting our stuff, let me know; I'll respond by asking you to investigate the Postal Department.

Let me know if anybody else would like to be on a list.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

November 19, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. ~~Dunbar~~ Les:

This office would appreciate receiving copies of your reports and publications as issued.

Would you please add this Commission to your mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William L. Taylor
Assistant Staff Director
for Liaison and Information

Taylor
Peter M Sussman
Sol A Levy Comm div
~~Henry Shine~~
~~Howard Rogers~~
Berl Bernhard
Eloy Cole
Holman

Jan. 29, 1963

BC MA

Civil Rights Advisory Commission, South Carolina

Please change mailing list (Courtney Siceloff)

Take out: Alger Fowler

Add: Mr. Sinway Young
President
South Carolina Labor Council
2006 Sumter Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Father Gordon Krahe, O.F.M.
St. Anthony's Church
307 Gower Street
Greenville, South Carolina

CCR members who are SRC board members or who are on other mailing categories are marked ( ) with number of category so they may be pulled for special #17 mailings.

Note: former CCR members, now resigned, whose names & addresses we have ~~were~~ are to continue to receive #17 mailings.
LWD, 1-30-63

Jan. 31, 1963

Bernice Cook Montez Albright

mailing list

The following members of the Council are members of the state advisory committees of the Civil Rights Commission; they should have stencils only in the Board file #4, because they will receive everything sent out and there should be no duplications:

I. H. Burney, Jacksonville, Fla.

Caxton Doggett, Winter Park, Fla.

L. D. Milton, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Dent, New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Moise Cahn, New Orleans, La.

L. H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala. (now in #7, please remove stencil)

John Nelson, New Orleans, La.

Alexander Sigur, Lafayette, La.

Dr. Beittel, Tougaloo, Miss.

Secrest, Cheraw, S. C.

Edw. Haddock, Richmond, Va. (now in #8, please remove stencil)

Thomas Young, Norfolk, Va. (now in #9-1, please remove stencil)

12

February 27, 1963

Mr. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

Confirming our telephone conversation, I would consider it a great favor if you could have two (2) copies of the North Carolina report mailed, as soon as it is available, to:

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Secretary
The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

March 6, 1963

Mr. Morgan C. Stanford
1421 Candler Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanford:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 28, with which you enclosed a biographical data sheet indicating your willingness to serve on the Georgia State Advisory Committee to this Commission.

We sincerely appreciate your readiness to assist this Commission in this manner and will submit your name for confirmation by the Commission at the earliest opportunity which will probably be the last week of this month. We are confidently looking forward to your appointment at that time.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Peter M. Sussman
Assistant Staff Director
for State Advisory Committees

cc:
Mr. Courtney P. Slosloff
Mr. Sylvan Mayer

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Dear Les —

Thanks for the suggest. re about Morgan Stanford. You might want to add his name to your Adv. Committee mailing list. Invited Bradford McFadden, but he refused.

Courtney

P A

M.J. file

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

PAV for
SB
MJ - file

March 12, 1963

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Many thanks for your note of February 26 and the editorial on Tom Linder's Plan from the Atlanta Journal. The latest information I have indicates this problem has been taken of and there will be no three school systems.

If you hear anything to the contrary, let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Berl I. Bernhard

April 4, 1963

Mr. William Taylor
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Thank you for the notes on the voting cases. This is extremely helpful. I won't, however, be using them immediately for writing up the Notre Dame report. I just could not make the April 15 deadline that they gave me. The more I realized this, the more clear it became the report should not be written now anyhow with so much going on in Congress and Mississippi. So, with Bill Foster running interference for me, the editors have agreed to a postponement for a summer or fall issue.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 22, 1963

BC

MMJ

Bernice,

Please send (today) ten copies of SOUTH CAROLINA FARMERS.... to the following person:

Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Commission on Civil Rights
(properly address label attached)

Free Request for Program Materials

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 18, 1963

RECEIVED
APR 22 1963

SB

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Would you kindly send me ten copies of your report "A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina.

Thank you very much.

Sent 4/27/63 [illegible]

Sincerely yours,

Pete

F. Peter Libassi
Deputy Assistant Staff Director
Liaison and Information

Les
We are in a hurry for this & would appreciate having them sent as soon as possible
B.

June 17, 1963

Mr. Arnold Trebach
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Arnold:

Dan Pollitt asked me to send this to you. Please remember that this is a first draft, which Dan sent down in rough copy for us to review. Except to re-type, we have done nothing with it, and I have not yet had a chance even to read it. Dan, incidentally, is now in Washington for the summer, with Joe Rauh.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

1st draft. "Right to Counsel for the Unpopular Client" by: Pollitt

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

OCT 3 1963

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1963

Honorable James Webb
Administrator
National Aeronautics and
Space Administration
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a newsclip stating that Dr. Wernher von Braun, director of the George M. Marshall Space Flight Center, Huntsville, Alabama, was scheduled to appear as a speaker at a regional meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association held at the Buena Vista Hotel in Biloxi, Mississippi, from September 25 to September 27.

Inquiries made by the Commission indicate that the Buena Vista Hotel is rigidly segregated. This raises three questions of interest to us:

1. Does your Agency have a policy with regard to staff appearances before segregated audiences?

2. Is the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association segregated?

3. If not, were Negro members permitted to attend the meeting without incident?

We would greatly appreciate your prompt response.

Sincerely yours,

Berl I. Bernhard

Berl I. Bernhard

Enclosure

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar

September 10, 1963

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Berl:

Is the Buena Vista Hotel desegregated?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

October 24, 1963

Mr. William L. Taylor
Assistant Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

That was a good speech you gave on Public Service and Civil Rights. Thanks for sending me a copy.

Will you stay with the ship?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PAPER PRESENTED BY
WILLIAM L. TAYLOR, ASSISTANT STAFF DIRECTOR
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
TO THE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
OCTOBER 21, 1963

Public Service and Civil Rights

If there were a Hippocratic oath for all civil servants, it would have to contain a provision that they shall serve the public equally and without unjust discrimination. For almost every civil servant who comes into contact with the public or who makes decisions about the benefits due, or the burdens to be borne by, members of the public has civil rights responsibilities.

As government becomes more complex, these civil rights responsibilities increase. In Europe, several nations - notably the Scandinavian countries - have deemed it advisable to establish independent authorities to review the administrative acts of government and to take action to correct arbitrary or unreasonable decisions. In Denmark, for example, this function is entrusted under the Constitution to a commissioner appointed by Parliament and known as the Ombudsmand. The powers of the Ombudsmand are carefully circumscribed; he has no authority to change an administrative decision, but only to make recommendations and he rarely questions discretionary decisions which are made within the limits laid down by the legislature. Nevertheless, the Ombudsmand has great influence. And he uses it to inquire into matters as trivial to the State - and important to the individual - as the suspension of a driver's license, the parking privileges of a taxi driver, and the extracurricular employment duties a state museum director imposes upon his employees.

We have not thought it necessary in the United States to create an authority like that of the Danish Ombudsmand. Instead, we rely upon civil and criminal remedies in the courts, private bills in Congress and procedural safeguards built into the administrative process itself, for the redress of governmental discrimination. In cases of widespread misfeasance or corruption stemming from the acts of elective officials, the most effective remedy may be at the ballot box. But in a fundamental sense, our protection rests in the equity of our laws and the fairness and honesty of the public servants who administer the laws. Without these, discrimination would be the rule rather than the exception, the confidence of the public would quickly falter and, our system, democratic in theory only, would collapse.

And yet, with all of these safeguards and our traditions of fairness, it has been possible for systematic discrimination by government against a group of Americans to persist over a period of years and to go unremedied. I know of no more glaring example than the treatment of Negro citizens under Federal grant-in-aid programs. It is not necessary to dwell on all of the shameful details. Perhaps it is enough to say that under housing legislation designed to provide "a decent home in a suitable living environment for every American," Negroes have been uprooted from their homes in the cities and virtually excluded from thousands of new suburban communities which have grown up in the past twenty years. Under national legislation designed to improve the quality of education available to Americans, the gap between opportunities available to whites and Negroes has been perpetuated, in fact magnified, by Federal subsidies to segregated

white colleges and universities in the South. Under public works laws and other legislation designed at least in part to promote the national goal of full employment, Negroes have been excluded from Federally-assisted projects or relegated to the most menial jobs. Nor have they shared equally in the benefits of legislation designed to increase the availability of hospital and medical care for American citizens.

How is it possible that such blatant discrimination could persist over so long a period of time in a government dedicated to equal justice under law? The candid answer must be that as a nation we have been insensitive to what is being recognized belatedly as the central moral issue of our time. Discrimination has been facilitated also by the tenets of our Federal system, which sometimes make it difficult to pinpoint responsibility for government action. Thus, it has been possible for the Federal government to strike a pose of "neutrality" - to say that it distributed benefits with an even hand and that what happened afterwards was a local responsibility.

Happily, the period during which national policy permitted Federally-subsidized racial discrimination is coming to an end. During the past decade, the courts have made it abundantly clear that racial segregation or any other form of discrimination, when enforced, supported or assisted by government, violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. This command of the equal protection clause applies to public employment, public schools, Federally-assisted housing and every other kind of governmentally supported activity. Once we began to focus clearly on the constitutional and moral issues involved, the legal barriers and

the philosophical and political objections to establishing a policy of equal opportunity were revealed as insubstantial. Thus, the President and the Executive branch have now promulgated policies prohibiting racial discrimination in Federally-assisted housing, employment and education. There are still areas where the principle of nondiscrimination has yet to be declared, but there can be no mistake about the trend of events or about the national mandate of equal opportunity.

But the issuance of executive orders and regulations marks the beginning - not the end - of the job of establishing equal opportunity in Federally-related activities. Until recently, the responsibility for action has rested with our highest elected and appointed officials; there was little or no discretion entrusted to the career civil servant. Now, however, basic policy has been established and how well it works, or whether it works at all, depends in large measure on the line officer and the man in the field.

This is not simply a question of good faith or whether government employees are likely to obstruct deliberately policies which they are charged with implementing. Let's consider the question of what constitutes "racial discrimination." This is a factual determination that many public servants may be called upon to make in carrying out national policies of nondiscrimination. A typical response of employers questioned about their job policies is that they have never had a Negro applicant. But the absence of Negro applicants is no more proof of a policy of nondiscrimination than the absence of Negroes on the job can be said to be conclusive proof of discrimination. It is necessary to determine the

reasons for the absence of applications. If Negroes in the past have had some grounds for the belief that they would not be judged solely on their merits, then special efforts may be required on the part of the employer to publicize his policy of equal employment and to encourage applications. In many instances, the employer may have been guilty of at least "unconscious discrimination" in the past, simply by using traditional sources of recruitment and training - sources from which Negroes have been excluded or which they do not customarily use. For an employer to comply with new governmental policy, it may be necessary for him to develop additional sources, to visit predominantly Negro colleges and to advertise in Negro newspapers.

In fact, it may be much more useful for us to approach the problem not with the aim of determining whether discrimination exists, but of developing a program to afford equal opportunity. If we become preoccupied with deciding guilt or innocence, valuable time must be spent in examining the mitigating circumstances. The employer may say (with some justification) that members of minority groups are not being trained in the skills which he needs and the educator may say (with some justification) that it is not good practice to train students for jobs which are not available to them because of their race. But to limit our inquiry to the question of whether past practices amount to racial discrimination misses the point. If we understand that the exclusion of a group of American citizens from full participation in society, whatever the reason, has dangerous moral, economic and social consequences, then the issue is not who bears the major share of guilt, but whether we

can exercise individual and collective responsibility for finding a solution. This involves the joint efforts of businessmen, labor leaders, clergymen and public servants. And the public servant charged with carrying out civil rights policy has a particular responsibility for finding the resources needed for a solution, wherever they may be.

I might add that the role of government officials charged with implementing a program of equal opportunity in state merit system employment is doubly important. For in carrying out the new Federal merit standards or a State Fair Employment law or a governor's fair practices code, they have the responsibility not only to open up new avenues of opportunity for public service, but to bring into the public service people who in turn will administer government programs in a manner which will promote the goal of equal justice.

For some, this kind of discussion may raise the issue of preferential or compensatory treatment for members of minority groups. Put in the simplest terms, it is easy to dismiss the notion of preferential treatment out of hand. If white and Negro employees apply simultaneously for a job promotion and the white employee has superior qualifications, would it be appropriate under any circumstances to require an employer to select the Negro applicant? Undoubtedly not. But the difficulty is that the issue does not ordinarily arise in such simple terms.

For example, if unions and employers maintain an apprenticeship program from which Negroes have been excluded and it is decided to abandon discrimination, what should be required? Is it appropriate to ask Negro applicants to go to the end of a long line of white applicants

who applied under the old system? Or would it be considered preferential treatment to require the employer and union to tear up the old list and start afresh in determining qualifications?

Or similarly, suppose that equally qualified white and Negro high school graduates were hired one year ago by an employer. Training was given the white employee which was not available to the Negro, and the white has now acquired both skills and seniority. Assuming that there are still jobs available in that category, would it be preferential treatment to offer training to the Negro and then to give him a seniority and skill status comparable to that of his white counterpart?

Is it preferential treatment for an employer who has had few Negro secretaries or salesmen to establish in cooperation with a local college a training program open to everyone but specifically designed to qualify minority group applicants?

Or to deal with housing and "benign quotas," is it preferential treatment to attempt to cope with racial attitudes which have been fostered by segregation by allocating a specified number of public housing units for white and Negro occupancy? Can such a practice of "color consciousness" rather than "color blindness" help to secure mutual acceptance and speed the day when housing can be made available on a completely free choice basis?

These are only a few of the questions of "preferential treatment" that public servants responsible for implementing civil rights policy may face in the months and years to come. I doubt seriously that anyone can devise a manual today that would provide a complete set of answers. But

a few things should be clear. The laws we should be devising are not those which "in all their majesty" forbid the rich as well as the poor from sleeping under bridges. In formulating and implementing civil rights policy, we are not writing on a clean slate. We are dealing with the consequences of a system which has resulted in the exclusion of a group of millions of Americans from the mainstream of national and community life. The only way to right this wrong is to find means which will permit Negro citizens to enter the society from which they have been excluded and to participate as fully as every one else. To accomplish this task, we need laws and rules prohibiting racial discrimination, and affirmative programs for education and training. But in the long run, nothing will be more important than imaginative, wise and compassionate administration of these laws and programs by the public servants who are entrusted with carrying them out.

Those public servants who are fortunate enough to work in this area will play a part in vindicating the Constitution and righting our national conscience. They may also make a contribution toward solving some of our most vexing national problems - unemployment, poverty, crime and disease. I can think of no more challenging assignment or serious responsibility for anyone in the service of the public.

E N D

December 4, 1963

Mr. Peter Labassi
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pete:

I'm afraid that Dallas jarred my memory too badly for me to be of much use to you now. I would apologize, except that apologies in this case would not be necessary, but I cannot clearly remember your questions. Why not drop me a line?

The idea of a small conference struck me as a good one. There are a number of people who have had agency experience in rural areas and, on the premise that your chief interest is information, they might be the best people for you to invite. We could make up a list of such people for you readily.

As a staff person, my mind continues to turn toward Courtney Siceloff. Another person who probably knows the rural South as well as anyone is Lewis Jones. But write me that letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 11, 1963

Mr. William Taylor
Commission on Civil Rights — file
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

My pet gripe again. The enclosure you may add to the file of the ones I earlier sent to Berl. I am resigned to the fact that nothing can be done about this, but the irritation is constant. People like this can't even operate without the United States Government -- through the Post Office, the Corps of Engineers (which built Lake Lanier), and through the federal highways. I could probably think of a federal bank connection if I give it some time. At any rate, more for your file.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MEMBERS OF THE U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS 7-15-64

(obtained from Eugene Patterson's secretary from his list)

✓ President John A. Hannah N.O chairman
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Professor Robert S. Rankin
1227 Vickers Avenue
Durham, N. C.

✓ The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburg, C.S.C. NO
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dean Irwin A. Griswold
Harvard Law School
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman
1209 N. Grand Blvd.
St. Louis, Missouri

Mr. Eugene Patterson, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Journal-Constitution Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

File
Civil Rights Commission
Directors

Members, Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

(List from Eugene Patterson's Secy. 2.14/66)

Note: Mr. Eugene Patterson, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

is vice chairman,
United States Commission on Civil Rights

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr. - Acting Chairman
40 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta = 30303

Dr. Clarence A. Bacote
478 Thackery Lane, S. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30311

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran
Assoc. Administrator for Program
Office of Equal Employment Opportunity
101 Marietta St., S. W., Room 400
Atlanta, Ga.
also 604 Beckwith St. S.W. 30314

Rev. A. Nelson Daunt
St. Pauls Episcopal Church
Albany, Georgia

Rev. Charles S. Hamilton
1224 Gwinett Street
Augusta, Ga. 30901

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Miss Johnnie Hilbun
922 SouthernFinance Building
Augusta, Georgia

Rev. James L. Hooten, Sr.
501 Barberry Drive
Savannah, Ga. 31406

Mr. John G. Joiner
P. O. Box 1075
Macon, Ga. 31202

Rev. J. Oscar McCloud
U. S. Presbyterian
1418 First Federal Bldg.
40 Marietta St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Arthur J. McClung
1461 Brazil Ave.
Columbus, Ga. 31903

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

Mr. L. D. Milton
212 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Francis C. Pauley

Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. John H. Ruffin, Jr.
930 Gwinnett St.
Agusuta, Ga. 30903

Mr. Morgan Stanford
Candler Building
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Rev. E. C. Tillman
1221 Egmont Street
Brunswick, Georgia 31520

Mr. Horace Ward
859½ Hunter St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Rev. J. O. Toomey
8412 Whitfield Avenue
Savannah, Georgia 31405

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Rec'd 3/3/66

TO : National Private Organizations

FROM : Clarence H. Hunter
Information Officer

SUBJECT: Revision of U.S.C.C.R. Directory

We are revising the Commission's Directory of National Organizations with Civil Rights Programs. We would be grateful if you will make any corrections or additions necessary on the enclosed page and return it to us. A return envelope is enclosed.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Paul,

I've filled in the simple info. on this form; you probably would wish to fill in the rest.

MMJ

Have done - please send it back.

Sent 3/3/66

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. ZIP#: 30303

Executive Director: Mr. Paul Anthony

President: Mr. John H. Wheeler

General Counsel: Mr. Joseph F. Haas

Telephone #: 522-8764 Area Code: 404

Purpose of Organization: Regional development with emphasis on race relations

Membership and/or chapters: 100 persons from throughout the South are the Members of SRC. There is no general membership. SRC cooperates closely with Councils on Human Relations in the eleven Southeastern states.

Publications:

New South - a Quarterly review @ $3.00 per year

a number of special studies in regional problems and developments, usually 15-20 per year

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

Paul —

The southern SAC lists are enclosed — finally. The North Carolina one is not complete — it was just revised. When I get a new list, I'll forward it.

Also I'll try to keep you informed of new members or resignations.

Best regards

Carl

MA

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

Dear Paul —

Twas good to get the note + check from Vernon Eagle. Be sure + bill us for the "write-up" or else it will go into the general coffers — or coffin.

Two corrections on the SAC lists (and S.C of all states!)

South Carolina:

delete: Alger Fowler

add:

SINWAY Young, Pres S.C. Labor Council
2006 SUMTER St, Columbia, SC

FATHER GORDON KRAHE, O.F.M
ST Anthony's Church, 307 Gower St, Greenville, SC

Best

Paul

from LWD

A MEMORANDUM ON RECOMMENDATION NO. 5
OF THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Appointment of Temporary Federal Registrars

1. Opposition to the Commission's recommendation comes from several groups of people:

   - those who do not want the Southern Negroes to vote;

   - those who regard federal registration as a violation of constitutional principles;

   - those Southerners who, while sympathetic with the objective, regard federal registration as unwise and inflammatory tactics;

   - those who think federal registration is unnecessary in securing full voting rights.

2. There is no point in addressing arguments to the first group. Its adherents typically, however, profess (at least outside their home constituencies) one of the other objections.

3. This widely recognized practice should not cause the advocates of temporary federal registrars to assume that all opponents are insincere, or that the questions of principle, tactics, and policy need not be seriously met. The constitutional issue is raised seriously by what is, undoubtedly, only a small band of persons; but they are usually persons of stature and influence (e.g. ex-Commissioner Battle). A much larger number of Southerners are sincerely possessed of a mixture of ideas, vaguely defined, which they associate with "states rights." Another large group of Southerners question the practical wisdom of the recommendation because of apprehensions as to public and official reaction, and a fear of further cramping the opportunities for Southern liberals to exert any influence; one representative example of this point of view would be the able chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Commission, Mr. Sylvan Meyer. Finally, some Southerners may share what is apparently ~~its~~ the administration's attitude, that federal registration is unnecessary.

4. Granted the impossibility of penetrating the self-interest or prejudice of those who are fearful of Negro voting, advocates of the federal registration proposal should seek to meet the dissent on other grounds. In other words, nothing is achieved (at least as far as Southern opinion is concerned) by charging a Senator Russell with a desire to discriminate; everybody knows that ~~it~~ he so. Something is to be gained by emphasizing and answering the objections which thousands of Southerners (including some Congressmen) do seriously hold. Quite likely, few if any votes of Southern Congressmen will be won for the proposal. But if it passes, the attitude toward it in the South will make all the difference in its enforcement. The following paragraphs attempt to identify the chief objections which would occur to thoughtful Southerners, with suggestions as to how they can be met.

Constitutional Principles

5. It will be said that federal registration usurps a state function and responsibility. The rebuttal on legal grounds is clear, and the purpose and scope of Article I, Section 4 and other Constitutional provisions, such as Amendment 17, should be discussed.

6. Perhaps more effective as a reply will be insistence on two features of the recommendation:

   a. The temporary federal registrars will administer the state qualifications, as they have been enacted, and without discretion to alter;

   b. Persons certified by federal registrars will be free to vote only in elections of federal officers.

7. It will be said that federal registrars will be interfering outsiders. Given the prevalent Southern dislike of outside meddling in local affairs, this is likely to be the most deeply-felt objection; it should, therefore, be countered over and over again, by pointing out that:

8. The temporary federal registrars will be local residents, raised in the South and probably in the district affected, known to their neighbors and sympathetic with their backgrounds;

9. Moreover, their exercise of the powers of registrar will be only temporary.

10. It will be said that federal registration is a form of vindictive harassment of the South, dictated by "bloc voting" in Northern states. In large part, this reaction is beyond rational refutation (to point out that "bloc voting" exists in the South - by whites - as well as in the North is probably as ineffective as it is true).

11. The safeguards against abuse, written into the Recommendation, ought to be strongly emphasized; i. e., the requirement of nine sworn complaints; the limitation of the complaints to denials because of race, color, religion, and national origin; the requirement of CCR investigation; the temporary nature of the plan; the administration of it by local residents.

12. It will be said that any nine persons, for whatever frivolous cause, can subject a Southern county, etc. to federal investigation; or that eight frivolous complaints plus a single valid one can lead to federal registration.

13. The stature of the Commissioners, the requirement that they (and the Staff Director) be confirmed by the Senate, and the membership of prominent Southerners on the Commission can be emphasized. The attached selection of editorials from Southern Newspapers may help in defending the Commission's responsibility.

14. Also, it can be pointed out that the affiants must (a) have made an actual attempt to register and been refused; (b) submit sworn complaints.

Tactical Disapproval

15. For those who are worried that federal registrars may further disturb and inflame the political climate of the South, it should be made clear that the alternative to federal registration is not no federal action, but another variety of federal action. The demand throughout the country for free access of all citizens to the ballot will not abate. If necessary, it will lead to invigorated prosecution, which, whether successful or not, will keep the voting issue constantly alive. Federal registrars are an alternative to litigation; administrative action is an alternative to criminal charges; CCR investigations of sworn complaints are an alternative to FBI investigations of suspicious situations. Under this Recommendation, noone gets tried, no one gets punished, no court serves as a sounding board for reckless oratory, no community will writhe in the spotlight of prolonged news attention. Federal registration offers a quiet means for solving a problem ~~minimally~~ decisively, rather than interminable scrapping over it. Moreover, federal registration would apply only to particular localities. It would not be imposed on a state-wide basis, and no localities which administer their state's own registration laws equitably would be affected.

Policy Reservations

16. For those who, while sympathetic with the objective of Recommendation 5, question its necessity, the following facts can be adduced:

17. Negro registration in some Southern localities has been frustrated by the resignation of boards of registrars, by the delay in appointing successors, and by the infrequent, irregular, and often unannounced opening of the registration books. In Macon County (Alabama) there was no board, and therefore no one to register voters, for about 42 months between 1946-57, and at other times in that period the existence of a board was not generally known. The CCR specifically found similar practices in Bullock County (Alabama).

18. Temporary federal registrars, holding regular appointments as Postmaster, U. S. Attorney, or Clerk of District Court, would be in continuous service. Typically, registrars are unpaid, or nearly so, part-time officials; to resign such an office is not hard. The empowering of a federal officer or

employee to act as a temporary registrar would ensure that registration could not be denied by default. Nor is it the case that an inactive or non-existent board is, in fact, an equal hardship to whites and Negroes; as the Commission's Report notes (page 140), "In all such cases, the majority of the electorate already registered were white persons." This is something of an understatement: in the Alabama counties mentioned, only five Negroes are registered in Bullock; and in Macon, 1,218 Negroes and 3,102 whites were registered in 1958, when the population was 27,000 Negroes to 3,177 whites.

19. That many Southern counties prohibit or rigidly limit Negro registration, by intimidation or chicanery, has been abundantly proven. For example, the Southern Regional Council has, in published reports, described without being contradicted the discriminatory practices employed in dozens of counties.

20. At present, there is no effective way of coping with registrar discrimination, and a greatly expanded enforcement staff in the Department of Justice would be required even to proceed under the present weak criminal statutes. As an example of the ineffectiveness of civil action against registrars, the case of Randolph County (Georgia) could be cited. On July 15, 1954, 525 registered Negroes were challenged; about 225 accepted the invitation to take a re-test under the Georgia registration law, 175 of these failed. Before July, 700 or 800 Negroes were registered; ~~then~~ after the purge cut the Negro registration to 225-325. On November 23, 1955 a federal district court ordered the names of 134 restored to the lists after a civil suit brought by 22 plaintiffs. But these 134 plus the others purged were prevented from voting in the September, 1954 primary and November 1954 general election. Damages were awarded to each of the 22 plaintiffs of $20 against each of two registrars; no damages were levied against the third registrar because he was "comparatively inactive." (Thornton v. Martin, Race Relations Law Reporter, 213.)

21. At least, however, the court in the above case permitted a class action. Under most circumstances, class actions are not allowed, and each Negro refused or deprived of registration must separately sue (see, e. g., Reddix v. Lucky, 152 F. 2d 930).

Shortcomings of Recommendation 5

22. In at least three respects, the Recommendation could possibly prove defective:

- where Negroes cannot register they frequently would not be safe if known to have sworn out a complaint;

- the Recommendation makes no provision against an immediate (or almost immediate) purge of voters certified by federal registrars;

- the Recommendation helps to enforce the right to register, but not necessarily the right to cast a ballot and have it counted.

23. Although sworn complaints are probably desirable, the CCR could be directed or authorized to keep the names of affiants confidential.

24. The statute could provide that only the federal registrar could receive a challenge of a registrant certified by him; or, alternatively, that the certification could not be revoked or challenged except in case of a revision of the states registration law.

25. The right to cast a ballot and have it counted in a federal election is not protected by this Recommendation. Recognizing this to be so, the appointment of temporary federal registrars can still be seen to be a valuable contribution to equal citizenship.

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Mayor of Angoon: Former vice-president, Alaska Brotherhood (Indian leader).

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JC

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Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, St. John's Episcopal Church; former chairman, Alabama Commission on Interracial Cooperation; former chairman, Birmingham Roundtable, National Conference of Christians and Jews; member, Board of Directors, Virginia Council on Human Relations; member, Roanoke Interracial Commission; former chairman, Roanoke Commission on Human Relations.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 28, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I believe that you have expressed an interest in receiving the latest edition of our State Advisory Committee Directory. I am enclosing a copy herewith. From time to time we shall send you replacement sheets indicating the changes which have been made.

Sincerely yours,

Neil Cotter

Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director

Enclosure

File

PR-52 -- January 19, 1959

~~Information Section~~
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
~~Washington 25, D. C.~~

N E W S

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Washington, D. C. -- More than two-thirds of the participants invited to the Commission on Civil Rights' education conference in Nashville, Tenn., March 5-6, have already accepted, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff Director, announced today.

Invited to the conference as participants are representative local public school officials from 13 States who have had actual experience with the administrative, scholastic, social and community problems involved in public school desegregation. Invited as observers are the 13 State school superintendents from these States, plus State superintendents from seven other States where no public schools have desegregated.

The purpose of the conference will be to gather facts on the problem to include in the Commission's report to the President and Congress, the deadline for which is September 9.

A Commission spokesman said that "while the Commission does not exercise any authority to enforce desegregation, it has a responsibility under the Act of Congress which created it to study and collect information concerning legal developments under the equal protection of the laws clause, and that is the purpose of this conference."

"We are not a catalytic agency," he said, "but rather a fact-finding group."

Commission Chairman John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, said he was "gratified" by the number of acceptances that have been received. Dr. Hannah will preside at the conference.

When all invitations have been acknowledged, the names of the participants will be released to the press.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cole, general attorney on the Commission staff, who has been working with Dr. Hannah on the arrangements for the conference, said that the conference will be the first time since the 1954 decision in the Brown case that Southern educators -- and others who are concerned with the problem -- have had an opportunity to meet with a Federal agency to discuss the complex problems posed by desegregation.

The professional public educators who already have experience in the transition are best equipped, Mrs. Cole said, to define the problem clearly and "assess results in terms of the possible effects on educational standards, on both white and Negro children touched by it, and on the community as a whole."

She added that the Commission "needs to know whether one type of desegregation plan is more successful than others, or whether one type is appropriate for the large city, another for the medium-sized city, and still another for the small city or town and the rural community." Several relevant factors -- percentage of non-white population, area economics, recent history, the type of local leadership possibly will be discussed, Mrs. Cole explained.

Each participant will be asked to prepare a statement relating the desegregated experience in his school system, and submit it to the Commission a month before the conference for study by the Commission staff. The statements are expected to cover such matters as why the particular plan was selected; what preparation, if any, of the staff, pupils, parents or community was undertaken, and the effect of the change on both white and Negro children and the educational standards of the school. Each participant will be asked to make a ten-minute verbal presentation summarizing his desegregation experience, after which he may be asked questions by members of the Commission or other participants.

"In brief, we hope," explained Mrs. Cole, "that the participant will tell the Commission frankly how his program has worked, what his problems were, and how he has solved or proposes to solve them."

file

~~Information Section~~
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

NPR-53 -- January 20, 1959

N E W S --- For Release on Receipt

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- J. Ernest Wilkins, a member of the Commission on Civil Rights, who was found dead in his home Monday morning, apparently from a heart attack, was praised by President Eisenhower as a "gifted and dedicated public servant."

Mr. Eisenhower added that the former Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of international affairs had "contributed much to the welfare of our country."

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said:

"He was an admired and able public servant . . . Mr. Wilkins advanced the welfare not only of our country's minority citizens but that of all our citizens."

Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University and chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights, said at East Lansing, Michigan:

"With the death of Commissioner Wilkins, the nation has lost a great leader and a faithful servant. Mr. Wilkins will be greatly missed by the members of the Commission on Civil Rights and its staff, for he brought to the Commission's work a wealth of experience as an eminent attorney and as one with a vast knowledge of the subject with which the Commission is concerned. His insight, his integrity, his understanding, and his earnest efforts in behalf of civil rights will not be easily replaced. His passing also is a great personal loss to me."

Mr. Wilkins, who had practiced law in Chicago since 1921, came to Washington in 1954 to take the Labor Department post, the highest position held by a Negro in the Eisenhower administration.

He also was the first Negro ever to take part officially in a session of

the President's Cabinet, sitting in for Secretary Mitchell during his absence.

Mr. Wilkins had been under treatment at Walter Reed Army Hospital for a heart condition. When he resigned from the Labor post in November he said it was for "personal considerations."

Despite his heart ailment, Mr. Wilkins never slowed his pace in the work of the Civil Rights Commission. He attended a meeting held in East Lansing on July 2 following several weeks of confinement at the hospital and at home, notwithstanding his doctor's advice to the contrary.

At the hearing on voting rights denials in Montgomery, Ala., December 8 and 9, he was one of the most active questioners of witnesses. He returned to Montgomery for a second hearing on January 9 to receive reports from staff investigators and hear testimony of Alabama officials who were under Federal Court order to testify.

He was scheduled to leave Washington by plane Saturday morning to fill a speaking engagement in Tulsa, Okla., on Sunday, and was apparently stricken while packing. Mrs. Wilkins was in Pennsylvania in connection with her activities for the Methodist Church. Mr. Wilkins' body was found by a maid on Monday morning about 10:30 o'clock.

He was to have gone to Durham, North Carolina, on the following day to help organize a North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission.

Mr. Wilkins had once said, "I do believe that the role of Negro leadership in America can help to develop a character for our country which is sensitive to all the many kinds of people who inhabit the earth."

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Lucille B. Wilkins, and three sons:

J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr., of White Plains, New York, a mathematical physicist in the field of atomic energy, who made Phi Beta Kappa and earned his Ph. D. degree at the age of 19.

Julian B. Wilkins, of Chicago, a law partner in his father's firm there.

John R. Wilkins, of Washington, an attorney with the International Cooperation Administration, now stationed in New Delhi, India, as regional legal counsel of its U. S. Operations Mission.

Born at Farmington, Missouri, February 1, 1894, Mr. Wilkins attended the University of Illinois where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He graduated with an A. B. degree.

His law training was at the University of Chicago which conferred upon him the J. D. degree. He also has honorary LL. D. degrees from Lincoln University in Missouri and Southwestern College in Kansas.

Mr. Wilkins was a prominent member of the Methodist Church, being the first Negro elected to the nine-member judicial council which is the "supreme court" of the Methodist Church. At his death he was president of the Council, the highest lay office in the church.

He was also vice chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, headed by Vice President Nixon.

A former president of the Cook County Bar Association, Mr. Wilkins also held membership in the American and National Bar Associations and Sigma Pi Phi (Boule), and Kappa Alpha Psi fraternities. He was grand polemarch (national president) of Kappa Alpha Psi from 1947 to 1950, and for 25 years before that, grand keeper of records and exchequer.

Mr. Wilkins' body will lay in state at the Foundry Methodist Church, 1500 -- 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., from 11:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. on Wednesday, January 21, 1959.

The funeral services will be held at 11:00 A.M., Friday, January 23, 1959, at the St. Mark Methodist Church, 50th and Wabash Streets, Chicago, Illinois.

File

PR-63 -- February 26,1959

~~Information Section~~
~~COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS~~
Washington 25, D. C.

N E W S -- For Immediate Release

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- The Commission on Civil Rights has appointed an Hawaii Advisory Committee composed of eight persons, Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman of the Commission, has announced. Of the eight, three are of Oriental ancestry.

Joseph V. Hodgson, a Honolulu attorney and former United States representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, was named chairman of the Hawaii group.

Other members of the Committee are:

Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, president emeritus of the University of Hawaii; Mrs. Elizabeth P. Farrington, widow of former Gov. Farrington and president of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin; Hung Wo Ching, president of Aloha Airlines; Ralph T. Yamaguchi, former president of the Bar Association of Hawaii; Dr. Francis K. Sylva, chairman of the Hawaii Aeronautics Commission; J. Garner Anthony, former attorney general of Hawaii, and Harold W. Kent, president of the Honolulu Council of Churches.

All members are residents of Honolulu.

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HcP ✓
Please return to

LEC
file

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 12, 1959

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of May 8, addressed to Mr. Burton Stevenson. We are pleased to enclose a State Advisory Committee Directory which was issued last week. Unfortunately we have a very limited supply and I would appreciate your advising Harold Fleming and other members of the Southern Regional Council of the fact that you have a copy.

Because of corrections and additions to certain committees you will note that we have not included South Dakota, Tennessee, Louisiana and Indiana. In addition, no advisory committees have yet been formed in South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. As rosters for these States are completed, we will send you copies.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Assistant Staff Director

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #109

FOR RELEASE Wednesday June 22, 1960

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- Dr. Cornelius P. Cotter, of Palto Alto, California has been appointed assistant staff director for State Advisory Committees of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, it was announced today by Gordon M. Tiffany, staff director of the Commission.

Dr. Cotter, 36, who received the doctorate degree in Government at Harvard University in 1953, is on leave-of-absence from Stanford University where he was appointed an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science in 1953, and was promoted to associate professor in 1956. He is author of the text book "Government and Private Enterprise", and is co-author of "Crisis Powers of the President".

Dr. Cotter received his elementary and high school education in New York City, where he was born, and graduated with honors from Stanford University in 1949. On receiving the master's degree in 1951, he spent a year, as the recipient of a Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, at the London School of Economics. He was a teacher in the Department of Public Law and Government at Columbia University from 1952 to 1953.

In addition to his teaching duties at Stanford, Dr. Cotter is director of the Northern California Citizenship Clearing House, an affiliate of a national organization which has the purpose of improving the teaching of politics in colleges and universities.

During 1958-59, he served as a National Committee Faculty Fellow with the Republican National Committee. Jointly sponsored by the two national committees, this fellowship is awarded annually, on a competitive basis, to two professors of political science - one to serve with each national committee.

While with the Republican National Committee, he was executive director of the Committee on Program and Progress, a national policy-making group. Charles H. Percy, president of the Bell and Howell Company of Chicago, was chairman of the committee. Dr. Cotter was asked to remain with the GOP an additional year as assistant to Committee Chairman Thruston B. Morton.

He has also had experience as public relations director and general manager of commercial summer theatres for four summers in the United States and Canada, and he has written numerous articles which have appeared in the Stanford Law Journal, the Western Political Quarterly, the Journal of Politics, and the Midwest Journal of Political Science.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #110-A

Noted + added to W. Va. List

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 22, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Dr. William J. L. Wallace, president of West Virginia State College, has been appointed to the West Virginia Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission Staff Director, has announced.

Dr. Wallace was educated at the University of Pittsburgh, Columbia University, and Cornell University. Before joining the faculty of West Virginia State College in 1933, he was on the faculties of Livingstone College and Lincoln University. He became president of West Virginia State College in 1953.

He has been active in many local and state civic affairs, is a member of several educational associations and learned and technical societies, including the American Chemical Society. Dr. Wallace also has authored more than a score of publications in the fields of chemistry and education.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #110-B

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 22, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Two new appointments have been made to the Nevada Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission Staff Director, has announced.

+ added to file

They are:

Carl J. Christensen, Las Vegas attorney, and Leslie B. Gray, an attorney in Reno.

Mr. Christensen, 30, is a partner in the firm of Christensen, Bell, & Morris. He is a member of the Kiwanis Club, the Las Vegas Toastmasters Club, the City Plumbers' Examining Board, the Air Force Reserve, and the Board of Trustees of the Las Vegas Legal Aid Society.

Mr. Gray is Nevada State Chairman of the Special Committee of the American Bar Association for World Peace through Law. He was a member of the Nevada Legislature in 1947 - '49.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #110-C

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 22, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Three new appointments have been made to the Arizona Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission Staff Director, has announced.

They are:

Frank J. Barry, Tucson attorney; William P. Mahoney, Jr., Phoenix attorney; and Dr. Edward M. Speicer, professor of anthropology at the University of Arizona in Tucson.

Mr. Barry, who lives at 138 Av. de San Ramon in Tucson, was born in Nogales. He is a former county attorney for Santa Cruz County, a Navy veteran of World War II, and is a member of the Tucson Council for Civic Unity.

Mr. Mahoney, a native of Prescott, is a former assistant attorney general of Arizona, former county attorney of Maricopa County, and former president of the Phoenix Council for Civic Unity.

Dr. Speicer, a native of Pennsylvania, came to Arizona in 1929. He was educated at the University of Delaware, The Johns Hopkins University, the University of Arizona and the University of Chicago. He is chairman of the Arizona Indian Affairs Committee and is editor of The American Anthropologist.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #110-D

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 22, 1960

WASHINGTON -- The Rev. Harold B. Liebler of St. Christopher's Mission in Bluff, Utah, has been appointed to the Utah Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission Staff Director, has announced.

Father Liebler, founder of St. Christopher's Mission to the Navajo Indians, has retired and is now serving the mission as acting vicar. He is the author of "Animi Christi," "Moccasin Tracks," and "When We Look Around."

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M.F. file

JC

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR# 112

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

August 9, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Mrs. P. R. Higginbotham, a Bluefield civic leader, has been appointed to the West Virginia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mrs. Higginbotham, who lives at 132 Williams Street, is a native of Lynchburg, Va., and an alumna of Bluefield State College. She is a member of the Cancer Board, president of Bluefield State College Alumni Association, a national officer of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, president of the State Medical Auxiliary, and president of the Bluefield chapter of Jack and Jill of America.

She replaces on the committee Mrs. Cerelle H. Warfield of Bluefield, who resigned.

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8/22/60

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ME (file)

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR# 113-B

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 18, 1960

WASHINGTON -- David B. Isbell, 31, a native of New Haven and a former resident of Greenwich, has been appointed assistant staff director in charge of laws, plans, and research of the Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, staff director, has announced.

Mr. Isbell was graduated from Yale University in 1949, and from Yale Law School in 1956. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa scholastic fraternity and was article and book review editor of the Yale Law Journal.

Mr. Isbell has been a member of the staff of the Commission on Civil Rights since November, 1959. Prior to that he was associated with the law firm of Covington & Burling, in Washington. He is married to the former Michele Mazeran of Paris, France. The Isbells, who have two children, are now living in Arlington, Va.

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Change of address
Card sent 9/19/60.

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9/19/60

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR#115

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

September 14, 1960

WASHINGTON -- A prominent Southern attorney will preside over hearings into alleged denials of the right to vote which will be held in New Orleans by the United States Commission on Civil Rights on September 27-28.

He is Robert G. Storey of Dallas, Texas, vice chairman of the Commission.

Mr. Storey, president of the Southwestern Legal Foundation, is a former dean of Southern Methodist University Law School and a former president of the American Bar Association, the State Bar of Texas and the Dallas Bar Association. He was also executive trial counsel for the United States in the trial of major Axis war criminals in Nuremburg; a member of the Hoover Commission; an adviser to the South Korean government on its judicial system, and a State Department representative to the Middle East and Far East.

Mr. Storey received the Linz Award in 1956 as the outstanding civic leader of Dallas and, also in 1956, the American Bar Association Gold Medal for the greatest contribution to the advancement of jurisprudence. He was an artillery lieutenant in World War I and an Army Air Force colonel in World War II.

The two-day New Orleans hearings will air complaints by persons from more than a dozen parishes who allege that they have been denied the right to register and vote because of their race.

Mr. Storey explained that "this Commission is charged by law with investigating all such complaints and ascertaining the facts upon which they are based. And that will be the only object of these hearings: to gather the facts, so that the Commission may, as the law requires of it, report these facts to the President and the Congress."

He emphasized that the Commission is a fact-finding agency only, and has no authority to grant relief, initiate prosecutions, or punish anyone.

The Commission previously has held hearings or conferences in Alabama, New York, Georgia, Illinois, Tennessee, Washington, D. C., and California.

Other Members are Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, chairman; Doyle E. Carlton, former Governor of Florida; Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University; George M. Johnson, former Howard University Law School Dean, and Dr. Robert S. Rankin, chairman of the political science department, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1960

CCR #117-A

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE October 13, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Mrs. I. F. (Marjorie) Stephenson of Alva has been appointed to the Oklahoma Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mrs. Stephenson, a registered nurse, is active in church work in Oklahoma. A native of Berlin, Okla., she lives at 727 Monroe Street, Alva.

Chairman of the Oklahoma Advisory Committee is John Rogers of Tulsa.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1960

CCR #117-B

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE October 13, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Alger J. Fowler, a labor union official of Columbia, has been named to the South Carolina Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. Fowler, who lives at 415 S. Waccamaw Street, is business manager of Local 227 of the Plumbers and Steamfitters Union.

He is secretary of the Columbia Central Labor Union, president of the Columbia Building and Trades Council, secretary of the Board of Deacons of Sherwood Forest Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, a member of the board of the Columbia United Community Services, and is active in the Boy Scouts of America. Mr. Fowler is a native of Columbia.

Chairman of the South Carolina Advisory Committee is E. R. "Rick" McIver of Conway.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #118

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT October 21, 1960

WASHINGTON -- The Rev. Charlemagne Patrick Payne, Sr., of Meridian has been appointed to the Mississippi Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Rev. Payne, who lives at 1302 Twentieth Street in Meridian, is pastor of Haven Methodist Church.

A native of Hallettsville, Texas, he was educated at Huston-Tillotson College, Gammon Theological Seminary and Drew University. Rev. Payne formerly held pastorates in Texas, Jackson and Hattiesburg.

Chairman of the Mississippi committee is the Rev. Murray Cox of Gulfport.

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JC

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #123

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT December 1, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Robert T. Mann, a Tampa attorney and former member of the Florida House of Representatives, has been appointed to the Florida Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. Mann, who lives in Seffner, a Tampa suburb, was born in Tarpon Springs. He received degrees from the University of Florida, The George Washington University, and Hartford University.

Mr. Mann holds a number of high offices in The Methodist Church, including a directorship of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns and membership on the Southeastern Jurisdictional Council. He was a member of the quadrennial General (national) Conference in 1960, and has been lay leader in the Tampa District since 1956.

He has been a director of the Tampa Urban League since 1954 and was its president from 1956 to 1958.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

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CCR #124

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

December 2, 1960

WASHINGTON -- Frank J. McGrath of Louisville has been appointed to the Kentucky State Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. McGrath, who lives at 3903 Alton Road, is director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He is a native of McCook, Nebr.

He received a B.S. degree in sociology from Rockhurst College and a M.A. degree in sociology from the University of Notre Dame.

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THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #125

FOR RELEASE IN A.M.'s OF TUESDAY, DEC. 20, 1960

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19 -- The Commission on Civil Rights will resume its hearings into alleged denials of the right to vote in Louisiana, Chairman John A. Hannah announced today.

The hearings were recessed in New Orleans on September 28 after 1½ days' testimony was taken. The resumed hearing has been scheduled for March 1961, Dr. Hannah said.

During the September sessions the Commission took sworn testimony from 35 Negroes who charged that their right to register and vote in certain areas of the state had been denied because of race.

Dr. Hannah said, "We are merely taking up where we left off in September. When these hearings were first scheduled in July 1959, Louisiana Attorney General Gremillion, other state officials, as well as some private individuals, challenged the legality of the Commission's rules of procedure. The Commission won this lawsuit in the U.S. Supreme Court.

"When the hearing was held in September," Dr. Hannah continued, "Mr. Gremillion let it be known in public that he thought the Commission unfair in not calling for rebuttal testimony from registrars and other state officials -- although he previously had asked the Commission to postpone the hearing due to what he described as the 'extreme likelihood of interfering with preparation of voter lists, etc., as required by Louisiana law for general elections to be held November 8.' Furthermore, Mr. Gremillion rejected an invitation from the Vice Chairman at the hearing to testify. Likewise, the Louisiana State Sovereignty Commission did not choose to set its position before the Civil Rights Commission, although invited to do so in advance of the hearing."

Dr. Hannah added that "the Commission feels it is now necessary to hear from these state officials and others."

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COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

January 11, 1961

CCR #127

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON -- The Rev. Olof Anderson, Jr., of Louisville has been named to the Kentucky Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Berl I. Bernhard, Acting Staff Director of the Commission, has announced.

The Rev. Mr. Anderson, who lives at 2116 Edgehill Road, is executive secretary of the Presbytery of Louisville, Presbyterian Church in the United States.

He was educated at the University of Virginia, the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and Oxford University, England.

He is a member of the board of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, a member of the board of the Family and Children's Agency of Louisville, and former moderator of the Synod of Kentucky, Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Chairman of the Kentucky Advisory Committee is Hal. H. Thurmond of Hopkinsville.

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COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

January 11, 1961

CCR #128

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON -- George A. Draut, chief editorial writer of the Harrisburg Patriot-News, has been appointed to the Pennsylvania Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Berl I. Bernhard, Acting Staff Director of the Commission, has announced.

Mr. Draut, who has worked on newspapers in Pennsylvania for 24 years, lives in Camp Hill. He was born in Amarillo, Texas, and was educated at Allegheny College and Northwestern University.

He is president of the Central Pennsylvania chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalism fraternity; a member of the Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors, and a member of the National Conference of Editorial Writers.

Chairman of the Pennsylvania State Advisory Committee is George J. Barco of Meadville.

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COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

January 11, 1961

CCR #129

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON -- The Rev. Charles M. Prestwood, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Eutaw, has been named to the Alabama Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Berl I. Bernhard, Acting Staff Director of the Commission, has announced.

Dr. Prestwood, who was born in Brewton, Alabama, lives at 303 Wilson Avenue in Eutaw.

He received an A.B. degree from Birmingham-Southern College, an S.T.B. degree from Boston University School of Theology, and a Ph.D. degree from Boston University.

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COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

January 11, 1961

CCR #130

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON -- John D. K. Smoot, an Arlington attorney, has been named to the Virginia Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Berl I. Bernhard, Acting Staff Director of the Commission, has announced.

Mr. Smoot lives at 4904 Calder Road, McLean, and has law offices at 1430 North Uhle Street, Arlington.

He was educated at George Washington University and Southeastern University. He is a trustee and senior warden of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church in McLean and chairman of the Fairfax County Hospital and Health Center Commission.

Chairman of the Virginia State Advisory Committee is J. Maynard Magruder of Arlington.

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(To be routed in order numbered)

Date 1/12/61

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This guy may well continue as director under the Kennedy Admin.

HCF

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

January 10, 1961

CCR #126

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

WASHINGTON -- President Eisenhower has named Berl I. Bernhard, presently Deputy Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights, to serve as Acting Staff Director of the Commission. Mr. Bernhard will assume the duties of Staff Director until a successor is named for Gordon M. Tiffany who resigned the post on January 2.

Mr. Bernhard joined the staff of the Commission as General Attorney in November of 1958, and was advanced to the position of Deputy Staff Director on April 4, 1960. He received his law degree from Yale Law School in 1954, after doing his undergraduate work at Dartmouth College from which he received a B. A. degree in 1951.

The 31-year old attorney was previously a law clerk to Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia. He was in private law practice in Washington, D.C. before joining the staff of the Commission. He is married and has three children. The Bernhards live in Chevy Chase, Maryland.

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File

A REPORT OF THE
NEW YORK ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TO THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

AUGUST 1963

NEW YORK STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Richard Sachs, Chairman
New York

Elmer A. Carter, Vice Chairman
New York

James L. Hesburgh, Secretary
Elmira

Honorable Erastus Corning II
Albany

Honorable Hubert T. Delany
New York

Dr. Eli Ginzberg
New York

J. Raymond Jones
New York

Joseph Monserrat
New York

William M. Murphy
Schenectady

Miss Mary Louise Nice
Buffalo

Whitney North Seymour
New York

PREFACE

This report was submitted to the United States Commission on Civil Rights by the New York Advisory Committee. The New York Committee is one of the 51 Committees established in the 50 States and the District of Columbia by the Commission pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Its membership consists of interested citizens of standing who serve without compensation. Among the functions and responsibilities of the State Advisory Committees, under their mandate from the Commission on Civil Rights, are the following:

(1) To advise the Commission of all information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; (2) to advise the Commission as to the effect of the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and (3) to advise the Commission upon matters of mutual concern in the preparation of its final report. The Commission, in turn, has been charged by the Congress to investigate allegations, made in writing and under oath, that citizens are being deprived of the right to vote by reason of color, race, religion, or national origin; to study and collect information regarding legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws; to appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection; and to report to the President and to the Congress its activities, findings, and recommendations.

In the fall of 1962, the New York State Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission appointed a subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Professor William M. Murphy, to study whether there was a clear pattern of discrimination against Negroes in the building trades industry in New York City. The subcommittee was able to procure the services of Dr. Donald Shaughnessy of Columbia University to do most of the field work in the project. The material in this summary report is largely derived from Dr. Shaughnessy's report.

The study was necessarily limited by the relatively small amount of time that could be devoted to this complex subject. A further--and unnecessary--limitation was encountered as a result of the general policy of non-cooperation followed by leaders of the building trades unions. With few exceptions, union officials failed to assist the study in any way--making it difficult or impossible to obtain information that was readily available.

Despite these limitations, the study serves to demonstrate that Negroes are denied access to employment in most of the building trades in New York City. The study further indicates that retention of present practices in admission to apprenticeship programs will mean that Negroes can expect no more than token participation in most of the building trades in the future. Our report considers some of the economic and other factors that lead to these practices and recommends that these practices be modified.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE BUILDING TRADES IN NEW YORK

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION IN NEW YORK CITY

At six-sixteen on weekday mornings a train leaves Bridgeport, Connecticut, carrying a group of commuters relatively unknown to the general public. They are men with skills in the building trades who arrive in New York City at seven-thirty, and report to construction jobs. It costs about $15.00 a week to commute from Bridgeport to New York, but a union electrician earns $200.00 per week, and the work is steady.

These blue-collar commuters represent one of the many indications of the obvious fact that New York City is in the midst of a continuing boom in large construction. There is presently more office space in New York City than in the next 15 largest cities combined. Despite rows of office towers like those north of Grand Central on Park Avenue and rows of residential towers like those all along Third Avenue, there are estimates that the backlog of needed construction in New York City may take decades to fill.

How do these buildings get built? With wide allowance for over-simplication the process can be summarized as follows:

When the architect has completed his design and specifications, general contractors competent in the size of job being undertaken submit bids to the owners. Subcontractors (electrical firms, plumbing firms and the like) have previously submitted bids to the general contractor upon which his bid, in part, is based. The contract is then awarded to a general contractor--who engages subcontractors--and men begin to appear to perform the work in the specialized trades. First the excavation, then the other trades in their turn appear on the job.

Most firms in the building industry are not large; they do not steadily employ a large number of skilled workers. These firms build a product that is immobile. This product must be built in the city, essentially by local contractors and subcontractors--and in particular by a locally based labor force.

The men who build New York City's buildings are recruited from labor pools controlled by the unions in the building trades. The union is the employment agency and the men who appear on the construction job --whether they be local or "out-of-town" men--are the men whom the union permits to appear. Since a building cannot be erected in Detroit or Atlanta and shipped to New York and since the unions regulate the local use of "out-of-town" labor, the labor supply is rigidly controlled.

The construction worker tends to identify with his union for a number of reasons. He is rarely on any job for a great length of time. He may well have five or six employers in one year. He is not likely to develop an attachment for a particular firm or to have steady fellow-workers from year to year, and of course, he has no fixed place of work. His job security comes from the local union. The local union is not only his hiring hall but the place where his friendships are formed and the continuing stable element in his employment. Local unions may or may not be ethnocentric but their members are likely to be united against outsiders. In one local "outsiders" may mean people not of Italian ancestry, in another it may mean Jews. For most unions in the building trades, as for many other institutions, color is the most readily identifiable badge of non-membership.

With these economic and social bonds to his local union, the man in the building trades is little concerned with the "labor" views on the subject of race relations. George Meany, once a plumber, now President of the AFL-CIO, concedes that local unions can effectively disregard the resolutions opposing discrimination that are regularly adopted by federated bodies in the labor movement. On the bread-and-butter issues it is not the international or any council that delivers --but the local union.

This is not to say that the building trade unions lack the ability to unite in support of their common interests. In the building and construction trade department of the AFL-CIO there are 19 international unions. New York City locals of these unions form the New York City Building and Construction Trade Council. This Council serves as a very effective spokesman for the building trade unions in city and State legislative halls and executive departments. While the Council is active and effective in speaking to the outside world on behalf of its constituent locals, it has not traditionally exerted effective internal pressures. (The Council's president, Peter J. Brennan, assured Mayor Wagner on June 6, 1963, of "an all-out effort to end discrimination in building trades unions." This assurance clearly must be qualified in view of the Council's mixed reaction to proposals to secure more Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices.)

In brief, the economic structure of the building industry tends to concentrate in the local unions the decision as to who obtains employment and, even more important, who gets admitted to the craft. The dominating role of the union in construction employment affords to contractors the opportunity to disclaim all responsibility for discrimination in the building trades. The employers seem to welcome the opportunity, which accords with their consistent tendency to avoid "rocking the boat." Our study found no instance in which an employer sought to promote equal employment opportunity in the building trades.

APPRENTICESHIP

Current apprentice programs provide from one-half to two-thirds of the skilled workers needed simply to replace craftsmen who retire, die, or leave the trade. By fixing the number of apprentices in accordance with a ratio of apprentices to journeymen (the mean ratio is 1:6), and not in accordance with present or future demand, the building trades unions continue to maintain an effective shortage of labor. One way that this shortage is preserved in the face of continuing high demand is in the use of commuters like those from Bridgeport who represent an auxiliary source of manpower that can be cut off at any time.

While 120-mile-per-day commuters have found steady employment for several years, a local source of skilled manpower is ignored. New York City has 22 vocational high schools in 5 of which are taught skills used in the building trades. These schools are financed by Federal, State, and city funds. The best qualified graduates of the vocational schools often take low-paying nonunion jobs, or jobs outside the trade. Federal and State apprenticeship agencies have not been heard to complain that Negro youngsters, taught a trade at public expense, are consistently deprived of the opportunity to practice it.

New York State law on the subject is clear and precise. Section 296 of Article 15 of the Executive Law prohibits discrimination by employers in hiring, compensation, employment privileges, working conditions and discharges, prohibits union discrimination in membership, and bars discrimination by employers and unions in admission to apprentice training, on-the-job training, and the like. This policy is also reflected in the existence of agencies such as the State Commission for Human Rights, the New York City Commission on Human Rights, and the Civil Rights Bureau of the State Attorney General's office. The last-named agency is largely responsible for the fact that, in the State of New York, there are now two Negroes in the apprentice training program of the Plumbers Union.

The national agency in the field of apprenticeship is the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in the United States Department of Labor. The Bureau has an essentially passive role in certifying and registering apprentice training programs. This role is of no great importance since less than half of the apprentice programs in the city are certified by the Bureau. The Bureau appears to have been neutral in the matter of racial discrimination, an inappropriate posture the abandonment of which is recommended, at the end of this report.

First, let us review the practice of several of the unions in New York City:

1. Local 28, International Sheetmetal Workers Union.

There has been no significant change in the size of this local in the past ten years, despite the fast increase in construction. There are no Negroes among its 3,300 members nor among its 75 apprentices. Admission to the apprentice program of the Sheetmetal Workers Union is on the basis of a personal interview with a joint committee. The applicant is usually sponsored by a union member, sometimes by an employer. The union states that there are four applicants for every vacancy but gives no indication that any applicant sponsored by the union has ever been rejected. The apprentice committee maintains no liaison with vocational schools. Its apprentices attend a union school which obtains no government support. Various requirements are listed for admission to the apprenticeship program, but they are not applied to sponsored applicants. In March 1963, the Civil Rights Bureau of the Attorney General's office charged Local 28 with discriminatory practices.

2. Local 2, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters.

The Plumbers Union says it has four applicants for apprenticeship for every apprentice who can be accepted. On the other hand, the union admits that there are 1,000 out-of-town plumbers working in New York City. Of 3,300 members of Local 2, none are Negroes. While there are requirements that theoretically apply to admission to the apprenticeship program, the main practical requirement has to do with bloodlines. Eighty to 85 percent of those admitted to membership are sons or nephews of Local 2 members. Members of this union consider that the right to nominate apprentices is among the important benefits of union membership.

3. District Council of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (42 Locals).

The Council has 34,000 members of whom over 5,000 are Negroes. While there tend to be predominantly white and predominantly Negro locals, the Carpenters Union has provided the only substantial employment opportunity for Negroes in the building trades.

4. Local 60, Operating Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association.

In this union there is a larger ratio of Negroes presently employed in the trade than in its apprenticeship program. Three hundred of 2,000 members of Local 60 are Negroes, as compared to 5 of the 80 apprentices. In Local 60's apprenticeship program, as in most others, no aptitude tests or objective standards are applied in the admission of apprentices.

5. Local 14 and 14B of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

This union trains its members through Apprenticeship Local 15--a three-year program. Unlike most other union members, the operating engineers must take an objective examination, administered by the New York City Department of Buildings. The examination is open--not limited to union members. After passing the examination, an apprentice must obtain two sponsors (members of Local 14 - 14B) in order to be admitted to the union. Thus far only 23 Negroes have been admitted to the 1,600-member union.

6. Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Local 3 recently won fame in securing a five-hour day. This union has different levels of membership, the most important of which is "A-Card construction worker." These men (who won the five-hour day) comprise 9,000 of the 30,000 members of Local 3. The number of Negroes who hold the A-Card and earn $5.00 per hour is small, estimates ranging from 300 to 400. There are about 2,250 men from outside New York City working in electrical construction, filling jobs from which qualified vocational school graduates are excluded. On the lower level of Local 3, members work for the lamp and lamp shade manufacturing industry and are paid about $2.00 per hour.

In the spring of 1962, Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, president of Local 3, announced that the union would recruit 1,000 new apprentices, on a nondiscriminatory basis. The Urban League forwarded the names of 51 qualified Negroes and the NAACP forwarded 57 names. Negroes and Puerto Ricans were recruited from other sources and a total of 1,600 apprentices were screened by a nonunion committee of three men, one of whom was a Negro. One thousand and twenty apprentices were admitted to the program including about 140 Negroes and about 60 Puerto Ricans. This dramatic result and Local 3's broad recruiting effort is, so far as we know, without parallel in any building trades union in the country.

In the course of its inquiry, the New York State Advisory Committee became aware of undocumented charges to the effect that the approximately 200 Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices have not entered into regular apprenticeship channels, but are being utilized to perform unskilled labor. This issue was raised by Committee Chairman Sachs in a meeting with Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, business manager of Local 3, IBEW, and Mr. Theodore W. Kheel, Director of the Office of Impartial Review of the Electrical Industry. Mr. Sachs received unequivocal assurances from both Mr. Van Arsdale and Mr. Kheel that these charges are unfounded, and that the 200 apprentices in question are undergoing regular apprenticeship training leading, in the course of four years, to full journeyman status and a Class-A union membership card, on the same basis as all other apprentices.

The six examples listed above illustrate that control of apprenticeship programs gives the building trades unions a potent weapon against the possibility of future unemployment. By restricting the apprenticeship program, the union can continue to maintain a chronic labor shortage and to assure reasonably full employment for their members. Entry into such a well-protected, high-paying career is an outstanding employment opportunity. These employment opportunities have, in effect, become union patronage. A union leader who is not skilful in dispensing this patronage may lose his position. They and the rank-and-file members consider that their power at the bargaining table has won them control of apprenticeship opportunities.

The unions have maintained a tight rein on apprenticeship openings despite the current widespread projections of a continued high level of new construction. Earlier projections by the Department of Commerce indicated that for every 100 men skilled in the building trades in 1955, 122 would be needed in 1965 and 145 by 1975. Current apprenticeship programs not only fail to provide for this growth but, as noted above, fail to produce enough journeymen to replace those who retire, die, or leave the trade.

In keeping with this static philosophy of apprenticeship, Negro participation has remained relatively constant. In 1950, Negroes constituted 1.5 percent of the apprentices and 13 percent of the population of New York City. In 1960, Negroes constituted 2 percent of the apprentices and 22 percent of the population of New York City. It is estimated that by 1970 Negroes will constitute about 33 percent of the population of New York City. If Negro participation in apprenticeship programs continues to bear no relation to the size of the Negro population, then larger and larger numbers of Negroes will be obliged to compete for the dwindling supply of unskilled jobs.

The alternatives are essentially three:

1. Retention by the building trades unions of presently prevailing practices. This is likely to result in no substantial increase in Negro and Puerto Rican apprenticeship.

2. Voluntary adoption by other unions of programs like that of Local 3, IBEW, with positive efforts to recruit Negroes and Puerto Ricans and an objective body to screen and approve apprenticeship applicants.

3. Adoption by public authorities of regulations, contract policies, and other practices which provide objective criteria for apprentice selection and enforce compliance by the manner in which public funds are expended and withheld.

While our study was limited, it was sufficient to reject the first alternative as intolerable and to conclude that while the second alternative may be more desirable, the third is required for prompt and effective action.

Our conclusions and recommendations follow:

CONCLUSIONS

1. Participation of Negroes in the building trades in New York City ranges from total exclusion in some trades (sheetmetal workers, plumbers) through token participation in others (plasterers, operating engineers) to substantial, if often segregated, local union membership in others (carpenters).

2. Access to employment in the building trades is substantially controlled by local unions. Through apprenticeship programs nominally subject to the joint control of unions and management, the unions determine who shall acquire the skills--and the journeyman rating--necessary to employment on nearly all new construction in the city.

3. The number of persons admitted to apprenticeship in any year is not determined by current demand but by the ratio of apprentices to journeymen deemed appropriate by agreement of the union and the employers in a given trade. Where demand continues to be high over a period of years as it recently has, "out of town" men are imported temporarily to meet the demand.

4. By rigid limitations on the number of apprentices, the unions have maintained a chronic labor shortage in the building trades. Admission to and completion of an apprenticeship program is fair assurance of reasonably steady employment for a regular work week and extremely high pay for overtime work. Union members value highly the right to secure admissions to apprenticeship programs--and tend to exercise it (especially in the plumbers union) in favor of their sons, nephews and others with whom they have personal connections.

5. Since admission to apprenticeship is exercised largely on a personal basis, and by persons already pursuing the various trades, patterns of exclusion of Negroes will tend to be perpetuated. The elaborate Federal, State, and local apprenticeship structure leaves essentially untouched the crucial subjective decision as to who is admitted to apprenticeship in the building trades--for example:

> Five New York City high schools train young men in the building trades. Their honor graduates have less chance of admission to an apprenticeship program than any business agent's nephew.
>
> The complex New York State Apprenticeship Council, created by statute to "promote an orderly development of the supply of skilled journeymen or craftsmen," is fearful that if the issue of minority apprenticeships is raised, industry and labor might withdraw from, or not join in, apprenticeship programs registered with the Council.

The Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, created to promote and improve standards of apprenticeship, clearly has lacked the power (and apparently the inclination) to enforce nondiscrimination as a "standard" of admission to apprenticeship.

6. The men who now control admission to apprenticeship programs remember with fear the chronic job scarcity of the 1930's. This memory and their enormous bargaining power suggest that union leaders will not lightly surrender the prerogative of regulating admission to apprenticeship programs.

7. The admission of Negroes to apprenticeship beyond a token basis requires that there be introduced into the present personal, subjective procedures for entry into apprenticeship programs standards that are objective and public. Recommendations that fail to move in this direction do not come to grips with the economic realities and the highly personal relationships that underlie the present system. If the building trades unions insist on retaining the present "patronage" approach, they will eventually be confronted with a form of "civil service" selection analagous to that which has deprived the political parties of their former control of most areas of public employment.

8. The commendable voluntary approach of Local 3, IBEW, actively recruiting of minority group youngsters and investing apprentice selection upon an independent group, has not been followed by other unions, and as of July 1963, there is little indication that it will be adopted by other building trade locals in New York City.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The New York State Advisory Committee recommends to the United States Commission on Civil Rights that steps be taken to bring about the following changes in present practices:

1. (a) That the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be authorized and empowered to require that all apprenticeship programs in the construction industry be registered by the Bureau; that it establish, in consultation with representatives of unions and management, objective criteria for admission to apprenticeship programs; that it determine the number of available apprenticeship openings in each program, giving consideration to the skilled manpower needs of the nation as well as to those of the industry and the immediate locality; and that it establish a meaningful and effective evaluation system for each of the trades;

   (b) That the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be authorized and empowered to require that all notices of acceptance and rejection to apprenticeship programs be filed with the Bureau, and that acceptances and rejections be accounted for in terms of the established objective criteria of admission;

   (c) That the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be authorized and empowered to conduct systematic apprenticeship recruiting programs, in part by means of uniform vocational guidance procedures in public schools, and to investigate, on its own initiative, apprentice training programs which are, or are believed to be, engaged in discriminatory practices.

2. (a) That departments, agencies, offices, and bureaus of the Federal Government be required to withhold all financial support from apprenticeship programs which fail to admit qualified Negro applicants or fail to comply with the requirements of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training described above;

(b) That departments, agencies, offices, and bureaus of the Federal Government be required to withhold all financial assistance from any contractor and from any building project employing the labor of any union or local thereof which cannot give satisfactory proof that it does not follow discriminatory practices.

3. In the event that the foregoing procedures are found to be ineffective, we recommend that Congress enact legislation declaring that admission to apprenticeship in the construction trades is a matter affecting interstate commerce and that such admission be vested in a suitable agency empowered to adopt and enforce procedures analagous to those employed by the Civil Service Commission.

The foregoing is a report which primarily summarizes material supplied to the New York State Advisory Committee by Dr. Donald Shaughnessy. It also draws upon "Apprentices, Skilled Craftsman and the Negro," a publication of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, and the experience of Frank Logue, Regional Consultant to the United States Commission on Civil Rights for New York and the New England States.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT
M. Carl Holman
Information Officer
Liaison and Information
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Phone: DUdley 2-1228

FOR RELEASE
THURSDAY A.M., AUGUST 1

— News Release

Out of town construction workers commute over 100 miles daily to jobs in New York City while local Negroes and Puerto Ricans are denied employment and entry to union-dominated apprenticeship programs, according to the New York State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

In a summary report based largely on investigations conducted over the past seven months by Dr. Donald Shaughnessy of Columbia University, the Committee today recommended that the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be given broad power to eliminate bias in the construction industry through the application of enforceable "objective and public" standards. The Committee also recommended that the Federal Government withhold all financial support from apprenticeship programs and building projects where discrimination is practiced.

The Committee stated that "Participation of Negroes in the building trades in New York City ranges from total exclusion in some trades (structural workers, plumbers) through token participation in others (plasterers, operating engineers) to substantial, if often segregated, local union membership in others (carpenters)."

At present, the Committee charged, many building trades unions in New York City maintain an artificial labor shortage,

ignoring qualified graduates of local vocational high schools and often limiting apprenticeship opportunities to relatives or acquaintances of union members. "Retention of present practices in admission to apprenticeship programs," the Committee stated, "will mean that Negroes can expect no more than token participation in most of the building trades in the future."

In the event that its other remedial proposals prove ineffective, the Committee suggests that Congress should be requested to enact anti-bias legislation regulating apprenticeship programs.

Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, had this comment on the report; "The New York State Advisory Committee is to be commended for giving thoughtful attention to a problem which will increasingly require the best efforts of public officials, unions, businessmen and community leaders, not only in New York City, but throughout the country. This report forcefully reminds us what a hollow mockery it is to claim that our minority citizens anywhere have been given equal rights so long as they are denied the job training and the jobs that are essential to the enjoyment of those rights."

The members of the New York State Advisory Committee are:

Richard Sachs, Chairman

Elmer A. Carter, Vice Chairman

James L. Hesburgh, Secretary

Honorable Erastus Corning II

Honorable Hubert T. Delany

Dr. Eli Ginzberg

J. Raymond Jones

Joseph Monseratt

Professor William M. Murphy

Miss Mary Louise Nice

Whitney North Seymour

-30-

7/29/63

File
Civil Rights Commission
(make folder: Mr. Carl)
Holman,

April 21, 1964

Mr. M. Carl Holman
Information Officer
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

I have finally read through the dummy Civil Rights Digest, and others here on the staff have also read it. We like it very much. Staige Blackford makes a suggestion, with which I agree, that it would be useful to have a section on "opinion" giving quotes from newsworthy speeches and editorials. I agree also with his suggestion that it would be of considerable usefulness if you could include a feature which, in almost boxscore fashion, would note changes particularly in the South; e.g., swimming pools desegregated in podunk, Negro city councilmen elected in whistlestop, etc. This is something we have intended to do in New South, but have never done.

A publication of this kind will have, I would guess, at least three kinds of readers. One is a group of a few indefatigable souls who will read every word you put out because of the subject and the source. A second group will be the press and other media people who will both read it, at least hurriedly, and use it as reference. A third group will be other busy people who have some active involvement in the field.

This last group is already six months behind in its reading. They will have to look at your digest because of its source. I think either by ruthless selection of your material or by convenient classification you can almost require them to read what you most want them to read. To illustrate, I would say that if the digest habitually carried only items like the following these people could not ignore it nor put off reading it: your piece on Atlanta; the SRC voting figures and, indeed, the whole section on voting; the data on state anti-discrimination and municipal housing legislation; the note on the appointment of Sam Simmons. On the other hand, material like the Eichler interview on housing, or the blurb about successful integration in southern schools, or the advertisement of the HHFA housing study is just something to be got over.

I think you all would do a real service if you can put out a regular publication.

Bill Taylor sent me a note to jog me along on this reply, so please tell him that I have written. I enjoyed riding back from Tuskegee with you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-103

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Rec'd 4/17/64

TO : Dr. Leslie Dunbar

DATE: April 15, 1964

BU

FROM : General Counsel

SUBJECT: CCR Publication - Civil Rights Digest

I believe Carl Holman, the Commission's information officer, recently sent you a specimen copy of a projected Commission publication.

If you have had or will soon have an opportunity to take a look at the issue, we would be interested in receiving your comments and suggestions.

William L. Taylor

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
[redacted]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 4/3/64

To: LWD From: SDB

Subject: Civil Rights Digest

On the whole, I think this digest would be very useful as a handy source of information. For example, anyone seeking a concise analysis of the civil rights bill or a brief summary of the Atlanta situation would find the two lead pieces very helpful indeed. As for other comments, herewith the following:

--If this is to be an 8-page document printed on both sides of the page, it seems to me that a heavier weight of paper might be needed to keep the type on one side from showing through on the other. Actually, I think the document would be more readable if it were printed on eight single sides.

--The reader is likely to have stars in his eyes by the time he finishes reading this. Actually, with the bold face, all cap heads to set off the stories on page 4, for example, the stars seem unnecessary. In the case of those items which carry no head, I think the Commission should follow Southern School News' policy of using only three stars centered.

--On Page 5, under EDUCATION, the head "Alabama Desegregation Efforts Fail" strikes me as somewhat misleading since the Macon County situation is by no means resolved. Moreover, if this digest includes all events through February, as I assume it does, there should be some mention of the hearing before a three-judge federal panel in Montgomery on Feb. 22 on the Macon County case. (see p. 1, March issue, SSNews)

--I wonder if there shouldn't be a section on demonstrations, but maybe the Commission plans to cover them under its public accomodations section. It should be noted, however, that not all demonstrations involve public accomdations (e. g., Triborough Bridge, picketing of Little Rock School Board last week).

--Finally, I wonder if it would be useful to have a section on "Opinion," giving quotes of newsworthy speeches or noteworthy newspaper editorials. Also think somewhere the digest might note the appointment of Negroes to important positions in local, state, or national governments.

Hope these comments are of some help. ---SDB

✓ I have one also. Comments?
PAV
SBH - See attached memo.
LD

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 25, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are enclosing a specimen of a publication which the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights might decide to issue regularly at some time in the future.

We would appreciate any comments you care to make related to content, scope or style of this specimen issue. It should be understood that when and if we begin publication, we will be aiming at a selective rather than a comprehensive survey of civil rights activities for the period covered.

Please try to visualize the enclosed 16-page document as an eight-page publication, printed on both sides of the paper.

We are sure you will recognize the confidential nature of this specimen draft. We would appreciate your comments on the draft in terms of:

Content

Scope

Form

Organization

Other

Would a publication such as this be helpful to you in your work? Please explain.

Sincerely yours,

M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman
Information Officer

Enclosure

VOLUME 0 NUMBER 0 JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1964

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY BY UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W. ☆ ☆ WASHINGTON, D.C., 20425

★★★

WASHINGTON ★★★★

CIVIL RIGHTS —Continued from Page 1

court. The lower chamber also approved a stipulation that persons who have completed the 6th grade in an English language school in Puerto Rico will be presumed to be literate. This provision originally applied only to the States, territories and the District of Columbia.

TITLE II — DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS Discrimination would be prohibited in specified places of public accommodation whose operation affects interstate commerce or whose practices of discrimination are required or supported by state or local officials. The public accommodations covered include hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums or other facilities which are part of an establishment covered by the bill.

The provision would be enforced by civil actions brought by the persons discriminated against or by the Attorney General. The Attorney General could use Federal, State or local public agencies to secure voluntary compliance before beginning the court proceeding. The bill would *not* prohibit racial discrimination in barber shops, beauty parlors and many other service establishments, retail stores, bowling alleys and other places of recreation unless such places serve food. It would not cover hotels or lodging houses which have less than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the proprietor. Merely operating under a State regulation or a city licensing provision would *not* make an establishment subject to the Act. The proposed public accommodation section is similar to statutes already in existence in 31 States.

Amendments: The House redefined the phrase "supported by State action," to mean discrimination conducted "under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, *custom or usage,*" or under color of any custom or usage *required* or *enforced* by State officials.

TITLE III — PUBLIC FACILITIES The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions against any publicly owned or operated facility (such as a State owned park) whenever he receives a complaint of discrimination. Although such facilities are required by Supreme Court action not to engage in racial discrimination, many still do.

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

Amendments: The House added "reasonable attorney's fees" to the court costs accepted by the U.S. in any proceeding under this Title.

TITLE IV — PUBLIC EDUCATION The U.S. Office of Education is directed to conduct a survey on the availability of equal educational opportunity, to render technical assistance to school districts in the implementation of desegregation plans, to arrange training institutes for school personnel and to make grants to school boards to employ specialists for in-service training.

This provision is intended to assist school boards in complying with their constitutional obligations under the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions upon receipt of complaints alleging the continuance of school segregation.

Amendments: The House specified that "desegregation" does not include the plans for assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

If a governmental unit other than a school board, State, municipality or school district is legally responsible for operating public schools, it may apply for technical assistance.

TITLE V — COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS The Commission on Civil Rights, in addition to its present functions of investigating denials of the right to vote, investigating infringements of equal protection guarantees, and appraising Federal policies, is directed to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information and to investigate allegations of voting frauds not related to racial discrimination.

Amendments: The Committee version of the bill made the Commission a permanent agency, but the House limited its life to four years. In addition, the House specifically prohibited the Commission from inquiring into or investigating fraternities, sororities, private clubs or religious organizations.

TITLE VI — FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS Each Federal agency which administers a program of financial assistance by grants, loans or contracts is directed to require the elimination of discrimination under the program.

Action of a Federal agency effectuating this requirement might include the termination of or refusal to grant assistance. If such action were taken, it would be subject to review by the courts as may otherwise be provided by law.

This Title says in effect that when Federal taxes are collected from all citizens, regardless of color, the benefits flowing from these funds should be available to *all* citizens (a position taken by Federal courts). For example, this Title would require: Hospitals constructed with Federal funds to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin; State employment agencies entirely financed by Federal funds to refer qualified

job applicants to employment opportunities without discrimination; Elementary and secondary schools constructed and maintained by Federal funds to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin; Colleges and universities receiving Federal funds for the construction and operation of research centers to admit students without discrimination; Federal agriculture programs be available to all farmers, white and Negro.

Amendments: The procedures to be followed in the administration of this Title were amended by the House to require that (1) the President approve all implementing rules and regulations, (2) a hearing be held before compliance steps are taken, and (3) Congress be notified 30 days before funds are denied or discontinued to a program. The House determined that this Title would not apply to Federal programs which insure or guarantee loans by private institutions. However, the Housing Executive Order remains unaffected by the amendment.

TITLE VII — EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY The measure calls for the creation of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to receive or initiate complaints alleging discrimination by employers in industries affecting interstate commerce with 25 or more employees, or by labor unions or employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce. The Commission would initially seek to eliminate any discriminatory practices found by conciliation and persuasion, but where these efforts fail is authorized to bring civil actions. In these actions the court would review the facts *de novo* and if it finds discrimination, would order the discriminating employer, employment agency or union to treat all persons on the basis of their merit and ability rather than on their race, religion, national origin or sex.

The Civil Rights bill only requires that employers, labor unions and employment agencies treat all persons on the basis of their merit and ability. Employers subject to the bill are free to hire, promote or fire anyone they want provided their action is not based on the person's race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Under the bill, it would be as unlawful for an employer to discriminate against a white applicant because of race as it would be if he discriminated against a Negro.

Amendments: The House extended the coverage of this Title to prohibit discrimination by sex and discrimination in retraining and in-service training programs. By floor action, atheists and Communists were excluded from protection and religious institutions of learning were allowed to use "religion" as an employment criterion.

The Title will not take affect for one year after adoption and would extend in one-year-steps, initially covering employers and unions of 100 or more, those of 75, 50, and then 25 employees, thus postponing coverage of employers or unions of 25 or more workers until five years after enactment.

The House determined that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission must have reasonable cause to believe a violation has occurred before beginning an investigation and limited the Commission to the inspection of records of only those persons being investigated or proceeded against. The Committee bill had authorized such action whenever it might add to the enforcement of the title.

Regulations or orders by the Commission may now be prescribed only after a public hearing. Government agencies must still furnish all relevant information to the Commission, but the House limited this requirement to information that can be disclosed legally. The statutory basis for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, prohibiting discrimination in government and government contract employment was deleted, leaving the executive order standing.

TITLE VIII — VOTING STATISTICS The Secretary of Commerce is directed to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and have voted, in such geographic areas as recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights.

TITLE IX — REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES The order of a Federal court sending a civil rights case back to a State court shall be reviewable by appeal.

TITLE X — COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE This entire Title was inserted in the bill on the House floor, after having been deleted by the Judiciary Committee. It establishes a Community Relations Service in the Department of Commerce to provide informal assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems. The Service is limited to a Director and six employees.

TITLE XI — MISCELLANEOUS The last title in the act contains necessary miscellaneous provisions. Appropriations are authorized to carry out the act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section makes it clear that the bill does not impair any existing authority of the Attorney General and other Federal officials.

Amendments: A new section was added by the House to insure that the provisions of the act are not construed as "occupying the field" of civil rights legislation. State laws in this area are to remain in force unless inconsistent with the act.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

NASA OFFICIAL REFUSES TO SPEAK TO SEGREGATED GROUP James E. Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, cancelled a scheduled appearance at a Jackson, Mississippi dinner because the audience would be segregated.

The January 28th program, sponsored by the City of Jackson, the Chamber of Commerce and Hinds County officials, was slated as a legislative welcoming dinner. Webb's scheduled appearance was protested by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) a coordinating group of civil rights organizations conducting voter registration activities in Mississippi. Other Federal officials have also refused to participate in segregated programs.

Recently, three stars of the television program "Bonanza" and trumpeter Al Hirt refused to perform before segregated Jackson audiences.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

HHFA CITES NEGRO HOUSING CHANGES A study of changes in nonwhite housing patterns between 1950 and 1960 has been issued by the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA). Population developments, income, educational attainment, employment, household composition and housing characteristics are discussed in the report.

Noting the increasing urbanization of the last ten years, the study commented that "further upgrading of nonwhite housing will become increasingly dependent on the ability to step up the quality of the units occupied by nonwhites now living within urban areas, rather than merely upon moving families out of poor rural housing to better city units."

The study, OUR NONWHITE POPULATION AND ITS HOUSING, summarizes regional population data and provides a compendium of national housing figures.

VOTING ★★★★★★★★★★★★

SUPREME COURT VOIDS LA. BALLOT LABELLING A unanimous January 13 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court reversed a lower court opinion and declared unconstitutional a Louisiana statute requiring that the ballot identify all candidates for public office by race.

The case, *Anderson* v. *Martin*, arose when two Negro candidates for the local school board of East Baton Rouge challenged the propriety of the law. A three-judge court, impaneled to hear the matter, originally upheld the constitutionality of the Statute.

In rendering the statute void, the Supreme Court noted that the primary purpose of the law was to encourage voters to discriminate upon the grounds of race and thus amounted to a denial of equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The court refused to accept Louisiana's contentions that the law was merely intended to inform the electorate by identifying the candidate and that the law was administered equally, applying to both white and Negro. The Court declared that identification by race merely "furnishes a vehicle by which prejudice may be so aroused as to operate against one group because of race and for another." The Court found that racial identification had nothing to do with the qualifications of the candidate and maintained that the apparent equality of treatment argument was insufficient. It found that the law operated to assure that race would be a consideration in an election and was ultimately aimed at promoting discrimination.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

SRC RELEASES VOTING FIGURES Voting statistics for 11 Southern States were released recently by the Southern Regional Council (SRC) of Atlanta, indicating the measure of the organization's two-year voter registration drive.

The council said that a total of 327,588 persons were registered during a 21-month period as a result of the project. The drive is a cooperative venture of the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, the Urban League and a number of local organizations.

The voting statistics released by SRC (based on estimates where official figures are not available) are:

State	Whites of Voting Age	Negroes of Voting Age	White Registration	Non-White Registration	Non-White % of Total
Alabama	1,353,058	481,320	925,000	90 000	8.8
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	553,656	80,000	12.6
Florida	2,617,438	470,261	1,686,215	213,128	11.2
Georgia	1,797,062	612,910	1,183,181	221,919	15.7
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,031,691	162,084	13.5
Mississippi	748,226	422,256	525,000	28,000	5.0
N. Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,856,497	233,773	11.1
S. Carolina	895,147	371,104	703,000	111,628	13.7
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,276,026	202,974	13.5
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	1,720,183	300,000	14.8
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	923,792	108,312	10.4
Total	20,096,735	5,016,100	12,405,240	1,751,813	11.8

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

A voter registration campaign in Hattiesburg, Miss. is now in progress following the U.S. Supreme Court's refusal to review lower court orders compelling Forrest County registrar, Theron Lynd, to enroll Negroes as voters. The Justice Department has reported that Registrar Lynd has complied with the court order to register 43 qualified Negro citizens.

Led by COFO, the Council of Federated Organizations, (a coordinated venture of several civil rights organizations), the vote drive was kicked off by a January 22nd rally.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

U.S. District Judge Robert Elliott of the Middle District of Georgia issued an order on January 24 enjoining 15 Terrell County (Georgia) residents from interfering with voting and voter registration efforts.

The Department of Justice filed the suit after a group of men, led by Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Matthews, broke into a SNCC registration rally in the county.

The Government's case established that individual members of the student committee were subjected to threats and acts of violence and that residents attending the rally were harassed.

The suit requesting the order was originally filed by the Department of Justice on August 13, 1962. A year and a half elapsed before the court fashioned its decree, even though the parties to the action had agreed to a consent decree.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Voter registrars in 21 Louisiana parishes have been ordered by a special three-judge Federal court to file monthly reports on registration to the court. The court's order was applicable to the Louisiana parishes that used a "citizenship" test as a voting requirement. Use of the State constitutional interpretation test and the "citizenship" test as registration requirements had been held unconstitutional by the court late in 1963.

According to a report released by CORE, some Negro voters are registered in every parish in Louisiana. The announcement followed the registration of 15 Negroes in Tensas Parish, the last area to have an all-white voter roll.

EDUCATION★★★★★★★

ALABAMA DESEGREGATION EFFORTS FAIL

Six Negro high school students were rebuffed in their attempt to enter the all-white school in Notasulga, Alabama on February 5, despite a court order for desegregation issued by Federal District Judge Frank M. Johnson.

Judge Johnson's January 31 order followed a series of school desegregation attempts in Macon County, beginning in August 1963. At that time, Judge Johnson ordered the Macon County schools desegregated. The School Board of the county agreed to abide by the court's order to admit 13 Negro pupils to the Tuskegee high school.

When the original order was issued Governor George Wallace met it by postponing the opening of the Tuskegee high school for one week and surrounded the school with national guardsmen during that week.

At that time, Macon County Solicitor, Broward Segrest, said that Governor Wallace "talks about letting local people solve their problems but then violates these principles. Action speaks louder than words. If he had kept out, Macon's schools would have been integrated with no incidents." During the week's postponement, parents and citizens in the county began to plan for a private segregated high school.

On September 10, the 13 Negro students entered Tuskegee High School. White attendance was below normal—of 550 enrolled, 167 white students attended classes. By September 21, all the whites had left. On October 7 the private school sponsored by the Macon County Private School Foundation opened with 128 students enrolled. The other white students enrolled in schools at nearby Shorter and Notasulga.

The Tuskegee school continued to operate with 12 Negro students in attendance (one was charged with insubordination and expelled). The Tuskegee officials failed to apply for a renewal of accreditation and in December the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools removed the school from their list of accredited institutions.

In January Judge Johnson ordered that the county school buses could not transport Tuskegee residents to schools in Shorter and Notasulga. The State troopers bused the white students for one week after the Federal order and, on January 11, Governor Wallace borrowed two buses from North Alabama trade school and presented them for use by the travelling students.

The 12-student all-Negro Tuskegee school was closed on January 31 pursuant to a State Board of Education order which contended that the school was too expensive to operate. Judge Johnson then assigned the 12 students to the neighboring schools, six to Shorter and six to Notasulga.

The six students who entered Shorter High School did not initially meet any resistance, although white enrollment dropped. Notasulga-bound students, however, were met at the school door by Mayor James Rea who said that the addition of six more students would create a fire hazard and would violate a town ruling (passed the previous evening).

On February 13 Judge Johnson ruled that the Mayor must cease to interfere with the desegregation of the Notasulga school.

By the middle of February, all white students were boycotting both schools and the Negro students were again alone in the public high schools in Macon County.

INTEGRATION SUCCESSFUL IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS Satisfactory adjustment in integrated schools in the South is described in a January 20th article of the Wall Street Journal.

According to W. H. Oliver, Nashville School superintendent, Negro students in an integrated setting "are achieving normal or nearly normal from a social, emotional and scholastic standpoint, and the achievement of white students has not been adversely affected to an appreciable degree."

Tests made the year before and the year after integration in Louisville, Ky., show substantial gains in scholastic achievement for both Negro and white second, sixth and eighth graders, with the Negroes making proportionately the larger gains.

R. W. Stephens, deputy superintendent of Atlanta schools, reports that Negro students may come to desegregated classrooms with an inferior educational background but that their "motivation factor compensates for deficiencies of past academic records in many cases." Stephens said that "Although we have found that Negro high school students generally are about two years behind white students, they are highly motivated, and they tend to be over-achievers in desegregated schools. The Negro student does better actually than his tests might indicate."

Dr. Robert Coles, a Boston child psychiatrist who spent two years studying the affects of desegregation on Southern students, noted that "even the strongly segregationist (white) children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment." Coles said that "We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school."

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

HIGH COURT TO HEAR SCHOOL CASES The U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to review two school desegregation cases, the long litigated Prince Edward County (Virginia) suit and the Atlanta, Ga. grade-a-year plan.

The high court's decision to review the Virginia case follows a Virginia State Supreme Court ruling that the State constitution placed the responsibility for public schools on the locality rather than on the state. Public schools in Prince Edward County have been closed since 1959. In the Atlanta case, Negro parents are contending that the pace of the city's grade-a-year desegregation plan is too slow.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, upholding a decision by a Federal district court, ruled on January 13 that the Jacksonville, Florida (Duval County) School Board must end segregated teacher placement in the schools.

According to the *Southern School News* the decision is the first teacher placement ruling made by a Deep Southern court based on the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation ruling.

The lower court had ruled that desegregation of teaching staffs, as well as assignment of students, must begin in Jacksonville.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Civil rights organizations in New York City, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chester, Pa., Boston and Chicago have recently protested alleged discrimination in the schools systems within these cities through one-day school boycotts.

Leaders of the demonstrations charge that the school officials in the cities have done little to change patterns of *de facto* segregation and, in Cleveland and Chester, accuse the schoolmen of *de jure* segregation policies.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

On January 8th, four days after Harold A. Franklin was admitted to Auburn University in Auburn, as its first Negro student, the Birmingham *News* quoted an Auburn coed as saying: "He was just normal, just like he had been here for years."

The entrance of the 31-year-old graduate student came after a November 5 order by U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., requiring Franklin's admittance. Auburn had claimed that Franklin did not meet its graduate school entrance requirements since he had not graduated from an accredited institution. Judge Johnson ruled that this stipulation did not apply since the State had failed to provide an accredited college for Negroes.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Former Harvard President James B. Conant, author of several educational studies, has changed his mind about busing high school students as a solution to the problem of *de facto* segregation.

Conant told a news conference in Chicago "As you know, I am a firm believer in the comprehensive high school, and the argument for the comprehensive high school is that you have people of all races and ability and economic levels. I am in favor of making the comprehensive high school truly comprehensive."

The author continues to oppose busing of elementary school pupils. He commented that "the social and emotional problems outweigh the advantages of having mixed elementary schools."

"But I would pour money into the slum neighborhood schools to get more teachers and to reduce class size. And the more disadvantaged the neighborhood, the more important it is to have kindergartens and pre-kindergarten schools," he said.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

A new statistical yardstick has been developed by a research team at Florida State University to account for differences in intelligence test measurement between Negro and white children caused by cultural and environmental factors.

Working with the standard California achievement test and the Stanford-Binet intelligence test, the researchers tested 1800 Negro elementary school children throughout the Southeast. They devised the statistical ruler after the survey, financed by the U.S. Office of Education, established averages that counselors could use in comparing a Negro child's performance with that of other Negroes. Dr. Wallace A. Kennedy, chief researcher, noted that Negro children often fall below white children in tests because of the built-in white orientation in the measurement inquiries.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Two Negro students were admitted to part-time graduate study at the University of Alabama extension at Birmingham, registering for classes in the University's College of Education. Admittance of the two (reported to be teachers in the Birmingham school system) brings to four the number of Negroes attending the University.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

A contention that Negroes are inherently inferior to whites was ignored by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals on January 28 when it ruled that Charleston, S.C. public schools must desegregate their facilities.

The opinion upheld the decision of a Federal district court which enjoined the Charleston School Board from operating its schools on a "racially discriminatory basis" and required the admittance of 11 Negro children to formerly white schools last September.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

U.S. District Judge W. A. Bootle has ordered the Bibb County (Georgia) Board of Education to submit a plan for a "prompt and reasonable start" toward school desegregation by February 24.

Bibb County Negroes have made desegregation requests since 1954. The school suit was formally filed in Judge Bootle's court in August 1963. Since the submission date was past the midsemester period, desegregation of the schools will not take place earlier than next September.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

"Thank God for the civil rights movement," said U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, speaking to a meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. He called on the schoolmen in attendance to assign myths about slum children to the "ash-can of history."

"For years we have talked of the disinterest and apathy of slum parents," Keppel told the February 15 gathering. "We have argued that we can't teach their children because they are not interested in education. . . . but now, out of the civil rights movements we're learning differently. We are learning that many parents are interested and have finally found a way to express their interest."

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS★★★★

ATLANTA —Continued from Page 1

dependent groups as "Operation Breadbasket" (Negro ministers), The Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (COAHR: students in the Atlanta University Center), the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action (ACCA: Negro professional men), the Atlanta Negro Voters League, the All-Citizens Registration Committee and the Gandhi Youth Society.

It is not surprising, then, that when an "Atlanta Summit" meeting on local civil rights problems was convened on October 19, 200 people representing 82 organizations attended. The mood expressed at this meeting reflected varying degrees of impatience with the pace of desegregation in Atlanta and with evidence of re-segregation of some of the restaurants and other facilities that had desegregated earlier.

The Summit group on November 1 began distribution of "Action for Democracy", an 8-page summary of requests that Atlanta become an "open city" through full desegregation of public accommodations, employment, education, housing and other areas of community life. Shortly thereafter, published results of an SRC survey of public accommodations and desegregated education in 12 Southern cities revealed that Atlanta did indeed lag behind the other cities in most comparisons.

Under the leadership of Summit co-chairmen A. T. Walden, a retired lawyer, and Clarence Coleman, regional director of the National Urban League, meetings were held with public officials, the Chamber of Commerce and other business leaders. The prevailing atmos-

phere, despite criticism from segregationist elements, seemed receptive. Sympathetic resolutions were passed by official bodies and voluntary groups in the white community. The Atlanta *Constitution* editorially praised the tone of the Summit requests and urged owners of segregated restaurants and hotels to change their policies.

Mayor Ivan Allen, who had testified before a Congressional committee in support of Federal public accommodations legislation, appointed a 7-member biracial City Job Opportunity Committee. An "action deadline" of November 16 announced by some Summit leaders passed without incident. On November 18 a jarring note was struck when the Atlanta Board of Aldermen denied Mayor Allen permission to speak on a public accommodations resolution asking "public and private business to give immediate consideration to the removal of racial barriers." The resolution, sponsored by three of the younger aldermen, was referred to a committee which was to hear both opponents and proponents of the resolution.

Meanwhile, the Summit, established as a forum and coordinating body for autonomous member organizations, had requested that certain of these groups take on, or continue, specific assignments. The local NAACP was asked to focus on those hotels which had not desegregated. SCLC was asked to give maximum support to an intensified voter registration drive. Operation Breadbasket was to continue concentrating on increased employment opportunity. And SNCC was asked to be responsible for a direct action campaign aimed at the restaurants which had not desegregated.

Almost immediately demonstrations by SNCC and others began to draw criticism from the daily press, the leaders of the white community and from some of the longtime spokesmen for the Negro community. An employment demonstration by Operation Breadbasket and COAHR outside Rich's, the city's leading department store, on November 21 brought charges of "irresponsibility" and poor timing.

The assassination of President Kennedy brought activity to a halt and on December 6, following talks with 16 merchants, Breadbasket and COAHR reported almost 2,000 new jobs openings for Negroes (including special Christmas help) and called off a projected Christmas boycott. On December 9th a suit was filed in the U.S. District Court charging Holiday Inn Downtown, located in an urban renewal area, with illegally refusing to accommodate Negroes. On December 15 the Summit sponsored a desegregation march to a downtown park where the principal speaker, Dr. M. L. King, Jr., warned, "We must honestly say to Atlanta that time is running out."

On December 21, SNCC began sit-ins at restaurants belonging to the Memphis-based Dobbs House chain. On December 26 SNCC revealed that three of the demonstrators arrested in the sit-ins owned stock in the company. Full agreement between SNCC and the company was announced on January 3, and demonstrations ceased. Ten days later the chain announced desegregation of all its restaurants in Atlanta and some of its restaurants in Texas. On the same day the Summit unanimously "accepted" a "battle plan" drawn up by Rev. Wyatt T. Walker of SCIC calling for "massive" protest demonstrations.

Summit efforts to secure desegregation at the conference table continued to produce no concrete results and, on January 7, the *Constitution* pointed out that the stalemate was eroding the position of Co-chairmen Walden and Coleman. On that same day and the following day groups of Negro high school students cut classes and staged demonstrations at City Hall and at two downtown restaurants where SNCC was conducting sit-ins. On January 11 several Negro leaders and a white minister were among 13 people arrested in a demonstration at a segregated motel.

On January 14 Mayor Allen announced that 14 of the city's hotels and motels had agreed to "honor all reservations." It was later reported that restaurants in at least two of the 14 hotels would serve only registered guests. On January 15 Atlanta's two Holiday Inns announced their desegregation.

Demonstrations and arrests continued at the still segregated restaurants and hotels, with disorder breaking out on January 18. Twenty-eight persons were arrested in a 3-hour SNCC demonstration in front of Leb's restaurant in downtown Atlanta while 10 robed Klansmen sat inside.

UN VISITORS When a delegation from the United Nations Subcommission on Human Rights came to Atlanta on January 24, they were met by half a dozen civil rights pickets, as well as by city officials and Negro leaders who described the city's progress as well as its problems. On the following day 20 Klansmen and approximately 100 Negroes faced one another in eight hours of demonstrations at the Downtown Motel and Lebs. On the following day four pickets and a policeman were injured and 84 of the 150 pickets were arrested and charged with creating a disturbance. On January 27 over 100 arrests were made. The daily press and some community leaders accused SNCC of recruiting demonstrators unschooled in non-violence. An Atlanta television columnist charged the group with trying "to provoke disorder." The demonstrators countered with charges of police brutality.

On January 29 Mayor Allen told 250 leaders that the city would accept no ultimatums, announced a stiffer arrest policy for demonstrators and called for a 30-day moratorium on protests. Summit Co-Chairman A. T.

Walden voiced agreement with the Mayor on the wisdom of a moratorium. SNCC Executive Director James Foreman and SCLC's Walker disagreed.

On January 30 the Georgia Supreme Court upheld the 1960 State anti-trespass law in a case involving 18 Atlanta Negroes. Attorneys said they would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Meanwhile 11 demonstrators were fined $33 each and given 30-day suspended sentences and a 12th was fined $104 and given a 60-day suspended sentence. On January 31 the Summit steering committee announced the terms for agreement to a 30-day truce. These included dropping of charges against demonstrators; a meeting of hotel, motel and restaurant owners under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce; an end to segregation in city hospitals; open Federal housing; and action to bring about equal employment opportunities.

On the same day Mayor Allan announced that he could not meet the Summit request that he seek the release of 200-odd demonstrators arrested during the recent demonstrations.

On February 1, 54 Negro leaders issued a statement praising the city's general progress in race relations and expressing the hope that further gains could be made which would make unnecessary such "legitimate action" as public petitions, orderly picketing, peaceful protests and formal appeals to the courts of our land.

The president of the Atlanta NAACP called for an Easter shopping boycott and a Klan official asked for a new biracial committee for Atlanta which would include segregationists. White students from Emory and Georgia Tech relieved Negro pickets at Lebs, and 20 Klansmen picketed desegregated establishments.

On February 3 Summit co-chairman Walden was sworn in as an alternate judge in the Municipal Traffic and Recorder's Court. The Board of Aldermen reported to the Fulton County legislative delegation "no recommendation" on a public accommodations bill for the city proposed by Negro State Senator Leroy Johnson. The Board passed a resolution requesting investigation of SNCC by the House Un-American Activities Committee to determine whether the organization was Communist-influenced.

On February 6, A. T. Walden resigned as Summit co-chairman and was succeeded by Reverend Samuel Williams, college professor and pastor of Friendship Baptist Church. Co-chairmen Williams and Coleman asked the Mayor to reconsider dropping charges against arrested demonstrators and declared there was no moratorium in force on demonstrations. They called for "immediate organization of stepped up community demonstrations characterized by predominant participation of adult citizens and known leaders, Negro and white where possible." Suggestions for insuring decorum and discipline of demonstrations followed.

PLAN EASTER BOYCOTT Since this time, demonstrations by physicians, dentists, college teachers and other adults have followed. Operation Breadbasket, SCLC and the Summit endorsed the Easter boycott announced by the NAACP, amid reports of disagreement over whether a boycott should extend to businesses which have made progress in desegregation as well as those which have not.

Meanwhile, trials for arrested demonstrators continued before Fulton Superior Court Judge Durwood Pye. Judge Pye in the summer of 1963 instructed a Fulton County Grand Jury to indict demonstrators arrested in Atlanta between 1961 and 1963. The Grand Jury indicted 101 persons. To date, only two persons have been tried, white minister Reverend Ashton Jones, and a white college student, Thomas T. Tolg. Tolg was released on a $500 property bond. A bond of $20,000 was first set for Jones. This was later declared excessive by the Georgia Supreme Court; whereupon, Pye set bond at $5,000 in unencumbered property. In one of the recent cases Judge Pye ordered forfeiture of the $500 bond of one demonstrator who was late arriving in court; he then fixed her appeal bond at $2,500.

The Atlanta *Constitution* on March 3 in an editorial entitled "A 'Let Someone Else Do It' City?" reviewed the conditions it felt had led to the city's racial impasse. Noting that discussions had "stuck on dead center" after some progress had been made in employment and hotel accommodations, the *Constitution* placed much of the blame on a tendency to wait for the courts or the Congress to act.

"Frustration born of the stalled negotiations boiled over in January into street demonstrations that painted a black eye on the face Atlanta shows the nation," the editorial stated. "That was a high price to pay for delay —a short delay at that."

The *Constitution* cited the Supreme Court's March 2 ruling on segregation in Federally assisted hospitals, and stated the belief that Congress was "inexorably" moving toward adopting a public accommodations law.

The editorial concluded:

> Those in Atlanta who still hold out against Negroes' calls for an end to all public segregation may derive some solace out of being forced into action by the courts and the Congress. But Atlanta is not being well served by the delay.
>
> If action can be taken voluntarily on the remaining issues, even at this late date, some good will could be restored, and the cooperation of Negro leaders could be expected in making an orderly, non-demonstrative transition.
>
> The trouble with "letting George do it" is that George does it his own way.

MCH

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

NEW SIT-IN BRIEF TO SUPREME COURT As requested by the Supreme Court, the Solicitor General of the U.S. has submitted a new brief to the high court involving five sit-in cases arising in Maryland, South Carolina, and Florida. These cases raise the question whether private discrimination, when actively supported by a State's criminal process, constitutes State action under the Fourteenth Amendment. In its earlier brief the Justice Department had suggested that these cases be decided on narrow grounds, that the sit-in convictions were invalid since the States had not given adequate warning to the violators that their conduct was illegal. The court sought, however, the Government's position on the broader constitutional question.

In the recent brief, the Government has taken the position that, "for a State to give legal support to a right to maintain public racial segregation in places of public accommodations, as part of a caste system fabricated by a combination of State and private action, constitutes a denial of equal protection of the laws."

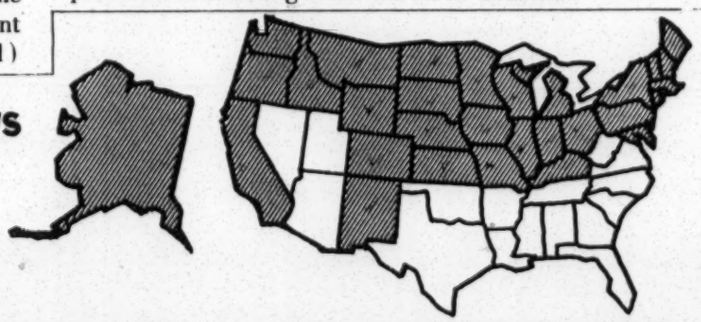
The argument is based on the proposition that the States involved in these cases have a history of official discrimination against Negroes. The brief claims that racial discrimination in public accommodations is part of "a community-wide practice of stigmatizing Negroes an inferior caste" and that the States have shared in creating this history and pattern of segregation. The Government argues that the State's direct involvement in the sit-in cases is based upon three propositions: (1) the State is involved in the arrest and prosecution of the sit-iners'; (2) the State is involved by its failure to purge itself of its prior part in establishing the system of segregation; (3) the State is involved by the traditional acceptance of responsibility for regulating public accommodations. The first proposition of State involvement in arrests and prosecution looks to the theory of the Court in *Shelley* v. *Kraemer*. There the court held that judicial enforcement of a restrictive covenant on the sale of land constituted State action within the Fourteenth Amendment. The Government limits the applicability of *Shelley* by noting that the case applies only to arrests and prosecutions arising out of a sit-in, that is, where the alleged trespass occurs at a public accommodation traditionally regulated by the State and for which, therefore, it is partially responsible.

It should be noted that by taking this approach the government's brief does not reach the broader constitutional question as to whether *any* prosecution arising out of an attempt to enforce segregation in public accommodations is constitutional. By showing that there existed an established pattern of segregation for which the State shared responsibility, the government was addressing itself only to the instant cases, all of which arose in Southern States. Left unanswered is the question whether it is necessary to show an established pattern of segregation in order to deem unconstitutional any prosecution enacting from the sit-in situation.

STATE ANTIDISCRIMINATION LAWS (as of January 1, 1964)

States with anti-discrimination laws

States without anti-discrimination laws



State	Privately Owned Public Accommodations	Private Employment	Private Housing	Private Schools	Private Hospitals
Alaska	1959 [1]	1959 [1]	1962		1962 [2]
California	1897	1959	1963		1959 [2]
Colorado	1885	1957	1959		
Connecticut	1884	1947	1959		1953 [2]
Delaware	1963	1960			
Hawaii		1963			
Idaho	1961	1961			
Illinois	1885	1961		1963 [3]	1927 [4]
Indiana	1885	1945			1963 [2]
Iowa	1884	1963			
Kansas	1874	1961			
Kentucky [5]					
Maine	1959				1959 [2]
Maryland [6]	1963				
Massachusetts	1865	1946	1959	1949	1953
Michigan [7]	1885	1955			
Minnesota	1885	1955	1961		1943 [2]

State	Privately Owned Public Accommodations	Private Employment	Private Housing	Private Schools	Private Hospitals
Missouri		1961			
Montana	1955				
Nebraska	1885				
New Hampshire	1961		1961		1961 [2]
New Jersey	1884	1945	1961	1945	1951
New Mexico	1955	1949			1957
New York	1874	1945	1961	1945	1945
North Dakota	1961				
Ohio	1884	1959			1961 [2]
Oregon	1953	1949	1959 [8]	1957 [9]	1961 [2]
Pennsylvania	1887	1955	1961	1939	1939
Rhode Island	1885	1949			1957 [2]
South Dakota	1963				
Vermont	1957	1963			1957 [2]
Washington [10]	1890	1949		1957	1957 [2]
Wisconsin	1895	1957			
Wyoming	1961				1961 [2]

The dates are those in which the law was first enacted; the underlining means that the law is enforced by a commission. In addition to the above, the following cities in States without pertinent laws have enacted antidiscrimination ordinances: Albuquerque, N. Mex. (housing); Ann Arbor, Mich. (housing); Baltimore, Md. (employment); Chicago, Ill. (housing); El Paso, Tex. (public accommodations); Kansas City, Mo. (public accommodations); Louisville, Ky. (public accommodations); Madison, Wis. (housing); Oberlin, Ohio (housing); Omaha, Neb. (employment); St. Joseph, Mo. (public accommodations); St. Louis, Mo. (public accommodations and housing); Tacoma, Wash. (housing); Toledo, Ohio (housing); University City, Mo. (public accommodations); Yellow Springs, Ohio (housing); and Washington, D.C. (public accommodations and housing).

[1] Alaska was admitted to the union in 1959 with these laws on its books.
[2] Hospitals are not enumerated in the law, however, a reasonable interpretation of the broad language contained in the public accommodations law could include various health facilities.
[3] The law appears to be limited to business schools.
[4] Hospitals where operations (surgical) are performed are required to render emergency or first aid to any applicant if the accident or injury complained of could cause death or severe injury.
[5] In 1963, the Governor issued an executive order requiring all executive departments and agencies whose functions relate to the supervising or licensing of persons or organizations doing business to take all lawful action necessary to prevent racial or religious discrimination.
[6] The law exempts 11 counties; one other county has until November 1964 to decide whether it will accept coverage.
[7] See 1963 Mich. Atty. Gen. opinion holding that the State Commission on Civil Rights has plenary authority in housing.
[8] The statute does not cover housing *per se* but it prohibits persons engaged in the business from discriminating.
[9] The statute reates to vocational, professional, and trade schools.
[10] In 1962, a Washington lower court held that a real estate broker is within the public accommodations law.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION PROHIBITING PRIVATE HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

Albuquerque, New Mexico	1963
Ann Arbor, Michigan	1963
Chicago, Illinois	1963
Duluth, Minnesota	1963
Erie, Pennsylvania	1963
Madison, Wisconsin	1963
New York, New York	1957
Oberlin, Ohio	1961
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1963
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	1958
Schenectady, New York [1]	1963
St. Louis, Missouri	1964
Tacoma, Washington	1963
Toledo, Ohio	1961
Yellow Springs, Ohio	1963
Washington, District of Columbia	1963

[1] This ordinance has not been enforced since the State legislature passed a more comprehensive law.

(The underlining denotes whether the law is administered by an agency. The date indicates the year of enactment).

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

NONDISCRIMINATION RULE GOVERNS SALE OF N.Y. REAL ESTATE SECURITIES A New York State policy was recently announced by Attorney General Louis J. L. Lefkowitz which will deny permission to sell syndicated real estate securities within the State if the syndicated property will be used in a racially discriminatory manner.

The policy pronouncement provides that property located outside of New York State will be barred from gaining syndication for sale within the State if it fails to satisfy New York nondiscriminatory standards.

The Attorney General rendered his opinion when the Holiday Inn corporation sought syndication to offer two motels in Huntsville, Alabama for sale in New York. The promoters were required to give assurance in their prospectus that accommodations at the Huntsville motels would not be denied anyone because of race, religion or national origin. The promoters of the Huntsville venture complied with the Attorney General's request and gave the necessary assurance.

The Attorney General's policy was based on the 1961 New York Real Estate Syndication Act which provides that all offers of securities for sale in New York involving real estate must be approved by the Attorney General. Under the act penalties are provided for misrepresentation in the prospectus.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

The 2nd Ohio District Court of Appeals reversed a Common Pleas Court decision and ruled on January 4 that a Yellow Springs, Ohio barber does not have the right to refuse service to Negroes.

The unanimous opinion reversed a ruling of May 3 that found the Ohio anti-discrimination law unconstitutional as applied to barber shops. The barber, Lewis Gegner, had argued that he did not know how to cut the hair of Negroes, contending that special skills were needed.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

The South Carolina House of Representatives gave approval on January 30 to legislation reopening the State's parks on a restricted basis. The public parks were closed last year following a Federal court ruling against their segregated operations.

The measure, still to be considered by the State Senate, allows the park facilities to be used for "general educational and recreational and forestry purposes." No camping, swimming or use of cabin facilities would be allowed, but groups could use park pavilions by obtaining permission from a park superintendent 48 hours in advance.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

HOUSING★★★★★★★★★★

BUILDER ON FAIR HOUSING Edward P. Eichler, President of Eichler Homes, Inc., a large California building firm that ruled out racial restriction more than ten years ago, was interviewed recently by Marshall Kaplan of HHFA. The interview, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, is excerpted:

Q. What effect has your open occupancy policy had on total sales?

EICHLER: It probably varies. There are more Negroes in some subdivisions than others. I would say that the policy has kept some people away. At the same time, in some areas, it has had some good effects. Over-all, it has not hurt our business. I can't think of anywhere that it has brought us more sales, although we have had some people who have said, "I understand you sell houses on an integrated basis. I want my kids living in that kind of community." This happened to me recently in Los Angeles. A man who had never seen an Eichler home, didn t even know what one looked like, bought one just because of our open occupancy policy.

I think that where a buyer or prospective buyer, either before or after he has made a deposit, signifies openly to a salesman that he is uneasy about our policy, we would probably win—if you want to call it that—most of the arguments nine times out of ten. I suppose the tenth should be considered a lost sale, but we might have lost it anyway. There probably must be people who never come around at all because they have learned that Eichler sells to Negroes, whether Negroes are in a particular tract or not. But how could you ever know who those people are? Others come and don't buy, but if they never say anything to the salesman about their reasons for not buying, you never know whether race is an issue.

We think we have a responsibility to the industry and to the community. This includes producing a good product in a well designed community. There is a right way and a wrong way to do things. I think it is this basic philosophy that is bringing us economic success. We have carved out a very important niche in the market.

Q. Have you developed any special sales techniques to meet market resistance?

EICHLER: First of all we decided that we would not mention our open occupancy policy unless the customer brought it up himself. If he specifically asked whether we sold houses on an open occupancy basis, we would answer, "Yes, we sell houses to any qualified buyer." If he went on to ask, "Does that mean you sell houses to Negroes?" our answer would be yes. If he then asked, "Are there any Negroes in this subdivision?" we would answer yes or no depending on the fact. If he asked, "Is there a Negro on this particular block?" the answer would be yes or no depending on the fact. If he asked, "Are there Negroes living in that particular house?" the answer would be according to the facts. We would not answer any more than the specific questions themselves. In other words, if he asked whether there was a Negro in the subdivision, we would not interpret this as asking whether a Negro lived next door to the house he was interested in. This may sound like a rather artificial system. But if you came to us and didn't ask if there were Catholics, Jews, etc. in the subdivision, there wouldn't be any reason for us to tell you. If you asked, "Are there some around?" we probably wouldn't run around with you in a car and point them out. We would probably say, "Yes, there are some around," or "No, there aren't any around," depending on the fact.

Q. What is your answer to the perennial question about the Negro in relation to property values?

EICHLER: The salesman has all the usual responses ranging from the legal requirements to "It's the right thing to do," to our own experience in the resale market. He points out that all our houses have gone up in value at least as much as other houses of comparable price. He might also use what I think is a very successful argument, which is that the only time the presence of a minority group, particularly Negroes, leads to devaluation is when there is panic selling by whites. Therefore, because it is rather well known that Eichler Homes sells on an open occupancy basis, there is not likely to be panic selling if a Negro should buy a house in one of our developments. This is because the whites already know about our policy when they buy. The whole neighborhood knows it. It is no longer anything to panic about. The policy has succeeded, it is continuing, and so why should anyone get panicky about one Negro buyer more or less. We found that this has been a powerful argument. What we are really saying is that our policy is almost protective. If a man moves into a neighborhood where houses are sold on an all-white basis, the chances are that this segregation cannot hold up forever. When a Negro does acquire a house here by one means or another, there might be panic selling in that neighborhood, because the Negro purchase would be an unfamiliar and unexpected event. With us there will be no such sudden shock.

Let's admit the probability that the basic reason why whites are concerned about living in a community with Negroes is not a monetary reason. Putting it on a financial basis is the easy way. After all, it's fashionable to be concerned about your money. Nobody can blame you if you say, "Well, I really don't care myself but I'm afraid of losing my money. It's all the money I have saved in my lifetime." But it may be that the real reasons have to do with social relationships, particularly the relationships among children. Adults think they can control their own relationships. They think that if they don't like the Negro they won't have to have anything to do with him. On the other hand, they know that kids don't work that way; kids don't see color. I think that this is what worries people. The experience is foreign to them and so they fear it would be bad.

Q. You conclude, then, that the big builder must take the lead?

EICHLER: Yes. After all, if the small builder is asked to do it initially and the big builder doesn't, the one who is probably at a competitive disadvantage already could well be put at a greater disadvantage. Take what has happened in Palo Alto, where Eichler Homes has been an enormous factor in the market since 1951. By 1956 or so we were probably building over 80 per cent of the housing in that city. I grant you that it is a college city, with a pretty high level of education and income, and, of course, this has something to do with the attitude of people toward the question. Still, when it became common knowledge that Eichler Homes was selling on an open occupancy basis some of the real estate brokers said they thought this would be a bad influence on the city. This kind of talk died down quickly, and now almost the whole market has opened up.

Resales in our subdivisions are occasionally being made to Negroes. Negroes are able to buy houses in non-Eichler subdivisions. The brokers have seen it work in a large part of the market and they have become used to it. So have the citizens of Palo Alto. This has been a living demonstration—the only form of education that I think can be truly useful. Here, in a sense, Eichler Homes has been in a position to be able to pass its own local fair housing law because we could affect enough of the market.

The function of a fair housing law is to cover the market, so that builders are not put in a competitive situation of this particular issue. Men being what they are, the temptation is very great for a builder who is not operating on an open occupancy basis, in a situation where the market is competitive, to use this as a weapon against someone who *is* selling on on an open occupancy basis. Buying a house is a terribly emotional business. People usually put a major part of their financial resources into it, and they are also committing a lot of their psychological resources. They are more easily frightened in this kind of transaction than in any other.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

CALIFORNIA ANTI-FAIR HOUSING REFERENDUM DRIVE CONTINUES

An NAACP attempt to halt the California initiative petition to nullify the State's fair housing law (the Rumford Housing Act) was rebuffed by Sacramento Superior Court Judge Irving H. Perluss.

Judge Perluss refused on January 17 to grant a preliminary injunction that would have stopped circulation of the petitions and would have prohibited the Sacramento County Clerk from accepting signatures on the grounds that it would be a misuse of public funds.

The NAACP argued that the measure had not been given a proper ballot title by the Attorney General because it does not clearly set forth the chief purpose of the initiative, that it encompasses more than one subject, that it would revise rather than amend the state Constitution, and that it is unconstitutional.

An appeal has been filed with the State Supreme Court by the NAACP.

California Attorney General Stanley Mosk announced on February 1 that any signer of a petition for the repeal of the Rumford Act may withdraw his name from the petition. Mosk spelled out the procedure for petition withdrawal after receiving inquiries from citizens who said they signed "without full knowledge of all the implications."

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

FAIR HOUSING MEASURES IN D.C., ST. LOUIS

A fair housing regulation, effective January 20th, was issued at the close of 1963 by the District of Columbia Commissioners, acting under the police powers granted them by Congress.

Outlawed in the measure is discrimination in the sale, rental, advertising or negotiation, in the rendering of tenant services or in the financing of residential properties. Exempted from coverage are nonresidential properties, rentals of owner-occupied dwellings of less than 3 units or rooming houses of less than 5 roomers, and rentals of housing units by recognized religious or fraternal organizations.

The regulation prescribes posting of nondiscrimination notices and authorizes the Commissioner's Council on Human Relations to handle all complaints. Homesellers and landlords, lending institutions, real estate brokers

and anyone engaged in "block-busting" activities are covered in the regulation's provisions. Criminal penalties up to $300 fine and 10 days imprisonment are specified. The District's Corporation Counsel may bring court proceedings to preserve the *status quo* while a complaint is pending.

The St. Louis Board of Aldermen on January 31 passed a fair housing bill prohibiting discrimination in the sale or rental of real property. The measure outlaws discrimination because of religion, race, ancestry or national origin in all living places in St. Louis except rooms in single-family dwellings not regulated by the City's rooming house ordinance.

Violation of the fair housing regulation may be considered by the Real Estate Commission as a basis for license suspension or revocation.

The anti-bias prohibition applies to the transfer or prospective transfer of housing, the financing, use, management or disposition of property. Administered by the Antidiscrimination Division of the Council on Human Relations, violators of the law can be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned for not more than one year.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

A Louisville, Kentucky community organization has distributed an open letter to the residents of the city's West End, urging white citizens in the integrating neighborhood not to sell their homes.

Illustrated by a cover drawing of a little boy sitting on the curb saying, "Well, I'm not moving," the four-page letter opens: "Things are happening in the West End. You know it, and we know it. Sometimes it is talked about in whispers; occasionally it gets in the papers. But too often friend is afraid to talk to friend and express his honest views.

". . . This letter is being set to you with the joint sponsorship of some of our Negro neighbors who endorse our message. We think the people who are running are being panicked by a lot of foolish myths and scare talk. We are going to stay—and some of us are about as stubborn as the little boy on the front of this letter. We want you to know why."

The letter discusses the property values of changing neighborhoods, financing qualifications and the purposes of the organization, the West End Community Council, formed "to create an atmosphere in which panic selling will decrease, to get to know each other, to work together on mutual neighborhood problems, to keep our section one in which we can be justly proud, as we are now."

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Fifteen civil rights and civic groups in New York City are combining efforts to promote integrated housing within the city. Working with the City Commission on Human Rights, the civil rights organizations have adopted a program to secure support for integrated housing in predominantly white communities, to obtain lists of qualified Negro and Puerto Rican applicants, to provide administrative assistance to the applicants and to conduct an educational program on an integrated community.

The National Committee on Discrimination in Housing, one of the organizations involved, has called its responsibility in the program "Operation Open City." The Committee will concentrate its initial efforts in the Queens area of New York City.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

EMPLOYMENT ★★★★

JOB PROGRAMS IN NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA Programs aimed at training jobless Negro youths have begun recently in Philadelphia and New York, involving both voluntary and governmental agencies.

Opportunities Industrialization Center, Inc., located in a concentrated Philadelphia Negro residential area is a privately-run operation with facilities and equipment donated by area firms. According to the Center's founder, Reverend Leon H. Sullivan of the Zion Baptist Church, the program involves some 300 volunteer teachers who will teach the 1000 applicants already signed up for the courses. The Center will train cabinet makers, restaurant workers, sheet metal workers and electricians.

Calling this program a "new dimension" in the civil rights movement, Sullivan said, "Preparedness will now become a part of protest. Production and proficiency are added to demonstration." The Center is located in an old police station, leased to the program by the City of Philadelphia for $1 a year. Equipment worth $250,000 was donated by area firms and a foundation contributed $50,000 to renovate the building. Participants in the program are asked to pay a $25 equipment fee if they are financially able.

Job Orientation in Neighborhoods, known as JOIN, has begun the operation of a drop-out job center in New York City's Harlem. The ground floor of a building was converted into a space where guidance counselors interview jobless young people who have been out of school for at least six months. Financed by a $3 million Federal-city program, the project is aimed at steering 20,000 youths in New York City into jobs.

During a counseling period of eight or more weeks, recruits will be paid $5 weekly. Similiar centers are slated for other parts of the city.

On-the-job training for 500 Harlem youths has been planned by a group of Harlem merchants and two community organizations. The initial three month plan was agreed to by the merchants represented by the Uptown Chamber of Commerce through a $5,000 commitment. The program, open to youths between 17 and 25 years of age, seeks to train through classroom instruction as well as on-the-job training. The course may last from four to six months, depending on the nature of the job and the individual's ability.

A civil rights program, designed to aid job opportunities for the Negro citizens of Jamaica, New York, has been established by the Chamber of Commerce of that Queens County community.

According to the Chamber's executive secretary, Joseph F. Dutra, Jr., the program will be part of a broader industrial development promotion. The organization has hired a Negro student at Queens College, Gerald W. Meggett, to direct the Chamber's civil rights council. Program plans include training courses for clerks, publication of a businessman's guide of civil rights laws, a directory of opportunities for job training and a listing of labor unions operating in Queens County.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Fourteen Pine Bluff, Arkansas retail stores have agreed to employ Negroes for clerical and other nonmenial jobs. The stores—including major department and variety establishments—reached the agreement with leaders of the Pine Bluff Movement and SNCC.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Charges of discriminatory hiring practices by the University of Wisconsin, the city of Madison, the State of Wisconsin, and other private and public employees in Madison were made by the Wisconsin State Industrial Commission in a February report. After surveying discrimination in the city, the commission wrote that few employers in the community "have yet come to grips with the problem of fair employment practices."

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

JUSTICE ★★★★★★★★★★

VOID FLA. ANTI-PICKET BAN A December 20 anti-picketing injunction, issued by County and Juvenile Court Judge Lewis O. Meyers, of Ocala, Florida, was struck down by U.S. District Court Judge Bryan Simpson on January 23.

Judge Simpson ruled that the injunction which forbade juveniles from participating in anti-segregation picketing, violated the U.S. Constitution because it attempted to use "the power of the state to enforce the private, discriminatory practices of businesses in Marion County and the City of Ocala." The decision noted that the anti-picketing injunction ignored constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and the right to petition for redress of grievances.

The injunction was issued by Judge Meyers on the request of County Prosecutor E. G. Musleh. Musleh originally raised the possibility of requesting such an injunction last summer when the County official attempted to stop civil rights demonstrators in Ocala. He actually requested the injunction on December 19 in order to prevent "violence, turmoil and shedding of blood on the courthouse square" during the mass anti-segregation demonstration scheduled for the next day.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES ★★★★★

SIMMONS NEW SAC CHIEF Samuel J. Simmons, 36, former Post Office Department appeals officer, has been appointed Director of State Advisory Committees of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Simmons will direct and coordinate activities of 51 advisory committees to the Commission in every State and the District of Columbia. He will replace Peter M. Sussman who left the Commission in December for a position in Denver, Colorado.

Simmons has been a member of the Post Office Department's three-man Board of Appeals for two years, and has carried out major assignments connected with the Department's national programs in equal hiring and promotional opportunities, employee grievances and appeals.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

REPORT ON APPRENTICESHIP, a survey of apprenticeship opportunities in California, Connecticut, Florida, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Tennessee, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia, made by the State Advisory Committees in each of these areas, was released on January 20 and revealed a persistent national pattern of excluding Negroes and members of other minority groups from apprenticeship programs.

The report indicated that little progress could be expected so long as cooperation between employers and unions on the one hand and the Federal Government on the other remains voluntary. The volume noted that withholding Federal funds from programs that discriminate, increasing the number of laws which insure equal opportunity in apprenticeship training courses, concentrated recruitment programs, and an intensive

effort by unions and industries to admit Negroes to skilled job training would help to change the persistent exclusionary pattern.

ARKANSAS Field workers from SNCC appeared before an Arkansas State Advisory Committee meeting on January 29 and described alleged misbehavior by police in Helena. John Bradford and William Hanson, SNCC representatives, commented on their experiences setting up a voter registration program in the Arkansas town. Both men had been arrested several times in connection with their civil rights activities and told the Committee that they needed protection to return and complete the voter registration drive.

The Committee also heard testimony from Raymond Carpenter, a Negro student at the University of Arkansas, who related his difficulties in getting housing on the campus.

CALIFORNIA The California State Advisory Committee sponsored the first in a series of public meetings on "The Role of the Real Estate Broker in Housing" on January 13-14 in Los Angeles. A number of state realtors have been involved in a campaign to repeal the Rumford Act, the California fair housing act passed in 1963. Although the official California Real Estate Association is sponsoring the repeal drive, an organization called the California Realtors for Fair Housing has been formed to support the fair housing measure.

The SAC meeting was attended by a number of public officials concerned with the measure as well as relators of both persuasions. Other meetings on the issue have been planned.

MISSISSIPPI The Mississippi State Advisory Committee held an opening meeting in Jackson on January 8 to hear comments on the Negro voter registration program. Robert Moses, State Program Director of COFO (The Council of Federated Organizations) reported that Negro registration is proceeding slowly in the State because of fear of economic and physical reprisals.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

COMMUNITY RELATIONS ★★★★★★★

MAYORS LIST BIRACIAL GROUPS A survey recently conducted by the United States Conference of Mayors has disclosed at least 179 American cities have set up committees to improve race relations.

Replying to a questionnaire sent by the Conference, the respondents indicated that at least two-thirds of the race relations committees were established since 1960. Approximately half of the 179 community groups are in the South.

The Conference released these findings as a preliminary report on a survey of cities of 30,000 or more population.

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Civil Rights Commission

February 6, 1967

Mr. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
800 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

For sometime Dr. Mark Chesler, Project Director of the Institute for Social Research, of the University of Michigan has been doing some very interesting work in Alabama in both reaction of both school pupils and teachers to desegregated situations. Shortly we will be publishing a study of Dr. Chesler's on the experiences of children.

Recently, during a lunch here in Atlanta, Dr. Chesler informed me that he was going to be in Washington soon. I took the liberty of giving him your name on the assumption that you would find his work of interest and that getting to know each other might be mutually beneficial. I think you could be especially helpful, if you would, in seeing that Dr. Chesler gets to meet the appropriate people that he should know and who should know of his work.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #122

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

WASHINGTON -- Former State Senator J. D. DeBlieux of Baton Rouge has been appointed chairman of the Louisiana Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission staff director, has announced.

Mr. DeBlieux, a practicing attorney in Baton Rouge, said that the Louisiana committee soon will begin its first studies in the State. The committee will study Louisiana's achievements as well as its problems in voting, the administration of justice, public employment, employment by Federal contractors, and public education, Mr. DeBlieux said.

Mr. Tiffany, in a statement released after Mr. DeBlieux' appointment, said: "The job of this committee, composed of prominent Louisianians, is to report to the Commission the facts it finds in regard to civil rights problems and progress in Louisiana. This Commission has always believed that local persons who are closest to the local scene, who have a perspective that can come only from long and close experience with the problem, are best able to present the facts accurately."

He added that the members of the Advisory Committee "are contributing a great service to their State and the Nation in accepting this fact-finding assignment."

Mr. DeBlieux is a member of the Lions, Elks, American Legion, Amvets, Chamber of Commerce, Baton Rouge Bar Association, Louisiana Bar Association, American Bar Association, and the Louisiana Democratic Central Committee.

(MORE)

Other members of the Advisory Committee are: Bernard R. Ariatti of New Orleans; Mrs. Moise Cahn of New Orleans, Secretary; Dr. Albert Dent of New Orleans, Vice Chairman; the Rev. William T. Handy, Jr., of Baton Rouge; Dr. Harold I. Lief of New Orleans; John P. Nelson, Jr., of New Orleans, and the Rev. Alexander O. Sigur of Lafayette.

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Encls: Lists of suggested names for State Advisory Committees (Virginia and Florida)

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

May 6, 1958

Mr. Henry Shine
Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Henry:

Enclosed are a few suggestions for the State Advisory Committees in Florida and Virginia. I hope they reach you in time to be of some help in your deliberations.

In due course, we will be sending you additional suggestions for the other Southern states.

I enjoyed our conversation last week and look forward to seeing you again before too long.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

extra copy of this list given to
Art Levin, ADL - May 19, 1958

VIRGINIA

1. Paul D. Williams
(Leading Catholic layman, officer, Mentzer and Bush Publishing Company)
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

2. Rev. Hubert S. Beckwith
(Pastor, Congregational Christian Church and President, Virginia Council on Human Relations)
Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

3. Dr. A. G. Moron, President (N)
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

4. Benjamin Muse
(Virginia correspondent, Washington Post)
Manassas, Virginia

5. Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, Dean (N)
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

6. Thomas W. Young (N)
Editor and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

7. Colgate Darden, President
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

8. William H. Marnion
Episcopal Bishop
P. O. Box 2068
Roanoke, Virginia

9. Dr. C. Waldo Scott (N)
(Surgeon, past member of local school board)
1003 Twenty Eighth Street
Newport News, Virginia

10. Mrs. J. L. Blair-Buck
(Past Pres., American Federation of Womens' Clubs)
310 Hillwood Road
Richmond, Virginia

11. Mrs. Theodore F. Adams
(Wife of President of Baptist World Alliance)
First Baptist Church
Richmond, Virginia

12. Mrs. Grellet C. Simpson
(Wife of the President)
Mary Washington College
Fredericksburg, Virginia

13. Francis Pickens Miller
(Leading Presbyterian layman)
P. O. Box 3665
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

14. Dr. Rupert J. Picott (N)
Executive Secretary
Virginia Teachers Assn.
316 E. Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

15. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts
9th and Main Streets
Richmond, Virginia

16. Dr. J. Kenneth Morland
President
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

FLORIDA

1. I. H. Burney (N)
Secretary
Afro-American Insurance Co.
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville, Florida

2. Herbert M. Davidson
Editor and Publisher
Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

3. Rev. Caxton Doggett
(Past President, Florida Council on Human Relations)
P. O. Box 825
Winter Park, Florida

4. I. H. Louttit
Episcopal Bishop
458 Virginia Drive
Winter Park, Florida

5. Nelson Poynter
Editor
The St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

6. Crawford Solomon
Businessman
The Convention Press
218 Church Street
Jacksonville, Florida

7. Thomas Dreier
(President, Florida Library Board)
The Friendship Press
St. Petersburg, Florida

8. Dr. Gilbert Porter (N)
Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Assn.
Tallahassee, Florida

9. Judge Ray Pearson
(Circuit Court)
Room 418, Dade County Courthouse
Miami, Florida

10. Kurt Peiser, Businessman
Director, Food Fair Foundation
Miami, Florida

11. Canon R. J. McCloskey
(President, Florida Mental Health Assn.)
406 Shields Place
Jacksonville, Florida

12. Mrs. Mayme Williams (N)
(Past Pres., National Negro PTA)
1200 N. W. 6th Avenue
Miami, Florida

13. Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice-President
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

14. Dr. Warren H. Collie (N)
509 - 3rd Street
West Palm Beach, Florida

VIA AIR MAIL

June 10, 1958

Mr. Henry Shine
Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Henry:

We have delayed sadly in getting the enclosed list to you, but the civil rights question has been jumping here in Georgia as you may have read in the Washington Post. We were further delayed by our unsuccessful efforts to get the required information on the individuals we are proposing.

Lest we be too late altogether, I am sending the list to you in its present incomplete state. We have not tried to submit a panel for each state that includes all of the many balancies that your final committees will no doubt reflect. Our suggestions should be viewed merely as a collection of individuals who might suitably be considered.

I hope you had a successful trip to Arkansas and Louisiana and that you and Frank Bane are getting the cooperation you need in order to complete your important assignments effectively.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ALABAMA

1.	Rev. Thomas Thrasher (W) 315 Clanton Avenue Montgomery 6, Alabama	Pastor, Church of the Ascension (Episcopalian)
2.	Barney Weeks (W) 604 Lyric Building Birmingham, Alabama	President Alabama Labor Council (AFL-CIO)
3.	Dr. H. C. Trenholm Alabama State College Montgomery, Alabama	President Alabama State College
4.	Rev. Andrew C. Smith (W) Spring Hill College Spring Hill Station Mobile, Alabama	President Spring Hill College Catholic
5.	Rev. Powers McLeod (W) Auburn, Alabama	Pastor First Methodist Church
6.	Buford Boone (W) Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Editor The Tuscaloosa News
7.	Louis Eccle (W) Sheffield, Alabama	Editor Tri-Cities Daily Catholic layman
8.	Walter Bennett (W) University of Alabama Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Professor of Political Science

KENTUCKY

1. Dr. Rufus Atwood (N) Kentucky State College Frankfort, Kentucky	President Kentucky State College born, Hickman, Ky., 1897
2. Barry Bingham	Publisher The Courier-Journal Louisville, Kentucky
3. Dr. Philip Davidson (W) University of Louisville Louisville, Kentucky	President University of Louisville born, Omaha, Neb., 1902 Episcopalian
4. Dr. Riley B. Montgomery (W) College of the Bible Lexington, Kentucky	President College of the Bible born, Boone Mill, Va., 1895 Disciple of Christ
5. Sam Ezelle (W) 312 Armory Place Louisville, Kentucky	Secretary-Treasurer Kentucky Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO)

MISSISSIPPI

1.	Oliver Emmerich (W) McComb, Mississippi	Editor, McComb Enterprise Journal Editorial Page Editor, Jackson State Times
2.	B. F. McLaurin (N) Cohoama Junior College Clarksdale, Mississippi	President, Cohoama Junior College
3.	Rex I. Brown (W) Electric Building Jackson 5, Mississippi	President Mississippi Power and Light Co. born, Lowell, Michigan, 1889 Presbyterian
4.	Rabbi Charles Mantinband (W) 808 Mamie Street Hattiesburg, Mississippi	
5.	Most Rev. Joseph Brunini (W) 123 North West Street Jackson, Mississippi	Bishop The Catholic Church
6.	Joseph F. Ellis, Jr. (W) 351 Delta Avenue Clarksdale, Mississippi	Editor and Publisher Clarksdale Press-Register

NORTH CAROLINA

1.	John Wheeler (N) Mechanics and Farmers Bank Durham, North Carolina	Attorney President, Mechanics & Farmers Bank born, Kittrell, N. C., 1906
2.	Dr. William Friday (W) University of N. C. Chapel Hill, North Carolina	President University of North Carolina
3.	Irving E. Carlyle (W) Wachovia Bank Building Winston-Salem, N. C.	Attorney born, Wake Forest, N. C., 1896 Democrat
4.	Marion A. Wright (W) Linville Falls, North Carolina	Attorney (retired)
5.	The Most Rev. Vincent Waters (W) 15 North McDowell Street Raleigh, North Carolina	Catholic Bishop of Raleigh
6.	Reed Sarratt (W) Executive Editor Winston-Salem, N. C.	Editor Journal and Sentinel
7.	Wilbur Hobby (W) 210 May Street Durham, North Carolina	President, Durham Labor Council Editor, Durham Labor Journal

SOUTH CAROLINA

1.	James McBride Dabbs (W) Rip Raps Plantation Mayesville, South Carolina	Planter and Author born, Sumter County, S. C., 1896 Presbyterian Democrat
2.	W. E. Solomon (N) 1701 Taylor Street Columbia, S. C.	Executive Secretary Palmetto State Teachers Association
3.	R. Beverly Herbert (W) Columbia, South Carolina	Attorney born, Plains, Virginia Episcopalian Democrat
4.	Mrs. Claudia Thomas Sanders (W) Gaffney, South Carolina	born, Charleston, S. C. Episcopalian
5.	Msgr. George Lewis Smith (W) Aiken, South Carolina	Catholic Priest Former attorney
6.	Rev. McKay Brabham Union, South Carolina	Methodist Pastor
7.	James L. Cater Hartsville, South Carolina	Businessman, Sunoco Products Philanthropist and civic leader

TENNESSEE

1.	Dr. Matthew Walker (N) Meharry Medical College Nashville, Tennessee	Chief Surgeon
2.	Dr. Stephen J. Wright (N) Fisk University Nashville, Tennessee	President Fisk University
3.	Lucius Burch (W) Burch, Porter & Johnson Court Square Building 128 W. Court Avenue Memphis, Tennessee	Attorney
4.	Walter Sharp (W) Vanderbilt University Nashville, Tennessee	Chairman, Dept. of Fine Arts and civic leader
5.	Richard A. Trippeer (W) 1055 Harbor Avenue Memphis, Tennessee	President, Euclid Corporation President or immediate past-president, Memphis Chamber of Commerce
6.	Mrs. John T. McCall (W) 3728 West End Avenue Nashville 5, Tennessee	Civic leader
7.	Maclin Davis (W) Nashville, Tennessee	Prominent businessman, lay church leader

VIA AIR MAIL

June 11, 1958

Mr. Henry Shine
Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Henry:

Supplementing my letter and the enclosed list of yesterday, here are several names of able and respected church women in Deep South states. These were suggested by Mrs. Tilly, who serves on our staff as Director of Women's Work and is closely in touch with church women throughout the region.

I am also including the names of the Stokelys of Newport, Tennessee, authors of the book, Neither Black Nor White. They are pretty liberal but wield the prestige of one of the oldest, wealthiest, and respected families in East Tennessee.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Supplementary list of suggestions for state advisory committees

Mrs. Earl Andrews, Presbyterian U.S.
3135 Audubon Road
Montgomery, Alabama
(born, Mobile, Ala.; Democrat)

Mrs. W. A. Davis, Methodist
Former President, United Church Women
of South Carolina
7 New Town Lane
Charleston 44, South Carolina

Mrs. J. A. Burt, Methodist
1815 Enterprise
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. C. J. Jones, Methodist
6215 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Mr. OR Mrs. James Stokely
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ack 6/25/58

June 23, 1958

Dear Harold:

We certainly appreciated your visit with us today and your many helpful suggestions.

Reviewing your correspondence of June 10 and 11 to me, I note the list of Georgia recommendations was not included.

The Terms of Reference used by us in connection with the State Advisory Committees, plus the biographical data sheets, are set forth on the enclosures - I believe I gave you copies of each during your visit here.

Do remember me to Fred Routh.

Many, many thanks for all you have done - We hope we can continue to call upon you.

Very sincerely,

Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Consultant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TERMS OF REFERENCE

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Name and Establishment

1. The (State or Territory) Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights (hereinafter called the Committee) is established in compliance with the provisions of Public Law 85-315 of the 85th Congress, the "Civil Rights Act of 1957" (hereinafter called the Act).

2. Upon request of the Commission, the Committee will exercise the following functions and responsibilities:

(a) Advise the Commission in writing of any knowledge or information it has of any alleged deprivation of the rights to vote and have the vote counted by reason of color, race, religion or national origin within (State or Territory).

(b) Attend as observers, any open hearings the Commission on Civil Rights (hereinafter called the Commission) may hold in (State or Territory).

(c) Advise the Commission of all information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

(d) May review proposed interim and final reports of the Commission and make recommendations to the Commission relative to the form, content and conclusions of such reports. All such reviews and recommendations are of an advisory nature and shall not be binding on the Commission.

(e) May receive reports, suggestions and recommendations from individuals and public and private organizations interested in Section 104(a) of the Act, and the Committee may forward to the Commission its analyses and evaluation of such reports and suggestions.

(f) Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, the Committee may on its own initiative forward advice and recommendations to the Commission relative to any subject which the Committee believes falls within the purview of Section 104(a) of the Act.

Membership

3. The Committee shall consist of not less than five nor more than nine members appointed by the Commission. Members will serve without compensation but may be paid a per diem subsistence rate not to exceed $12.00 per day and travel expenses to authorized Committee meetings.

Terms of Membership

4. Members of the Committee shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission.

Special Committees

5. The Committee may:

(a) Approve the establishment of special committees, composed of its own members, to study and report upon matters under consideration and it may authorize such special committees to take specific action upon matters within the competence of the Committee.

(b) Create with the prior written approval of the Commission special regional and local subcommittees, the members of which need not be from the State Committee.

Officers

6. (a) The officers of the Committee shall be a Chairman and Vice-Chairman and such other officers as the Committee deems advisable.

(b) The Chairman shall be appointed by the Commission.

(c) The Vice-Chairman and other officers shall be elected by the Committee by a majority vote of the full membership of the Committee.

(d) The Chairman, or in his absence the Vice-Chairman, shall:

(1) Call meetings of the Committee.

(2) Preside over all meetings of the Committee.

(3) Appoint all special committees to the Committee.

(4) Perform such other functions as the Committee may authorize or the Commission may direct.

Meetings

7. (a) Meetings of the Committee shall be called whenever it is deemed necessary or desirable by the Chairman, a majority of the members of the Committee or by the Commission.

(b) In all meetings for the transaction of business a majority of the full membership of the Advisory Committee shall constitute a quorum.

(c) Summary Minutes shall be prepared and may be made available as soon as practicable to the members of the Committee and the Commission through the Secretariat.

Funds

8. Due to the limited funds available to the Commission, no appropriated funds shall be made available to the Committee except for the reimbursement of individual subsistence and travel expenditures. (See provision 3 above).

May 27, 1958

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER

1. Name _____

2. Age _____ Birth date _____

Birthplace _____

3. Address & telephone _____

4. Political affiliation _____

5. Business or profession with title _____

6. Religious preference _____

7. Racial (or ethnic) category _____

8. Source of recommendation _____

9. Background information including former elective or appointive offices, memberships in any "human relations" organigation, etc.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

VIA AIR MAIL June 25, 1958

Mr. Henry Shine
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Henry:

My visit with you, Gordon Tiffany, and the other staff members was a very pleasant and rewarding experience.

I was chagrined to find that we inadvertently omitted suggestions for the advisory committees in Georgia and Louisiana. On my return to the office yesterday, I made this the first order of business. As you will see from the attached lists, we are making up in quantity what we lacked in speed on the Georgia recommendations. From the discussion with Frank Bane, I concluded that it might be well to recommend a number of alternative choices for Georgia.

Also enclosed are several additional copies of our list of board members; needless to say, we would be glad to see any of them judged suitable for advisory committee membership.

Few things will serve the national welfare more than the success of the Commission's work. Do call on me freely and often for any assistance I can give.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

GEORGIA

1.	Dr. Lester Rumble (W) District Superintendent The Methodist Church 33 Walker Terrace, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	Highly respected, liberal churchman
2.	Mrs. Margaret MacDougall (W) Presbyterian Church Woman; civic leader; chairman, City Democratic Executive Committee 4141 Club Drive, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	Leader in United Church Women and many civic activities; wife of prominent businessman; liberal but discreet.
3.	Mrs. Fred Patterson (W) Baptist churchwoman and civic leader 2959 Andrews Drive, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia	Same characterization as Mrs. MacDougall; to be considered alternatively.
4.	Rev. Monroe Swilley (W) Pastor, Ponce de Leon Baptist Church 2715 Peachtree Road, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	Prominent minister of one of the largest Baptist churches in Atlanta; highly respected; long concerned with interracial relations.
5.	Rt. Rev. R. R. Claibourne (W) (Episcopal Bishop) 2744 Peachtree Road, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	Has used his position wisely and effectively to foster good race relations, particularly in diocesan affairs.
6.	Abe Goldstein (W) Business man and prominent Jewish leader 458 Peachtree Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	One of the most influential Jewish Atlantans; well related to political powers that be; a positive influence as leader of B'nai B'rith and other organizations.
7.	Sylvan Meyer (W) Editor The Daily Times Gainesville, Georgia	A young, liberal editor; highly regarded by newsmen throughout state and in his community; leader of Southern Nieman Association.
8.	Bert Struby (W) Editor The Macon Telegraph Macon, Georgia	One of the best "moderate" editors in the state; has promoted forward-looking policies through his paper.
9.	Dr. J. McDowell Richards (W) President - Columbia Theological Seminary (Presbyterian, U.S.) Decatur, Georgia	Former Moderator, Southern Presbyterian Church; SRC board member.

10.	W. B. Stubbs (W) Executive Director John Bulow Campbell Foundation 218 Trust Company Building Atlanta, Georgia	Sound, constructive, conservative; well regarded by business community.
11.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara (W) 222 East Harris Street Savannah, Georgia	Influential Catholic clergyman; former member, SRC board.
12.	Philip Weltner (W) President Emeritus Oglethorpe University; Executive Secretary, Woodruff Foundation 3147 Lanier Drive, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	Highly esteemed as an educator; close to Robert Woodruff, Coca Cola magnate and Georgia's major economic leader.
13.	Dr. Rufus E. Clement (N) President, Atlanta University 223 Chestnut Street Atlanta, Georgia	Member, Atlanta Board of Education; SRC Board; many distinctions. (See " Who's Who")
14.	L. D. Milton (N) President Citizens Trust Company Atlanta, Georgia	Financial leader, respected by white banking and business community; has served on various important bond commissions and civic bodies with leading whites; SRC board member.
15.	Dr. F. D. Funderburg (N) Monticello, Georgia	Negro physician with statewide reputation; highly regarded in his community; has many white patients.
16.	T. M. Alexander (N) President Alexander Realty Company 1345 Hunter Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia	Leading Negro realtor and insurance man; serves on mayor's housing committee; has been a candidate for city council.

LOUISIANA

1.	Victor Bussie (W) President Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO 427 Ricou-Brewster Building Shreveport, Louisiana	Has taken moderate but firm stands on race relations; firmly supported by organized labor in Louisiana.
2.	Dr. Rufus Harris (W) President Tulane University New Orleans	One of best-known Southern educators; member of Committee on Southern Development of NPA; a sound "moderate."
3.	Edgar B. Stern (W) Cotton Broker American Bank Building New Orleans, Louisiana Born: New Orleans, 1886; Jewish (See "Who's Who")	Leading business man and philanthropist; long interested in positive interracial efforts.
4.	Rt. Rev. Msgr. C. Plauche' (w) 7045 Walmsley Avenue New Orleans 25, Louisiana	Aide and influential adviser of Archbishop Rummel.
5.	Charles Keller, Jr. (W) President, Keller Construction Company New Orleans, Louisiana	An enlightened business man of considerable status; member of the Commission on Race and Housing.
6.	Albert W. Dent (N) President Dillard University New Orleans, Louisiana	A first-rate educator and administrator; a power in New Orleans; serves on many important commissions. SRC board member. (See "Who's Who")
7.	Rt. Rev. Alexander O. Sigur (W) (Chaplain, Newman Clubs, Southwest District) P. O. Box 532, S.L.I. Station Lafayette, Louisiana	An able and rising clergyman, gaining nationwide reputation; SRC board member.

November 5, 1958

Mr. Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Special Assistant to the Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Henry:

Thanks for your letter of October 24th. The materials you speak of have not arrived. I hope I may still expect them, since they sound most interesting.

When opportunity permits, I hope you will let me know how our common concerns are progressing down here.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 24, 1958

Dear Harold:

The various materials we discussed on October 20th have been sent under separate cover.

I would welcome your comments on the Colorado-Kansas Agenda and our three "dept study" questionnaires.

Very sincerely,

Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Special Assistant to
Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 10, 1958

Miss Barbara A. Sutherland
Secretary to Mr. Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Sutherland:

Perhaps our letters crossed. As I wrote Henry the other day, the materials haven't arrived, at least not yet. We know all too well that these mixups occur and wish you luck in untangling this one. Thanks for your attention to it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

November 7, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was wondering if you have received the materials which were mailed to you on October 24th under separate cover.

Please let me know as I am much concerned what has happen to the materials. We send the packages up to our mail room to be sent out but, I am sure they were sent out from here after checking. Thanking you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara A. Sutherland

Barbara A. Sutherland
Secretary to Mr. Henry
M. Shine, Jr.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 14, 1958

Miss Barbara A. Sutherland
Secretary to Mr. Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Sutherland:

In regard to your letter of November 7, and as a follow-up to Mr. Fleming's letter of the 10th concerning the "lost" package, it is now time for us to untangle this one.

The package has arrived, in good order. Our confusion arose over the large envelope in the bottom of the package which was not discovered until this morning. Earlier we had unpacked a portion of the booklets and assumed this to be all.

We are very sorry for any inconvenience this has caused you and others of the staff. From now on we go to the bottom of all packages!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

November 18, 1958

Mr. Henry Shine, Jr.
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Henry:

As Paul Anthony of our staff has written Miss Sutherland, the mixup over the materials was our goof. Our faces are a suitable shade of red. We can put the second delivery to good use, but I'm most apologetic.

I thought the questionnaires were excellent. If you get all the answers for every state, you will have an unprecedented fund of information!

I don't know where the North Carolina committee stands, but thought you should know that I've recently had intimations that Irving Carlyle would be favorably disposed if invited to serve.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

November 14, 1958

Dear Harold:

I am sorry about the mix up concerning the materials sent to you under separate cover on October 24th. We have notified the Post Office Department and they are aware of the mystery!

In the meantime I am sending the materials again to you under separate cover which you should receive in the next week.

Very sincerely,

Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Special Assistant to
Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 1, 1958

Dear Mr. Flemming:

In Mr. Shine's absence I am writing to thank you for the comment on Mr. Irving Carlyle. Our records indicate that he is an attorney for the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company in Winston Salem. Your letter will be brought to Mr. Shine's attention upon his return.

Very sincerely,

George B. Harris, Jr.
Deputy Special Assistant
to the Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D.C.

AIR MAIL

Henry Shine

Dear Henry:

My visit with you, Gordon Tiffany, and the other staff members was a very pleasant and rewarding experience.

I was chagrined to find that, ~~by some mischance,~~ we inadvertently omitted suggestions for the advisory committees in Georgia and Louisiana. On my return to the office yesterday, I made this the first order of business. As you will see from the attached lists, we are making up in quantity what we lacked in speed on the Georgia recommendations. From the ~~our talk~~ discussion with Frank Bane, I concluded that it might be well to ~~xxxx~~ recommend a number of alternative choices for Georgia.

Also enclosed are several additional copies of our list of board members; needless to say, we would be glad to see any of them judged suitable for advisory committee membership.

Few things ~~would~~ will serve the national welfare more than the success of the Commission's work. Do call on me freely and often for any assistance I can give.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

HCF

encs. (3cc each)
Ga + La. Lists
List of Bd members (mimeo'd)

unmarked copy with enclosures (1 ea)
to Harris Wofford, same address.

GEORGIA

District Supt, The Methodist Church

1. Dr. Lester Rumble (W)
33 Walker Terrace, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Presby Church woman civic leader Chairman, City Demo Exec Ctee

2. Mrs. Margaret MacDougall (W)
4141 Club Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Baptist Churchwoman + civic leader

3. Mrs. Fred Patterson (W)
2959 Andrews Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Pastor, Ponce de Leon Baptist Church

4. Rev. Monroe Swilley (W)
2715 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

5. Rt. Rev. R. R. Claiborne (W)
~~(Bishop)~~ (Episcopal Bishop)
2744 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Business man + prominent Jewish leader

6. Abe Goldstein (W)
458 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

7. Sylvan Meyer (W)
Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Editor

8. Bert Struby (W)
The Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Pres

9. Dr. J. McDowell Richards (W)
Columbia Theological Seminary (Presbyterian, U.S.)
Decatur, Georgia

10. W. B. Stubbs (W)
~~155 Garden Lane~~
~~Decatur, Georgia~~

John Burton Executive ~~Secretary~~ Director
Campbell Foundation
718 Trust Co. Building
Atlanta, Ga.

~~11. Dean Hepburn~~

11. ~~12.~~ Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara (W)
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

~~13. A. M. Sarto~~

12. Philip Weltner (W)
Pres Emeritus, Oglethorpe Univ.
Exec. Secretary, Woodruff Foundation
3147 Lanier Drive N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

13. Dr. Rufus E. Clement (N)
Pres., Atl Univ.
223 Chestnut St.
Atlanta, Ga.

14. L. D. Milton (N)
Pres., Citizens Trust Co.
Atlanta, Ga.

15. Dr. F. D. Fonderburg (N)
Monticello, Georgia

16. T. M. Alexander (N)
Pres. Alexander + Co. Realty Co.
1345 Hunter St. NW
Atlanta, Ga.

LOUISIANA

1. Victor Bussie (W)
President
Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
427 Ricou-Brewster Building
Shreveport, Louisiana

Has taken moderate but firm stands on race relations; firmly supported by organized labor in Louisiana.

~~2. Walter Kindleberger (W)~~
~~Dean, School of Social Work~~
~~Tulane University~~
~~New Orleans, Louisiana~~

3. Edgar B. Stern (W)
Cotton Broker
American Bank Building
New Orleans, Louisiana
Born: New Orleans, 1886; Jewish (See: WHO'S WHO)

Leading business man + philanthropist; long interested in positive interracial efforts.

4. Rt. Rev. Msgr. C. Plauché (W)
7845 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

Aide and influential adviser of Archbishop Rummel.

5. Charles Keller, Sr.
Pres., Keller Construction Co.
New Orleans, La.

An enlightened business man of considerable status; member of the Commission on Race and Housing

2. Dr. Rufus Harris.
Pres., Tulane Univ.
New Orleans, La.

One of best-known Southern educators; member of Committee on Southern Development of NPA; a sound "moderate."

6. Albert W. Dent
President, Dillard Univ.
N. O., La.

A first-rate educator and administrator; a power in New Orleans; serves on many important commissions. SRC board member (See "Who's Who")

7. Rt. Rev. Alexander J. Sigur
P.O. Box 532, S.L.I. Station
Lafayette, La.
(Chaplain, Newmans Clubs, Southwest District

An able and rising clergyman gaining nationwide reputation; SRC board member.

Comments for parallel column
(Georgia)

1. Highly respected, liberal churchman

2. Leader in United Church Women and many civic activities; wife of prominent businessman; liberal but discreet.

3. Same characterization as Mrs. MacDougall; to be considered alternatively.

4. Prominent minister of one of the largest Baptist churches in Atlanta; highly respected; long concerned with interracial relations.

5. Has used his position wisely and effectively to foster good race relations, particularly in diocesan affairs.

6. One of the most influential Jewish Atlantans; well related to political powers that be; a positive influence as leader of B8nai B'rith and other organizations.

7. A young, liberal editor; highly regarded by newsmen throughout state and in his community; leader of Southern Nieman Association.

8. One of the best "moderate" editors in the state; has promoted forward-looking policies through his paper.

9. Former Moderator, Southern Presbyterian Church; SRC board member.

10. Sound, constructive, conservative; well regarded by business community.

11. Influential Catholic clergyman; former member, SRC board.

12. Highly esteemed as an educator; close to Robert Woodruff, Coca Cola magnate and Georgia's major economic leader.

13. Member, Atlanta Board of Education; SRC Board; many distinctions. (See "Who's Who")

14. Financial leader, respected by white banking and business community; has served on various important bond commissions and civic bodies with leading whites; SRC board member.

15. Negro physician with statewide reputation; highly regarded in his community; has many white patients.

16. Leading Negro realtor and insurance man; serves on mayor's housing committee; has been a candidate for city council.

June 27, 1958

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

I enjoyed my discussions with you and the others last Monday and came away most impressed with the calibre of the staff that has been assembled.

It is flattering to learn that the quest for data on voter registration in the South leads inevitably to the Southern Regional Council. Our reputation is probably somewhat exaggerated, since our last full blown survey in that field took place in the summer and fall of 1956. Our more recent data consist mainly of official reports and newspaper accounts. We are currently reproducing and pulling this material together for transmittal to you.

As I think I may have told you, the Southern Regional Council has recently received a modest grant which will enable us to follow-up our 1956 survey, at least to the extent of a generous sampling of subsequent developments in Negro suffrage. Findings of this survey will be released from time to time, and I will see that you receive them promptly.

As to the other matter we discussed Monday, I am compiling a short descriptive list of Deep South counties which will be appropriate for case studies. You will hear from me further on this within a few days.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 19, 1958

Dear Harold:

From all reports the most accurate registration count on voting may be obtained through your organization. We would very much appreciate these studies if they may be made available to the Commission in its work. We would be pleased to reimburse any necessary out of pocket expense involved by duplicating and postage.

It was good to meet you personally in New York and I trust that if you come to Washington you will do us the favor of a visit.

Most sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon M. Tiffany
Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 3, 1958

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

In further response to your letter of June 19, enclosed are background materials on Negro voter registration in those states covered by our 1956 survey. In the folder for each state, we have inserted the registration figures collected in our survey, the most pertinent reports from our state fact-finders, and newspaper clippings and other materials that shed some light on developments in this field since 1956. Incidentally, virtually all of this material has been supplied to the Department of Justice, at its request.

It may be worth noting that most of the state consultants who did our fact-finding contributed articles on this subject for their respective states to the 1957 summer yearbook issue of the Journal of Negro Education. This publication is undoubtedly in your library.

I will no doubt be sending you supplementary items to be added to this collection. Meanwhile,

if there is specific information, not included, which we might be able to supply, please feel free to call on me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

MATERIAL SENT TO GORDON TIFFANY, CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

By: [illegible]

1. General Information File

   1. SRC Suffrage Survey, ~~1958~~ 1948 by L. Jackson - June-July 48. N.S.
   2. New South, ~~1952,~~ Right to Vote - Jan. 1953 "Negro Suffrage Today"
   3. Negro Voter in the South
   4. Memo: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States
   5. "The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter"
   6. Clipping, ~~[illegible]~~, How Registration is Going Under Atl. J-C., 4/27/58 New Voter Law, Margaret Shannon
   7. Clipping, Negro Registration Drive Showing Little Results Twin City Sentinel, 3/12/58 (Associated Press)
   8. N. S. Feb. '49 The Right to Vote

2. Arkansas

   1. Poll Tax Records, by race for 1957, prepared by Auditor of State
   2. Cothran preliminary report

3. Alabama

   1. Birmingham News article of 4/20/58 with county-by-county report
   2. Clipping, Norfolk Journal & Guide 1/18/58 - "Rights Group May Be Asked to Probe Vote Complaints" (MIA)

3. Florida

   1. Negro Suffrage in Florida in 1956 - Killian
   2. Memo from Dr. Elston E. Roddy

4. Georgia

   1. All Brazeal Memo's
   2. M. Hill study of Atlanta
   3. Wallace study of Atlanta

5. Kentucky

   1. Kesselman report

6. Louisiana

   1. Fenton report

7. Mississippi

   1. pp. 27-60 of MA thesis of J.F.Barnes

8. North Carolina

   1. Journal-Sentinel feature of June 30,'57
   2. Sutker report

9. South Carolina

1. S. C. C.H.R. report on registration

2. Selected clippings:
News & Courier - 5/14/58
State 5/24/58
State 5/20/58
State 5/14/58

10. Texas

Bullock survey

11. Virginia

Roberts survey

July 7, 1958

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

As supplement number one to the voting material which I sent you, here is a copy of a useful report on voter registration in Alabama, prepared a couple of years ago by Donald S. Strong for the University Bureau of Public Administration. It contains some very useful information on Negro voter registration.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Registration of Voters in Alabama, D.S. Strong)

Send S.C. list — La?

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 10, 1958

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letter of July third, and the background materials on Negro voter registration in the several southern states. Dr. Malcolm Smith, who is undertaking the preliminary study in the field of voting, is tremendously pleased to have such detailed information. I expect that he will be in touch with you regarding additional specific information which is not included in the files. With the experience you have had I have no doubt that you will be able to help Dr. Smith in developing guiding principles for our own study in this field.

I wish to express again my deep appreciation for your kindness and interest in being of such valuable assistance to us.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon M. Tiffany
Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 16, 1958

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

With apologies for so many separate communications, this is to follow up my suggestion of case studies of communities where voting and other civil rights problems are acute. The most difficult areas in the South lie within the rural "Black Belt" where Negroes are heavily concentrated. Enclosed are statistical data on several deep South counties that fall in this category and might be usefully studied.

I am also enclosing an Anti-Defamation League report on Tuskegee, Alabama -- a special case -- which you may not have seen.

As you will recall, my main point was that civil rights problems in these areas can be understood only within the total context of social, economic, and political conditions. Consideration of individual cases of discrimination, alone, will hardly get at the basic difficulties.

I realize that it might be unwise to limit the case-study approach to any one geographic area.

Selecting representative counties or communities in other subregions of the South and elsewhere in the United States would be a simple matter.

If such studies should be undertaken, we should be glad to make available and of our information that might be helpful.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (Statistical data on Lowndes & Wilcox Counties, Alabama; Sumter County, Ga.; Sunflower County, Miss.; Holmes County, Miss.; Williamsburg County, S. C.)

Also
~~Reprint of Melvin Tumin's~~ - Tuskegee, Ala.
Report "Voting Rights + Eco. Pressure"
dist. by ASL

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 23, 1958

Dear Harold:

Thanks so much for putting me on your mailing list. I have just read with pleasure the June issue of "New South".

Hlpe we will see you this way soon.

Warm regards,

Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Consultant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 25, 1958

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending us the Anti-Defamation League report on Tuskegee and the Southern Regional Council's statistical data on voting for several deep South counties.

Incidentally, we are always delighted to hear from you - so have no fear about numerous separate communications. As you know, we want to "post" our Advisory Committees on what has happened within their respective States. Your data will be invaluable in the preparation of our State Handbooks. We most certainly will call on you for more help.

Very sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon M. Tiffany
Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GORDON M. TIFFANY
3701 RENO ROAD, N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

August 22, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your note of August twentieth, enclosing a copy of the press release issued by the Southern Regional Council, arrived after Mr. Tiffany left for Oklahoma. He did, however, receive your telegram and he was pleased that everything worked out as well as it did. I will be certain to call your letter to his attention when he returns.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Sallie Wymard

Sallie Wymard
Administrative Assistant
to Gordon M. Tiffany

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MARCH 7, 1959

DAY LETTER

TO: MAYOR WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD, ATLANTA

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS HAS DECIDED TO HOLD HEARINGS IN ATLANTA, CHICAGO AND LOS ANGELES ON THE PROBLEM OF EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS IN THE FIELD OF HOUSING. WE HAVE HELD ONE SUCH HEARING IN NEW YORK BUT BELIEVE THAT TO GET A BALANCED PICTURE OF THE PROGRESS AND THE REMAINING PROBLEMS WE SHOULD HEAR FIRST-HAND TESTIMONY OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS IN OTHER SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY. WE KNOW THAT THE PROBLEM DIFFERS GREATLY IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS AND WE BELIEVE THAT ATLANTA IN THE HEART OF THE SOUTH WILL SHOW US NEW ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

LET ME ASSURE YOU WE HAVE RECEIVED NO COMPLAINTS FROM ATLANTA. WE ARE NOT COMING TO INVESTIGATE SHORTCOMINGS BUT TO STUDY A COMPLEX HUMAN PROBLEM. THIS IS A PART OF OUR NATION-WIDE SURVEY.

CONGRESS ASSIGNED US TO STUDY AND COLLECT INFORMATION CONCERNING PROBLEMS OF EQUAL PROTECTION FOR ALL AMERICANS AND TO APPRAISE THE SUFFICIENCY OF FEDERAL LAWS AND POLICIES RESPECTING EQUAL PROTECTION. THE COMMISSION IS CONCENTRATING ITS STUDIES IN THE THREE FIELDS OF VOTING, EDUCATION AND HOUSING. AS YOU KNOW WE HAVE HELD HEARINGS ON VOTING AND A CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION ELSEWHERE.

WE HAVE SCHEDULED THE ATLANTA HEARING FOR APRIL 10. WE WANT TO GET YOUR ADVICE ON HOW TO MAKE THIS ONE DAY HEARING AS INSTRUCTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE AS POSSIBLE. WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL OPEN THE HEARING WITH A STATEMENT OF YOUR VIEWS.

A STAFF REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMISSION WILL BE IN ATLANTA NEXT WEEK AND WILL TELEPHONE YOU FOR AN APPOINTMENT. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL

BE ABLE TO SEE HIM AT YOUR CONVENIENCE AND DISCUSS THIS WHOLE MATTER. I PERSONALLY LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME BEFORE THE HEARING.

CORDIALLY,

GORDON M. TIFFANY,
STAFF DIRECTOR

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED JUL 9 1959

FROM: Dean B. R. Brazeal

RE:

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming

DATE: July 8, 1959

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter which was sent to me by Gordon M. Tiffany of the Commission on Civil Rights.

B-R. B.

BRB:h
Encl:

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
July 2, 1959

STAFF DIRECTOR

Dear Dean Brazeal:

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for sending us your report regarding the political status of Negroes in Baker County. I read this document with great interest, especially the section relating to the interplay between the county-unit system and the suppression of the franchise along racial lines which so effectively keeps unrepresentative rural elements in political control.

The report has been given to our voting team for their analysis. We always welcome such information, and I am pleased that you forwarded the report to us.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon M. Tiffany

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

via air mail special

August 25, 1959

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

It was good to talk with you a moment ago, and I hasten to send you the enclosed copies of the report by Green and Gauerke on private school plans. I'm also sending a mimeographed background report on school desegregation which has had a good reception and is, I think, the best thing of its kind our research staff has yet done.

I have been comfortably assuming that both of these reports went to you and your colleagues some days ago; evidently our distribution machinery slipped a cog.

I will be looking forward eagerly to publication of your report, and I very much hope that we will have the benefit of the Commission's good work for at least several years to come.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

via air mail

August 26, 1959

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

I thought you might like to see the news release on our forthcoming report on Negro registration and voting in the South. The report itself will be back from the printer next week and I will, of course, send you copies.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

August 27, 1959

Dear Harold:

We received the Green and Gauerke reports early yesterday morning and we certainly appreciate your promptness in sending them. We also appreciate receiving the mimeographed background report on school desegregation which you enclosed.

It was good to talk with you on Tuesday and again I want to thank you for all the assistance you have given us.

Sincerely,

Gordon M. Tiffany

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: ARKANSAS

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated Since 1954

Total: Schools in 8 districts

District	Level Desegregated	Pupils attending Mixed Schools White	Negro
Bentonville	All levels	1,500	2
Charleston*		500	11
Fayetteville	7th to 12th	1,200	33
Fort Smith	1st grade	N.A.	1
Hot Springs	Auto and Nursing	45	7
Marie	All levels	900	11
Ozark	High School	0	0
Van Buren	High School	590	11
Total		4, 695	76

* Situation as of 1954, school officials will give no information

(From: Southern School News Summary, October 1958)

(St. Scholastica's Academy in Fort Smith and parochial school of Paris are desegregated. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: 9 state, at least one private institution

Institutions	Legal Control
1. Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College Pine Bluff, Arkansas	State
2. Arkansas A. and M. College, College Heights, Ark.	State
3. Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russelville, Ark.	State
4. Arkansas State College, State College, Ark.	State
5. Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Ark.	State
6. Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia, Ark.	State
7. Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark. (Formerly All Negro)	Methodist
8. Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark.	State

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education, continued:

Institutions	Legal Control
9. University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.	State
10. University of Arkansas Graduate Center Little Rock, Ark.	State

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January 1959)

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES:

None.

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 64,023 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration 1958: 11.4

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

Three Negroes were appointed to the State Democratic Committee in the Fall of 1954; three others were named in June 1955. Present status?

Hot Springs: City Council - Fred W. Martin was elected to this body in November 1954.

Alexander: City Council - A Negro was elected to the city council in November 1955.

(Local check for more recent or additional information advised.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: CITY BUSES DESEGREGATED SINCE 1954

Little Rock	Fort Smith
Pine Bluff	Hot Springs

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: SEGREGATION POLICIES in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

Spot Survey in Summer of 1958 included the following Arkansas Cities:

Pine Bluff - Both the bus station and the two train stations maintain facilities which are to some degree segregated. Although the bus station has abandoned its old colored waiting room, a brick partition approximately 4½ feet in height encloses a small area in which Negroes are now expected to sit. One train station has a small partition separating Negroes from whites; the second station has two separate waiting rooms. There has been no effort to make a distinction between interstate and intrastate passengers. The airline waiting room is desegregated.

Little Rock - Bus stations maintain, but do not enforce use of, segregated waiting rooms. Train and air line terminals offer desegregated facilities.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Arkansas Civil Rights Commission Advisory Group

Dr. Robert A. Leflar, ~~Chairman~~: Distinguished professor of law at the University of Arkansas School of Law. (Member of ACHR) resigned as chm.

Joshua K. Shepard: ~~Little Rock insurance executive and treasurer of the Governor's advisory Committee on Education; a member of a group of 24 business and civic leaders who tried to mediate the integration crisis (Herbert Thomas Plan).~~ resigned

Joseph R. Booker: Little Rock Negro attorney, former president of the National (Negro) Bar Association. (An older man in ill health, never a crusader) (Member of ACHR)

Dr. Lawrence A. Davis: Former president of A.M.& N. (Negro) College. (Manuevered out of his job; now working on his PH. D. at the University of Arkansas)(a dependable person)

Mrs. W. L. Jameson: Magnolia housewife and civic leader. Her husband is chairman of the Arkansas Production and Marketing Administration Committee. (a Republican of whom we know nothing personally)

J.L. ("Bex") Shaver: Former lieutenant governor, a Wynne attorney and a member of the Arkansas Sovereignty Commission. (On legislative committee investigating subversion at Commonwealth College in the 30's. A "friendly" witness for Mr. Bennett's legislative committee investigating relation of integration and subversion.)

Dr. Marshall T. Steel; President of Hendrix (Methodist) College at Conway. (relatively new in his job, his engrossment in fund raising precludes him taking any leadership or even position on "rights", human or civil.)

(Information taken from the Arkansas Gazette of August 21, 1958. Our comments are in parentheses.)

(J. Gaston Williamson became a member at the resignation of Mr. Shepherd and was made chairman at the resignation of Mr. Leflar as chaiman. Williamson is chairman of Peaceful Operation of the Schools Committee and has been totally unresponsive to representatives of the Women's Emergency Committee who are asking for constructive action on the part of Little Rock civic leaders. This change in the Arkansas advisory committee is about two months old, and was news to the Gazette city editor today, March 25, 1960)

FLORIDA ADVISORY COMMITTEE - Commission on Civil Rights
June 1958

Carl D. Brorein, Chairman - (Sylvan Ramble, Tampa)
General Manager - Peninsula Tel. & Tel. Co.
Community Chest
Chamber of Commerce (local) and Florida State Chamber of Commerce
Urban League Board
Florida Childrens' Home Society
"evolution rather than revolution" - sees "eventual integration."

Dr. Doyle E. Carlton, Sr. -(First National Bank Building, Tampa)
Civil Rights Commission
Former Governor ('29 - '33)
Age - 71 - lawyer
President - State Chamber of Commerce - 1950

J. R. E. Lee, Jr. - (Tallahassee)
Florida A. & M.-Business Manager
Governor's Advisory Committee
Age - 59 - native of Marshall, Texas
Tallahassee for 32 years

~~Judge L. L. Fabisinski - (Pensacola)~~ deceased
~~Retired Circuit Judge~~
~~Governor's Advisory Committee~~

Jack W. Simmons - (Tallahassee)
Crate manufacturer
Headed committee for Collins inaugural
Former mayor
Former member State Forestry Board

Dr. Eugene G. Peek, Sr. - (Ocala)
Retired physician
formerly State Improvement Commission
former Mayor Ocala (3 terms)
past Pres. State Medical Assoc.
formerly State Game & Fresh Water Fish Commissioner

Harold Colee - (Hildebrandt Building - Jacksonville)
past Pres. State Chamber of Commerce
reared in St. Johns County
advertising and public relations
Chairman ('39) State Library Board
numerous charitable enterprises
favors Latin-American trade

Walter L. Hayes - (Orlando)
Pres. American Fire & Casualty Co.
Former Pres. State Chamber of Commerce

John B. Turner - (Miami)
United Fund, etc. etc.

William Singer - (Miami)
"Royal Castle"
State Road Board, etc. etc.

Gasbeck

Clear Copy

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February 27, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: FLORIDA

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

None

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: One state supported university, graduate level
One private college

Institutions	Legal Control
Barry College, Miami, Florida	Roman Catholic
University of Florida Law School, Gainesville, Fla.	State

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January, 1959):

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

Pensacola's municipal golf course is open to both Negroes and whites, although separate club houses are provided. (Opened May, 1956)

Miami - Municipal Miami Springs Golf Course was desegregated April, 1958, after U. S. Circuit Court affirmation of a district court's desegregation order. The course clubhouse was leased to an individual who planned segregated operation. Outcome?

West Palm Beach - April, 1958. City-owned golf course desegregated in compliance with federal court ruling.

2. Evasive Action

St. Petersburg's municipally owned Spa Beach, under court order to desegregate, was closed twice in 1958 when Negroes attempted to use beach facilities. (June and September). In January of 1959 the city council voted to reopen the beach, but authorized the City Manager to close it should "any emergency arise."

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: continued,

2. Evasive Action, continued,

The Boynton Beach Casino swimming area was closed twice (June 1958) after it was used by Negro swimmers. Mayor L. S. Chadwell warned that violence might result from any future desegregation attempt.

3. Action to avoid desegregation

Ft. Lauderdale's municipal golf course was sold (July 1957) to the Fort Lauderdale Men's Golf Association (at half its appraised value) to run privately, after a Federal Court order to open the course to Negroes. The Florida Supreme Court upheld the legality of the sale.

4. Pending Legal Action

Jacksonville - Suit filed in federal court asking desegregation of municipal golf course, July 1958. Present status?

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 144,810 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 9.1

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE:

Jacksonville: Ernest D. Jackson, Sr., the first Negro to win a nomination in Jacksonville in some 40 years, was nominated (in the Democratic primary, May 1956) as a justice of the peace. (Elected?)

Miami: Henry H. Arlington, Negro attorney, is the first Negro on the Miami Housing Authority. (Reported September 1958)

Judge Lawson E. Thomas was in 1956 serving his second term in the local judiciary. (Elective or appointive position?)

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated Since 1954

Miami	Daytona Beach
Miami Beach	Tampa

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

A Summer, 1958, spot survey included the following Florida cities:

Miami - Signs indicating separate waiting rooms are still up in bus stations. Train station has one unmarked general waiting room, while one waiting room is marked "Colored Intrastate". Air line waiting rooms are desegregated.

Jacksonville - Greyhound Bus station has separate waiting rooms, as does the Union train station. In the case of the latter, employees are not allowed to enforce segregation. Air line facilities appear to be completely desegregated.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

Free
Civil Rights Commission
"Fla."

FLORIDA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

George Lewis II, Chairman
Tallahassee
I. H. Burney II, Vice Chairman
Jacksonville
Tobias Simon, Secretary
Miami
C. Blythe Andrews
Tampa
Mabel Norris Chesley
Daytona Beach
The Reverend Robert Caxton Doggett
Winter Park
Honorable Carlos B. Fernandez
Miami
Mrs. C. D. Johnson
Quincy
Professor Hal G. Lewis
Gainesville
The Right Reverend Henry I. Louttit
Winter Park
Honorable Stanley Milledge
Miami
The Reverend E. C. Tillman
West Palm Beach
Mrs. Charles L. Williams
Miami

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING
IN THE MIAMI AREA

Honorable Stanley Milledge, Chairman
Gladys Panton
Reverend John S. Kiernan, S.S.J.
Harold Kramer
Peter Forrest
J. R. Piedimonte
Dr. Michael Goodman
Reverend Edward Graham

The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

February 27,1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Tentative plans call for a meeting of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission at the Red Cross Building on Peachtree Street at 2 p.m., Wednesday, March 4th.

As you know, meetings are open to press and public. We will discuss the report we are expected to send to the Commission by March 31st. Frankly, I don't think there will be much of a newsworthy nature of the agenda but we'll be glad to have you or a representative present.

As a last Minute check on the meeting--just to be sure it will be held as schedule---Mr. Howard See, 207 Westminister Drive, Atlanta, would provide you with a source available by local telephone.

Best regards,

Sylvan

Sylvan Meyer
Acting Chairman
Georgia Committee

SM:ls

Any ideas?

June 1, 1959

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Our research staff is compiling a summary of positive and negative developments in the area of civil rights for each of the Southern states. The object is to have in one place some of the main indices to progress and backwardness which will help us as a staff to make sound assessments.

Enclosed is a copy of this summary for Georgia. While it wasn't prepared for general circulation, I thought it might be helpful to you and the other members of the state Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1
GEORGIA - Segregation-Desegregation Status Report

September 9, 1959

TO: HCF

FROM: JC

RE: Georgia Advisory Group to Civil Rights Commission meeting September 8, 1959.

The meeting was attended by Sylvan Meyer, Dr. F. D. Funderburg, Father James McNamara, Howard See, Mrs. H. B. Trimble.

William Swann, consultant to the Civil Rights Commission, met with the group to discuss the "excerpts" of the Commission's report to President Eisenhower.

After condemning persons (specifically, Sen. Eastland) for breaking the news release time, Mr. Swann went on to outline the major recommendations of the Commission. In doing so, he pointed out that there had been considerable distortion by the press and specifically referred to the Atlanta Constitution article by Albert Riley. He pinpointed instances in Riley's story which were obviously outright distortions and in some instances completely erroneous.

The only action of the Georgia Group itself, besides discussing the excerpted report, was to authorize Sylvan Meyer to prepare a statement to the press condemning the distortions and asserting that the report is a mild one.

(Marge Manderson has a copy of the Excerpts.)

Georgia Council on Human Relations

MEMORANDUM March 23, 1960

TO: Raul Rilling
FROM: Walter C. Cowart
Executive Director

1. Civil Rights Advisory Committee

Chairman- Sylvan Meyer, editor Gainesville Daily Times, moderate in the sense that he apparently prefers that his children attend segregated schools, but realizes the legal and moral right of Negroes to full citizenship and will work honestly and forthrightly to that end.

Monsignor T. James McNamara - Savannah - apparently has a rather paternalistic attitude and has expressed the opinion that everything was fine in Savannah between the races. This was a year ago and it is probable that his attitude has changed today.

Dr. F. D. Fundrburg, Monticello - Negro physician, somewhat elderly, had the unusual experience during World War II of being the only doctor in Jasper county and perhaps an adjoining one. During that period and for sometime afterward he had many white patients including both men and women who seemed to have the traditional affection for him that most patients feel for their personal physicians. He would probably be quiet in any situation involving difference of opinion, not from lack of courage but from courtesy.

L. D. Milton - you know him better than I do since he is on your executive committee and active .

Howard See - lives in Atlanta, but farms in South Fulton and I know nothing about his attitudes.

Mrs. H. B. Trimble - wife of Methodist minister, former president of Woman's Society of Methodist Church, North Georgia Conference. Quite liberal on the basis of morality

file
Ga. CCR

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Siceloff, Courtney

REGARDING:

Bradford McFadden and J. Winston Huff as potential members of the Georgia Commission on Civil Rights Advisory Committee

DATE
December 26, 1962
LWD reply dtd: Jan. 8, 1963

SEE:
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Penn Community Services,

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 5, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Georgia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has been exploring the possibility of a state-wide factfinding study on vocational educational opportunities in Georgia.

Your name was suggested as one who might be interested in such a report and who would be valuable to advise us on the nature of the study, possible sources of information, etc.

I met last week with a small group. At that time we discussed particularly asking graduate students in one or more fields at Atlanta University to design and perform this study, if they are interested. Faculty members at the University expressed keen interest themselves and felt students might be equally as enthusiastic.

We are having a planning session at which we hope to define the study more closely, perhaps tie down those sources which the survey should contact and outline exactly how we should work with the students. Your counsel would be extremely helpful.

The Advisory Committee, of course, starts with no pre-conceived conclusions nor does it intend to advocate a program. We think gathering all available information, accurately, in one report would provide valuable to those in education, government and human relations fields.

The meeting is Tuesday, February 12, at 3:30 P.M. in the faculty lounge of Dean Sage Hall at Atlanta University.

Would you let Mr. Arnold of the Atlanta Urban League, (Ja 1-2355) or Dr. C. A. Bacote of Atlanta University, (Ja 3-6431), whether you can make it.

Cordially,

Sylvan Meyer

Sylvan Meyer
Chairman GAC

Pauley
Anthony

2/6/63
delighted to have Anthony (a me)
already invited Frances Pauley
MA

SM:mj

Vocational Training Opportunities

I	II	III	IV
Previous Studies	Current Status	State Planning	Gen. Philosophy Voc. Edu.
1. Jr. Divided Education	Reg. School Program 1. ~~Vocational~~ } 6-16 yrs. ~~Secondary~~ Specialized V.O.Tr.	1. Allocations for Reg. schs.	
2. Penny Lead	2. ~~Post Secondary~~ a. Boarding b. Regional (available to drop outs, 16 yrs. & older)		
3. Employment study: Atlanta Atl. - Fulton Co.	Locally adm. State adm.		
4. Ford Found: Report 1960 (Metro Council)	Joint adm. Sec. Tech		

Availability of training for Negroes at San. Tech. for instance

II allocation of funds, curriculum, teachers, etc.

State. Company + Industry Examination Appropriation availability

Feb. 15, 1963

LWD MA

Georgia Advisory Committee meeting on Feb. 12

You had a letter from Sylvan ~~Myrx~~ Meyer inviting you to this meeting; I told him that you would be out of town and suggested Paul Anthony and Mrs. Frances Pauley. He said he'd already invited Frances, and that he particularly wanted someone from SRC, and would take either Paul or me.

Paul couldn't go (a rush of appointments, some foreign visitors) and he thought I should go. So I did. It was at 3:30 at AU, and was for the purpose of exploring the possibility of a state-wide fact-finding study on vocational education opportunities.

Sylvan had hpped to use graduate students from AU, but found these were not available; neither were professors, he was told. I have some notes on the meeting, but briefly they decided a fact-finding study was needed, and that it should be done. The question is, who will do it? The CRC supplies him with money for mailing and mimeographing; none for research or fact-finding. He thought he could get together about $500 from some friends. The Negro professors present (Bacote, Clifford & one or two others) thought the study was needed; so did Arnold, Thomas, and Collinson. All thought there needed to be someone in charge who knew something about such fact-finding, and someone to write it up. Mr. Thomas gave a long, detailed history of Georgia's Divided Education, but neglected to mention SRC's part in it.

Some interesting tid-bits mentioned in general conversation were: 1) Sylvan had a conference luncheon with the Governor, alone, and said the G. committed himself to helping desegregate some of the vocational schools over the state--if he could know about it ahead of time and prepare the way quietly. 2) Agnes Scott seems to be renigging on accepting Negro students this Fall. 3) Westminster refused to let a Negro professor and his daughter in to take the admission tests; they said if the child passed they would have to accept her, so they just aren't testing any Negroes.

✓ PW (I'm not sure we're supposed to have this)

file → U. S. Civil Rights Commission

Community Survey

Savannah, Georgia

May 21, 1964

VJ✓
PA✓
~~BP~~
MJ

D R A F T

George Schermer Associates

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Confidential--Not For Publication

U. S. Civil Rights Commission

Community Survey

Savannah, Georgia

May 21, 1964

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United States Civil Rights Commission

State Advisory Committees Division

COMMUNITY SURVEYS

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

I. Summary, Assessment, Recommendations

A. Summary

Savannah is located in Chatham County on the Savannah River, a few miles inland from the Atlantic seacoast and just across the river from South Carolina. The county population was 188,000 and the Savannah city population 149,000 in 1960. The city and county population is about 65% white and 35% Negro.

Savannah is a "population island". The generally swampy character of the surrounding area is responsible for the fact that there are no large towns for about fifty miles or more in any direction and an extremely sparse rural population. Thus, as a trading area and as a source of labor Savannah is a self-contained island in contrast to those cities that are a part of a larger metropolitan complex. This has an impact upon the nature of local business, industry and politics. The local industries tend to be "exporters"; that is, the producers of goods that are shipped longer distances rather than for local consumption. Savannah has a good harbor and is the most important port south of Norfolk, Virginia.

Savannah was originally settled by General Oglethorpe in 1736 and has retained more of the characteristics of religious and racial tolerance than much of the rest of Georgia has. In the area of religion, in particular, Savannah's Catholic and Jewish communities are almost as old as the city itself. The harsh, white

Christian fundamentalism, anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism of many southern mill towns has never been present in Savannah. Attitudes towards Negroes, too, have been less harsh than in many other parts of the south. While Georgia state law excluded Negroes from voting in primaries until 1947, Negroes were registered and did vote in national elections in Savannah as long as people can remember.

Savannah was the first city in Georgia to employ Negro policemen and firemen. It had desegregated buses in 1957 and golf courses, libraries, public washroom facilities and the like were desegregated by 1960. Lunchrooms were desegregated in 1961 and theatres, hotels and motels in 1963.

Upper class white Savannah citizens are inclined to believe that they are much more liberal in race relations than people in other parts of the south, and that they have done more for Negro advancement than most other communities. They are therefore confused and hurt that the Negro population "revolted" and demonstrated as it did in 1963.

Behind the scenes the Negro leadership is sharply divided. Publicly the leadership is seeking to put on as unified a front as possible. Hosea Williams, president of the Crusade for Voters and the local spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is gifted, impulsive, emotional, eloquent and ego-centered. He has a definite messiah complex. While he might agree to cooperate with others, he could not do so for very long. The moment he believed that some of his followers wanted him to move out front again, he would do so regardless of understandings with other leadership. He has a large following and many in the NAACP are

willing to support him on specific issues even though they remain loyal to the NAACP as an organization.

Wesley W. Law is a man of great integrity and firmness of purpose. He is not inspirational and resents those who depart from orderly procedure. He is not likely to give way to competing leadership if it does not conform to his idea of how things should be done.

The Negro demonstrations in 1963 brought about the integration of most public accommodations and facilities. The restaurants, however, as distinguished from hotel dining rooms and lunch counters, remained segregated. Morrison's Cafeteria, a local branch of a large southern chain is the leading opposition to integration. The other restaurants will not move until Morrisons does. A public swimming pool remains segregated and a lawsuit, filed three years ago, to have it desegregated is still pending.

Savannah had begun the integration of its schools at the 12th grade level in 1963-64 and will integrate grades 11 and 12 in 1964-65. A total of 21 Negro students are enrolled in three schools including two students in one vocational school. The one-grade-a-year plan is under appeal in the courts by the NAACP. The outcome of the Savannah case is dependent upon a Supreme Court decision relative to a similar plan in Atlanta. To all intents and purposes, school integration is still to be begun.

The major problem confronting Savannah is job opportunity. Some programming in that direction is being made now, but it is slow.

Savannah is blessed with a strong, articulate, vigorous and intelligent mayor who is ready at all times to fulfill his

leadership function. By southern political standards he is a liberal, but he is too astute to forfeit his power and prestige by seeming to be a tool of any one group; especially not the extreme white reactionaries or the militant Negroes.

Savannah has a closely knit power structure, but top control is somewhat diffuse. Mills B. Lane, president of the Citizens and Southern Bank who lives in Atlanta, and Joseph Harrison, executive vice president of Citizens and Southern are the most powerful force in Savannah and they tend to be segregationist. James Lientz, local manager of the Union Bag - Camp Paper Corporation, is less powerful, personally, but he speaks for one of the strongest forces in Georgia. The Mayor can bring pressure upon the Union Bag Company with considerable support from others in the power structure, and apparently does so. Thus, while the Mayor is not necessarily the most powerful person in Savannah, when such critical issues as race relations develop, he is in a position to face up to the power structure and get its support for his policies.

In any event, the power structure of Savannah is very interested and concerned for the economic development of the community, and recognizes that advances in opportunity and the prevention of racial conflict is to be equated with economic progress. The power structure will not countenance extreme police measures, harsh reaction or brutal suppression. On the other hand, it is politically very secure. Its security rests upon the white vote and it will not permit itself to be moved by crude coercion from Negro militants.

The inclination of the white power structure is to settle

back and hope that the process of change will level off. It must be under constant pressure but not under threat of coercion if it is to move. Such pressure is not likely to come from any part of the white community or from the state government. It can come from only two sources: first, the federal government and secondly, from the Negro community. The Negro community is aroused and is not likely to slacken its pressures soon. The strategy of the Negro leadership is uncertain, however, and the nature of the tactics applied will have much to do with the events this summer and in the months to come.

Pressure from the federal government can come in several ways if the Civil Rights bill is passed by Congress. Certainly school integration should be speeded up.

After the Civil Rights bill becomes law, Morrisons Cafeteria will be subject to the public accommodations sections, and since it is an interstate chain, that situation should be corrected readily. Finally, there may be room for additional work with respect to government installations and government contracts.

The NAACP is committed to orderly processes. If it were in a position to command broad support it could be very effective. Hosea Williams is unpredictable. He may be under pressure from his most loyal followers to take the initiative. This could result in either of two developments: (a) the strategy may become confused and the pressures diffuse so that no progress at all is made; or, (b) undisciplined forces may take to the streets and force the Mayor and the power structure into a defensive and intransigent position. A few whites, particularly Msgr. Toomey, understand this and hope to prevent it by pressing for positive

advances, especially in employment.

B. Assessment

Savannah is not likely to experience the extreme unrest and demonstrations in 1964 that occurred there in 1963. There are many positive factors that could lead to progress and prevent unrest and violence. The inclination of the larger part of the white community is to coast along and do as little as possible. The Negro community will not let this happen. There is talent and organization enough in the Negro community to take effective action. The division in leadership and the unpredictability and ego drives of Hosea Williams could lead to extreme tactics, but the balance is in favor of responsible behavior.

C. Recommendations in Brief

This study is of too brief a nature to justify the formulation of a detailed plan of action or specific recommendations. If the U. S. Civil Rights Commission wishes to pursue further action in Savannah, the following suggestions are made for a beginning only:

1. Since Morrisons is a southwide chain and is reputed to have feeding contracts in government contract plants, strong government pressures should be applied at every possible point to force Morrisons to desegregate. Such a move will get strong support from a large part of the white community in Savannah.

2. Periodic visits by a representative of the USCRC to local government and top business and civic leadership in Savannah, conducted in low key

in a spirit of helpfulness could help a great deal in reducing fears and hostility and in alerting them to the need for continuing action. Many in leadership are looking for guidance and will accept it if it comes from a non-coercive source. (This is not to suggest that there should be a reduction in pressure, but the advice must come from a source other than that of the pressure itself).

3. Periodic consultation with the Negro leadership would also be helpful. The leadership needs help in gathering, analyzing and interpreting data, and in clarifying strategy.

4. More intensive study should be given to the practices in local government installations and government contract work, and action taken if the facts justify it.

II. Description

A. Location and Physical Characteristics

Savannah is located in Chatham County, Georgia which is bounded on the north by the Savannah River running from northwest to southeast between South Carolina and Georgia. The river serves as a deep sea harbor to Savannah which lies about twenty miles inland from the Atlantic Ocean. Near the mouth of the river lies Tybee Island, Savannah Beach, which is an ocean beach resort closest to Savannah, Fort Pulaski National Monument and the John Wesley Memorial, marking the spot where John Wesley,

in the company of General Oglethorpe, first set foot on American soil.

The swampy terrain stretching for miles to the north, south and west causes Savannah to be a "population island". There are no large towns closer than 100 miles except Brunswick, Georgia, a city of 22,000 slightly over 50 miles to the south. Even the rural population is sparse. These facts have a bearing on the nature of Savannah's business and industry. The Savannah trading area is limited to Chatham County and the relatively sparse populations of a few surrounding counties. Its manufactured products tend to be primary items manufactured in large quantity and exported in bulk. New industry is cautious about coming to Savannah since there is no large and versatile labor force.

Founded by General Oglethorpe as the first settlement in Georgia and dedicated then to religious freedom, Savannah has a tradition of humanitarianism and gentle tolerance. The Catholic and Jewish communities date back to the founding of the city. The town was laid out by Oglethorpe in 1733 and prides itself on being the first planned city in America. There are some 27 squares, all beautifully landscaped, and two large parks in the central section of the old city. In addition, there are dozens of other squares and landscaped areas throughout the city. Each of the squares is graced with monuments and historical parks and surrounded by well maintained, early American architecture. The general impression given by the old and central section of the city is one of gracious beauty; the old South at its best.

History abounds; Christ Episcopal Church, -- Savannah's upper prestige church -- dates back as the first church in the colony of Georgia. John Wesley was one of the first rectors,

before he left the church, to join, with his brother in founding Methodism.

Savannah has been restoring its historical assets in recent years. The buildings on Factors Walk, once the shipping and cotton trading center of Savannah, have been restored and are becoming much sought after business locations.

B. Population

The population of Chatham County was 188,000 in 1960 and is now estimated at something over 191,000. Savannah city population was 149,000 in 1960. Chatham County population increased 24.3% from 1950 to 1960, a rate of increase higher than for the nation as a whole and much higher than for Georgia as a whole. Savannah itself increased from 119,600 to 149,200, or 24.7%. In contrast to many other cities in the nation, the city of Savannah itself is the center of growth while the surrounding rural counties have been losing population. The Negro population of Chatham County is 64,000 and of Savannah city 53,000. This is approximately 34% of the total population. (See Exhibit A, E 2 and L 1).

C. Industry

Wood fiber products is the major industry in Savannah -- paper bags, paper board and paper containers made from wood pulp outweigh all other products. The Union Bag-Camp Paper Corporation operates the world's largest paper bag plant in Savannah, which employs from 5,000 to 6,000 people. Continental Can also operates a paper container plant. Gypsum products have great importance. The Flintkote Company is about to open a multi-million dollar gypsum board factory. Chemical products are third in importance with American Cyanamid and Hercules Powder Company manufacturing

basic chemicals. Sugar refining is another important industry. Another product that is not of great importance in terms of volume, but has made Savannah famous, is a locally manufactured brick called Savannah Grey which is very expensive and shipped long distances because of its unusual beauty and characteristics. Savannah's unusually fine harbor makes it the most important port south of Norfolk, Virginia. Shipping is a major economic activity, and stevedoring an important occupation.

In addition to industry and shipping, the Hunter Air Force Base is an important factor influencing both population growth and economic enterprise. Some 300 civilians are employed at the base and as many as 5,000 air force personnel may be stationed there at times. (See Exhibits H 1, D 2 and 3)

D. Labor Force and Labor Organization

The labor market area embraces Chatham County, two other counties in Georgia and two counties in South Carolina. The total population of the five-county area is 261,000. The labor force was estimated at 65,000 in 1962 of which 3,500 or under 5% was unemployed, a more favorable condition than in many parts of the nation. Only one industry (Union Bag) employs as many as 5,000 workers. Five industries all employed over 500 each, and all of the balance are smaller operations. (See Exhibit L 1).

Many Savannah respondents said that Savannah has traditionally been a "labor town". Organized labor has been strong in Savannah for many years. The building trades are highly organized. Industrial unions are strong in the paper and wood pulp industries and wharves. The political organization makes sure that a labor man is on the slate for City Council and

another is appointed to the school board. Other labor representatives appear on many boards and commissions. There are two large labor union locals at the Union Bag plants. There had been four locals -- two white and two Negro. These have been integrated in recent years. It is reported that the Negro president of one of the locals became president of the integrated local, but that was not fully verified.

The stevedoring local of the Longshoremen is all Negro, while the clerks and checkers local is all white. It is reported that this arrangement is satisfactory to both the white and Negro longshoremen. In the building trades there are segregated locals in the bricklaying trade, with the Negro local being several times larger than the white; and in the carpenters trade where the white local is ten times larger than the Negro local. The painters local is integrated. The plasterers and cement finishers are all Negro. The plumbers and electrical workers are all white. It is reported that the several locals work together in a very satisfactory fashion within the Building Trades Council. The meetings of the Council are integrated.

E. Racial Patterns in Employment

The racial patterns in the building trades and the stevedores are indicated above. Negroes are reported to have many jobs in handling raw materials in the chemical, gypsum and wood pulp industries. Mr. Louis Nunn of the Building Trades Council thought that the number of Negroes employed at the Union Bag Company was under ten percent, but he was not sure of this and it was not verified. Negroes are now employed in many blue collar city jobs, but none had been employed in white collar jobs at the time of the survey, although it was indicated

that the first young Negro woman was to start as a clerk in early May. Negroes are employed as policemen (28 out of 172), firemen (one segregated company of six men), bus drivers and librarians. All faculty in the segregated Negro schools are Negro.

As a result of recent boycotts and other pressures, there are reported to be several Negro salesclerks in city stores.

The median family income for Negro families is $2,708 or less than 50% as much as that for whites which is $5,858. Unemployment data on a racial basis was not obtainable.

F. Education and Training

Savannah still has an almost completely segregated school system. There are 25 white and 17 Negro elementary schools; 7 white and 4 Negro junior high schools; 1 white, 3 Negro and 2 integrated high schools. The total pupil population in 1963-64 was 24,914 white pupils and 15,888 Negro pupils. Nineteen Negroes were enrolled in the 12th grade in two predominantly white high schools. Savannah has adopted a one-grade-a-year plan of integration starting at the 12th grade. In addition to the regular schools, there are two vocational schools. The Savannah Vocational School for whites had two Negro pupils in 1963-64. The Harris Area Trade School is for Negroes. The difference between the two in curriculum is shocking. It is obvious that the Negro vocational school is inferior in the extreme. (See Exhibits N 5 and N 6).

The Board of Education is appointive, with part being appointed by the Mayor and City Council and part by the County Commissioners. Such a system of appointing School Board members obviously results in almost total non-accountability to the public.

All faculty is segregated with Negroes only teaching Negroes, and vice versa. The Superintendent of Schools made it quite clear that the Board has no thought of integrating faculties unless forced to do so by legal action. Teachers attend orientation and training sessions on an integrated basis. Otherwise, there is apparently no communication between the white and Negro faculties.

Almost seven percent of the non-whites over 25 years of age have never attended school, while less than seven tenths of one percent of the whites are in that class. About ten percent of the Negro population has graduated from high school as compared with 30% of the white population. Four percent of the non-whites have graduated from college as compared with eight percent of the whites. The median educational level for whites is eleven years and for Negroes it is seven years.

There are good opportunities for advanced education at Savannah. The traditionally Negro Savannah State College is located just outside the city, and the traditionally white Armstrong College of Savannah -- a two year college -- is located in the center of the city. Both colleges began first steps toward integration in 1963 with at least two Negro students attending Armstrong and at least two whites attending Savannah. It is reported that Armstrong is about to launch into a four year program.

More will be said about education and training in Section III of the report.

G. Housing

The time devoted to the survey did not permit an intensive survey of local housing conditions. The United States Census data indicate that more than 50% of all Negro-occupied

housing was deteriorating or dilapidated. Superficial observation based on driving through the city indicated that much of the housing occupied by Negroes was in deplorable condition.

The Savannah Housing Authority operates six low-rent housing projects numbering just under 2,000 dwelling units. The projects are all racially segregated. There are three land clearance urban renewal projects; one for lower rent, residential reuse; one for commercial and industrial reuse, and one conservation project. When Savannah asked for authority to issue bonds for the urban renewal program a few years ago, the reactionary white vote and the Negro vote combined to defeat the proposal. The Negroes voted against the proposal on the grounds that they believed it would result in Negro clearance.

In older sections of the city Negroes live in many "pockets" so that there is not as tight a pattern of racial segregation as is found in some northern cities. However, more than 50% of the Negro population does live in an expanding ghetto area. The emerging pattern in Savannah is not different than that in northern cities. Whites are withdrawing from the older, poorer quality sections of the city and moving to new lower priced housing in the peripheral and suburban sections. Negroes are moving into the areas abandoned by the whites. One significant difference in the pattern, however, is that whites are not leaving the higher quality, inner areas of the city.

Savannah political and civic leadership is deeply concerned about providing better housing for Negroes and wants to increase the supply of low income housing. It is giving no thought at all to open occupancy housing.

H. Government and Politics

Chatham County has the traditional Georgia form of county government. County government in Georgia generally has more power than in many states. The County Commissioners are elected, they engage directly in administrative concerns, they control patronage and they operate as a political machine. The county government invests little in capital improvements, spends most of its money in the traditional forms of service and maintenance which are not the subject of controversy and takes few risks in terms of voter reaction. Therefore, the county government is the citadel of old line politics.

Savannah city went through a reform movement in 1947, adopted a new city charter calling for a Council-Manager form of government. The real policy control of the city rests with the not too hidden power structure. The present mayor is a strong man in his own right. He could not survive without the power structure, he is an integral part of the power structure but he is independent enough to wield the structure as much as being wielded by it. "The City Council is nothing", said one well-informed respondent. The Council rubber stamps what the City Manager, the Mayor and the city Attorney have mapped out after the Mayor has caucused informally with the key people in the power structure.

The city government is "clean" because the power structure wants it that way and does not need patronage to survive. However, the Civil Service, while largely devoid of political patronage, is not a true merit system in the usual sense of the word. It is quite obvious that the Mayor and city executives use their best judgment as to the pace at which Negroes can be

employed in city government. When they decide that it is time to employ more police, more firemen or white collar workers in city hall, then the civil service will see to it that the Negroes are produced.

The city attorney and the City Manager are both the "Mayor's men". He promoted them to where they are and the three of them are a team. Arthur Mendonza is a non-native career city planner who the Mayor moved from the $11,000 per year Planning Commission directorship to the $15,000 per year city managership. He is a well trained professional and is working hard to modernize the city administrative machinery. The former Police Commissioner was fired and a new one hired as a part of this program. Now the city is having an administrative study made by outside consultants of police recruiting and training methods, preparatory to instituting modern systems.

Conversations with the Mayor indicate that he pays close attention to coordinating the functions of planning, urban renewal, public housing and recreation.

While the Mayor has less control over the county government than over the city government, the same forces that support him exercise the dominant control in county government. However, the forces functioning in county government are more diffuse and more concessions must be made to the traditional political forces in the county. (See Appendix A).

I. Health and Welfare

The United Community Services (UCS) has enough names from the large corporate and power structure on its board to indicate where the control is. The president of the UCS is also president of the Savannah Sugar Refining Company, while men like McClurkin (Savannah Power), Pidcock (South Atlantic Gas Company)

and Lientz (Union Bag) are on the board. In addition the UCS and its planning division have an extensive network of committees that reach into every level and every compartment of government, urban development, education, religion, cultural and civic activity. (See Exhibits G 1 through 8).

There is a delegate assembly of 800 members, a board of directors of 33 and a professional staff of nine. The UCS director, Mr. F. R. McKeever, directs the United Community Appeal which is the fund raising arm of the UCS and boasts some 3,000 volunteers. The associate director is Stanley A. Fishler, who heads up the Social Planning Division, which claims over 1,200 participants serving on a wide range of committees and councils.

It seems unlikely that this is a truly democratic structure operating from the bottom up. More likely, the UCS is governed at the top and has achieved tremendous status appeal so that several thousand persons gain satisfaction in working with the structure.

Fishler claimed, and his claim does not appear exaggerated, that the UCS serves as the main planning force in Chatham County and that it exercises extensive influence over metropolitan planning, urban renewal and housing. However, the real planning power rests in the board of the UCS with all of the volunteers, etc. serving as a technical arm.

J. Religious Influence

As in other Southern cities, Protestants hold sway. However, Protestant power rests with the large denominational groups, not with the fundamentalists. The Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists dominate the picture. The two most prominent and influential

churchmen are Bishop Stuart of the Episcopal Diocese and Dr. Bland Tucker, rector of Christ Church which was founded by General Oglethorpe. Many of the most powerful persons in Savannah are members of Christ Church.

Untypical of the south, Catholics are an integral part of the city and many Catholics are in upper status society. Bishop McDonough has great influence and is considered very liberal on racial issues. His church is St. Johns, a large, impressive and beautiful edifice. Msgr. John Toomey is the most active and effective person in the Committee of 100.

The Jewish community dates back to the founding of Savannah and is very well established and respected. One gains the impression that the Jewish community has withdrawn into safe isolation and does not influence public policy very much. Bishop Stuart, Dr. Tucker, Bishop McDonough and Msgr. Toomey are powerful influences for good in the field of race relations. (See Appendix A).

K. The Mass Media

The Savannah News (morning) and The Savannah Press (evening) are owned by the Savannah News-Press Company. J. L. Sutlive is publisher. Both morning and evening papers are mundane. Sutlive is reported to be a segregationist in outlook, but he is so responsive to the power structure that he follows its lead. The Mayor and others spoke well of the press because it goes along with what has been decided.

The TV stations are more independent. They do not appear to have a particular bias but are "news-minded". This has angered the Mayor and some of the power structure because the TV news staffs have tended to trigger incidents through more active

news coverage. When it was planned to have the theatres integrated quietly, television crews appeared on the scene. This created enough of a public stir so that the KKK picketed the theatres and are believed responsible for a tear gas bomb incident.

WSGA (radio) features weekly programs for Negroes. WSOK, owned by Speidel Stations, features all Negro programs. Hosea Williams conducts a regular weekly program on this station.

The Savannah Herald is a weekly Negro newspaper. Not much was said about this paper by either Negroes or whites. It is believed to be dominated by an old line Negro viewpoint and not to be trusted by the militants. Hosea Williams publishes the "Crusader" periodically. The Sun, a weekly published by Abraham Eisenman, is a strongly integrationist paper.

L. The Power Structure

Like many small and medium size cities, Savannah has a clearly defined power structure. In Savannah the structure holds undisputed sway. Its key to power is the relative strength of the few financial empires; namely, the Citizens and Southern Bank, the Union Bag-Camp Paper Corporation, the Savannah Light and Power Company and the South Atlantic Gas Company. Equally important are such factors as a live-wire young business group, represented in the Jr. Chamber of Commerce, the 500 for Progress and the political reformers. These forces have caused the top power to coalesce and to act progressively in self defense.

The Mayor is strong enough and independent enough, and so attractive a figure, that he is courted by all these groups and manages to manage them as much as he is managed. The Mayor may not be an integrationist at heart and would certainly deny that

he is one, but he is astute enough to know that change is necessary and that positive change is good for business and good for politics.

In the arena of race relations and civil rights, the Mayor and the power structure must operate anonymously. For this purpose the Committee of 100 has been formed. No one will say who the "100" are or who speaks for them. Probably there is no group that meets regularly at all. By common consent various groups of business and government officials, religious and civic leaders meet on an ad hoc basis to resolve specific problems as they arise. Whatever is decided is attributed to the "100". Also, by common consent, Msgr. Toomey serves as the prompter, communicator and mover. (See Appendix A).

M. The Negro Community and the Negro Revolt

This descriptive section would not be complete without a full description of the Negro population, leadership, organization and activity. However, it would be repetitious to attempt to describe it separately from a discussion and an analysis. That material is developed in the next section.

Up to date list as of 7/9/64

Persons invited to attend the SAC Meeting and Special

Civil Rights briefing held in Atlanta, July 6, 1964

Prof. Clarence A. Bacote
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mr. James S. Childers
Tupper & Love, Inc.
3030 Peachtree Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr.
2750 Wyngate, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Mrs. William C. Pauley
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Morgan C. Stanford
1431 Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Horace T. Ward
859-1/2 Hunter St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mrs. Prentiss Q. Yancey
1740 Simpson Road, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Reverend Charles S. Hamilton
1224 Gwinnett St.
Augusta, Georgia 30901

Miss Johnnie Hilbun
922 S.F.C. Building
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Reverend A. Nelson Dau
212 North Jefferson
Albany, Georgia 31701

Mr. Arthur J. McClung
1420-B Shepherd Drive
Columbus, Georgia 31906

Rt. Rev. Monsignor John D. Toomey
8412 Whitfield Avenue
Savannah, Georgia 31406
Pastor, St. James Church

Reverend James L. ~~Hotten~~ Hooten, Sr.
110 Harlan Drive
Savannah, Georgia 31406

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Statesboro
Georgia 30458

Mr. L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia

File
Civil Rights Commission
Ga. Advisory Ctte.

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CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION DESEGREGATION

MAY 14, 1966

SPONSORED BY

THE GEORGIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

BILTMORE HOTEL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PURPOSES

A. Explain and discuss the 1966-67 "Guidelines for Education Desegregation" issued by the Commissioner of Education.

B. Discuss various Federal statutes and administrative procedures relating to school desegregation.

C. Discuss problems, methods, and techniques involved in the desegregation of schools.

D. Discuss grants and other services made available by Federal Government and private agencies to aid schools and communities in desegregating schools.

GEORGIA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Brunswick

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John D. Toomey
Savannah

Horace T. Ward
Atlanta

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey
Atlanta

PROGRAM

PLENARY SESSION	9:15 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.
Presiding	Sam Massell, Jr. Acting Chairman Georgia State Advisory Committee Atlanta
Welcome	John Letson Superintendent of Schools Atlanta
Remarks	Samuel J. Simmons Director Field Services Division U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Washington, D.C.
Address	Dr. Charles L. Willis Head, Department of Educational Administration Florida State University Tallahassee, Florida
Keynote Address	(Mrs.) Ruby G. Martin Staff Assistant for Education Secretary's Office for Civil Rights Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Washington, D.C.
WORKSHOP SESSIONS (see following pages)	10:30 a.m. - 12:00 Noon
LUNCH	12:00 Noon - 1:30 p.m.
WORKSHOP SESSIONS (continue)	1:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.
ADJOURNMENT	3:30 p.m.

WORKSHOP I

City of Atlanta

CHAIRMAN	Dr. Tilman C. Cothran Atlanta
PANELISTS	Howard Moore, Jr. Attorney at Law Atlanta
	W. Stanley Kreuger Director, Area No. II Equal Educational Opportunities Program U.S. Office of Education Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Washington, D.C.
	Dr. Edward K. Weaver Professor of Education Atlanta University Atlanta
	Samuel Williams President Atlanta Branch, NAACP Atlanta

WORKSHOP II

Southwest Counties

CHAIRMAN	Arthur J. McClung Columbus
PANELISTS	C. B. King Attorney at Law Albany
	(Mrs.) Suzanne Price Education Specialist, Area No. II Equal Educational Opportunities Program U.S. Office of Education Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Washington, D.C.
	Dr. Donald R. Greene Associate Professor of Education and Psychology Emory University Atlanta
	Joseph Tucker Field Secretary Georgia Conference, NAACP Atlanta
	Miss Winifred Falls School Desegregation Staff American Friends Service Committee Atlanta
Counties:	Appling, Atkinson, Bacon, Ben Hill, Berrien, Brantley, Bryan, Bulloch, Camden, Candler, Charlton, Chatham, Clinch, Coffee, Dodge, Dooly, Echols, Effingham, Evans, Glynn, Irwin, Jeff Davis, Liberty, Long, McIntosh, Montgomery, Pierce, Sumter, Tattnall, Telfair, Toombs, Ware, Wayne, and Wheeler

WORKSHOP III

Southeast Counties

CHAIRMAN	Rt. Rev. Msgr. John D. Toomey Savannah
PANELISTS	Eugene Gadsden Attorney at Law Savannah
	(Mrs.) Phyllis P. McClure Education Specialist, Area No. II U.S. Office of Education Equal Educational Opportunities Program Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Washington, D.C.
	Dr. Edward Ladd Professor of Education Emory University Atlanta
	W. W. Law President Georgia Conference, NAACP Savannah
Counties:	Baker, Brooks, Calhoun, Clay, Colquitt, Cook, Crisp, Decatur, Dougherty, Early, Grady, Lanier, Lee, Lowndes, Miller, Mitchell, Pulaski, Quitman, Randolph, Seminole, Stewart, Terrell, Thomas, Tift, Turner, Webster, Wilcox, and Worth

WORKSHOP IV

Middle Counties

CHAIRMAN	Mrs. William C. Pauley Atlanta
PANELISTS	Thomas M. Jackson Attorney at Law Macon
	Miss Donna Shea Program Aide, Area No. II Equal Educational Opportunities Program U.S. Office of Education Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Washington, D.C.
	Joseph Hendricks Dean of Men Mercer College Macon
	William Randall President Macon Branch, NAACP Macon
	Miss Constance Curry Southern Field Representative American Friends Service Committee Atlanta
Counties:	Baldwin, Bibb, Bleckley, Burke, Chattahoochee, Crawford, Emanuel, Harris, Houston, Jefferson, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Lamar, Laurens, Macon, Marion, Meriwether, Monroe, Muscogee, Peach, Pike, Richmond, Schley, Screven, Talbot, Taylor, Treutlen, Troup, Twiggs, Upson, Washington, and Wilkinson.

WORKSHOP V

Northern Counties

CHAIRMAN

John H Ruffin, Jr
Augusta

PANELISTS

Dennis J Roberts
Attorney at Law
Albany

Elton Ridge
Education Specialist, Area No. II
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Horace E. Tate
Executive Secretary
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
Atlanta

Rev. Harold Turner
Gainesville Progressive Citizens League
Gainesville

Counties:

Banks, Barrow, Bartow, Butts, Carroll, Catoosa, Chattooga, Cherokee, Clarke, Clayton, Cobb, Columbia, Coweta, Dade, Dawson, DeKalb, Douglas, Elbert, Fannin, Fayette, Floyd, Forsyth, Franklin, Fulton, Gilmer, Glascock, Gordon, Greene, Gwinnett, Habersham, Hall, Hancock, Haralson, Hart, Heard, Henry, Jackson, Jasper, Lincoln, Lumpkin, McDuffie, Madison, Morgan, Murray, Newton, Oconee, Oglethorpe, Paulding, Pickens, Polk, Putnam, Rabun, Rockdale, Spalding, Stephens, Taliaferro, Union, Walker, Walton, Warren, White, Whitfield, and Wilkes

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: GEORGIA

I. EDUCATION: Public School, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

None

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959):

Total: 4 private colleges

Institutions	Legal Control
Clark College, Atlanta (Formerly All Negro)	Methodist
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Morehouse College, Atlanta (Formerly All Negro)	Private
Spelman College, Atlanta (Formerly All Negro)	Private

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January 1959):

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from press clippings, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

Atlanta - golf course, court order, December 1955

V. SUFFRAGE:

Negro Registration 1958: 158,051 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 12.4

Negro Registration 1956: 163,389 (Official)

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE:

Atlanta - School Board. Dr. Rufus E. Clement, first elected to the Atlanta School Board in 1953, was re-elected in 1957.

Fulton County - (Atlanta): Two Negroes, Dr. C. A. Bacote and Mr. J. C. Daugherty, were elected to the Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in September, 1958.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated Since 1954:

Atlanta, January 1959

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms:

A 1958 spot survey included the following Georgia cities:

Atlanta - Buses have separate waiting rooms, although signs are down. Railway stations provide two waiting rooms, one general and unmarked, another marked "colored intra-state". Air Terminal offers desegregated waiting room facilities, and encourages but does not usually require segregation in the restaurant. (Court suit pending by Birmingham man who states he was refused desegregated service.)

Macon - Waiting room facilities are segregated in the city's two bus stations, and train terminal. Air line waiting room is not segregated; however, its restrooms and restaurant are.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

March, '60 - from Mr. Knox

Suggested Names for Civil Rights Advisory Committee

Mrs. Stewart Colley Grantville	Clubwoman, wife of textile manufacturer, former pres. Ga. Fed. Women's Clubs, WSCS, North Ga. Conf. Methodist Church, United Church Women of Ga., directed women's division in James V. Carmichael's campaign for governor 1946
W. W. Watts Thomasville	Business man, Presbyterian layman active at state level, for many years - probably still does - directed Foreign Student Exchange program for Georgia Rotary
Cecil Cook Valdosta	Heads own CPA firm, Presbyterian layman, Antioch alumnus, native of Ohio
Guy H. Wells Statesboro	Former college president, Rotary District Governor, active in Baptist church
N. Harold Stinson Keysville	Head of Boggs Academy, Negro Presbyterian high school, working on PH. D. at Peabody
Mrs. William Burts Macon	Wife of Dean of Students, Mercer; Oberlin, Northwestern, active in League of Women Voters, keen
N Frank Hutchings Macon	Undertaker, long-time leader in struggle for civil rights, intelligent and respected
Charlie Gowen Brunswick	Georgia legislator for twenty or more years, more liberal than this permitted him to act, has publicly announced his retirement, probably leading attorney in that region
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon Columbus	Wife of influential businessman, former social worker, church and civic worker now
Rev. W. Lowery Anderson Columbus	Methodist minister, outspoken liberal
Dr. Byrd Daniel Statesboro	Physician - strangely liberal

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Ga advisory Ctte

File

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

Mr. Sylvan H. Meyer

Official Bulletin To: State Officials; Mayors; City and County Attorneys; Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs; Hospital and School Administrators; Hotel, Restaurant, Theater Owners; Representatives of Labor and Management; Civil Rights and Human Relations Agencies; Chambers of Commerce and News Media.

From: Sylvan H. Meyer, Chairman, Georgia Advisory Committee, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 308 Spring St., S.W., Gainesville, Ga.

Date: July 23, 1964.

We have received numerous requests from public officials and business people to explain the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and to answer questions about whether or not it applies to certain businesses and how it is supposed to work.

As this Committee is charged with the responsibility of collecting and disseminating information, we have made plans to hold an informative workshop on the new Act in Atlanta on August 12th. The meeting, at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel will begin at 10 A.M. with a two-hour general session, followed by a break for lunch, after which we will split up into group workshops (so you can get detailed information on the section which interests you most).

Among the panel participants will be representatives from the Justice Department and the Commerce Department, as well as several Georgians.

The purpose of the meeting is strictly informative. If you find the session valuable and feel others could benefit from such a meeting, the Committee is prepared to hold similar panel discussions in other sections of the state.

There is no registration fee. However, we do ask that you promptly return the enclosed card so that we may have an indication of the attendance in order to supply adequate seating and other facilities.

We hope that you or your representative will come and we want you to know that your cooperation in the interest of peaceful progress in Georgia is very much appreciated.

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✓J ✓ Ga. advisory ctte
U.S.C. on C.R.

Les: ✓

In brief, the civil rights commission dinner:

Much talk from Patterson, Meyers about encouraging compliance, not taking out after defiance... and of commission's role as fact-gatherer, not enforcer or even recommendation maker to the public... Undercurrent of concern about enforcement from questioners, ~~kuevgeuuvu~~ who were the general run of ~~Negr~~ Atlanta Negro leadership. Also undercurrent of sniping at Ga. Advisory Committee for so little activity in the past. Ga. Advisory Committee unveiled plans for holding one-day seminar to instruct reps of statewide organizations, from theatermen to hospital administrators, in mysteries of civil rights law. Enthusiasm among guests restrained. Strong suggestion from Jesse Hill that they orient the sheriffs and police chiefs first. Apparently all will be oriented at once. Wiley suggested that the Ga. Advisory Committee strongly recommend that the Commission get a permanent director. Gene Patterson said the commission to confer this month with Johnson and recommend one, and that Ga. resolution would be germaine. Dinner, at $3.50, was lousy.

Patw

UNITED STATES CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Community Survey -- Savannah, Georgia

Appendix A

Who's Who In Savannah

The following is not intended to be definitive. It is a key to some of the people who have influence or would be good sources of information.

A. Economic and Political Power

1. The Citizens and Southern National Bank

Mills B. Lane (now of Atlanta), President

Joseph H. Harrison (Savannah), Executive Vice President

The origin and center of operation of this bank was not fully clarified for the writer. It is the writer's impression that the bank's original home office was in Savannah, but has been moved to Atlanta. It may be that the main banking operation is still in Savannah, but that the official front office is at the state capital.

Mills B. Lane is a native of Savannah and is reputed to own much of the most valuable real estate. It seems to be generally acceded that he is the most powerful individual in Savannah and that Joseph H. Harrison wields the power.

Whereas James R. Lientz of Union Bag Company is the instrument through which the power structure moves for change, Lane is the man who stands for status quo or decides what the limits of change will be.

2. Union Bag - Camp Paper Corporation, New York

Alexander Calder, President

Ranked by Fortune as number 225 in the list of 500 largest corporations; assets 1962, $257,000,000; net profit 1962, $19,000,000.

The Savannah plant is not only the largest single plant in Savannah, but is the world's largest pulp, paper mill and bag factory. Savannah payroll is about $33,000,000 annually; over 7,000 employees.

Union Bag - Camp Paper is reputed to be one of the most powerful political forces in Georgia. Its principal source of raw material is pulp wood timber in which Georgia abounds. It owns timber tracts and contracts with farmers and landowners on a long term basis (20 to 50 years) for production of timber. "It has the county attorneys of practically every county in the state on retainer".

Thus, while Union Bag is a "foreign" owned corporation, because of its vested interests in Georgia as a source of raw material, it behaves much more like a very large local interest.

James R. Lientz is the Savannah District Manager for the Union Bag - Camp Paper Corp. He is credited by many upper level people in Savannah as the emerging power man. (The Mayor, John Jones, Msgr. Toomey, Adler all said this) It is doubtful that he is an innovator on his own merit. He probably takes his orders from New York. He is a major instrument in a power play that works this way:

Many of those in power know that Savannah and Georgia must be modernized. Most of them are vulnerable and inhibited by family, social position,

others in power, public opinion, etc. Union Bag is so powerful that it is much less vulnerable. However, it won't do anything without an implicit understanding that it will be supported. The hidden power structure of Savannah makes its decisions. These are communicated to Calder in New York. Calder gives Lientz the "nod". All of this is done with watchful caution. The revolution this group is sponsoring is geared to modernizing Georgia's economy, not to social justice. However, the men involved know that the old patterns are choking the South, so they equate an orderly social revolution with economic progress.

Lientz is mentioned often as an important figure in the Committee of 100. He and Pidcock (Savannah Gas (South Atlantic Gas Company) are mentioned alternately as the equivalent of chairmen of that group. Actually, neither wants to be and both are under some pressure to take the responsibility.

3. Savannah Electric and Power Company

L. C. McClurkin, President

W. L. Mingledorff, Vice President

McClurkin is spoken of by many as a major figure in the economic development of the community and one who uses political power to gain his ends. Following Mills B. Lane and Joseph Harrison, he may be the third most powerful individual in Savannah. However, he is more concerned with

economic development than either the social status quo or social justice.

W. L. Mingledorff, former mayor and the man who lost in the attempt to take over the Chatham County Commission, is a vice president and front man for the company. One respondent referred to him as "McClurkin's political errand boy". McClurkin and Mingledorff are both officers of the Savannah District Authority.

4. South Atlantic Gas Company

H. Hillyer, Chairman of the Board

John F. Pidcock, President

Next to the Savannah Electric and Power Company, the Gas Company has an interest in economic development. Hillyer was not mentioned as a power. Pidcock is Chairman of the Savannah District Authority. He is mentioned as an important behind-the-scenes figure on the Committee of 100. Some spoke of him as the man who is being asked to assume leadership of the "100". However, Lientz was also spoken of in those terms.

Pidcock is not a "liberal". He stated that he is a segregationist in attitude, but wants to work things out to the general advantage of the whole community.

5. First Federal Savings and Loan Association

J. D. McLamb, President

This firm may not have the status and power to compare with Citizens and Southern. However, McLamb is the link between the political forces and the economic power structure. He is reputed to be the major supporter of Mayor Maclean, and the man who persuades the economic powers to go along with Maclean's liberal policies.

6. Savannah Sugar Refining Corporation

Lawton Calhoun, President

Calhoun is president of the United Community Services. One respondent described him as "not constructive"; exercises "veto power". This does not fit in with his role in U.C.S.

7. Great Dane Trailers, Inc.

George A. Mercer, Chairman of the Board

Christopher Hammond, President

Hammond is on the advisory committee of the Savannah District Authority and reputedly in the inner circle of the top power group.

8. Palmer and Cay, Inc. (Insurance)

John (Jack) Cay, Jr.

Cay is "potentially the strongest political figure in the County. However, he has not emerged in that role yet."

C. F. (Chuck) Wood is on the County Commission and chairman of the police committee for the County. In that role, he functions as Chief of the county police. Wood does Cay's bidding.

Cay is a member of the Savannah Transit Authority.

9. Strachan Shipping Company; Atlantic Towing Company

Robert Grove, President (also Chairman of Board, Chatham Savings Bank)

This company is the largest local shipping interest. Grove is a member of the Savannah District Authority. Capt. George Spencer, who is chief of the towing fleet, is Savannah's most ardent and active integrationist.

10. Savannah Bank and Trust Company

Reuben G. Clark, retiring President

Malcolm Bell, Jr., new President

Highly respected. Fairly liberal on racial question.

11. Jones and Hill, Insurance

John Jones

Jones is an older man. Thoroughly a southern gentleman. Talks liberally about race but says "nigger". Has good understanding of power struggle. Probably is amused to observe the discomfort of the "stuffed shirts" under pressure. A good man to talk to to find out who's who. Probably does not have a lot of influence. Member of Transit Authority.

12. Levy's Department Store

Henry E. Goldberg, Manager

Levy's is a branch of Allied Stores, a national chain. Goldberg is strongly disliked in the Negro community because he held out for the merchants when the Negroes boycotted "Broughton Street", which is the main shopping center of Savannah.

Levy's was badly hurt and Goldberg is trying hard to make up for it. While he is not credited with being a policy maker, he is the "action man" for the Chamber of Commerce and the Committee of 100. He is now reputed to be the chief promoter of equal opportunity for Negroes in employment.

13. Flintkote, New York

George J. Pecaro, President

Listed as #193 in Fortune's list of 500 largest industrial corporations. Assets 1962, $255,000,000; net profits 1962, $12,600,000.

The Flintkote Company probably does not exert much power. It has over 150 plants widely distributed. It was persuaded to come to Savannah to operate a plant financed by the Savannah District Authority.

14. Savannah District Authority

The SDA is chartered by the state of Georgia as an industrial and port development agency, and functions also as the port authority. Except for Mills B. Lane who lives in Atlanta, the entire top power structure serves on this authority or its chief committees, and Lane is there in the person of Joseph Harrison.

Here is the power of Savannah. However, as an Authority this group would take no responsibility for public policy, especially not in race relations.

John F. Pidcock is Chairman and G. H. Kissinger, Jr. is Executive Director.

The Authority's operating funds are supplied from city and county sources. It is authorized and does finance through sale of bonds; buys, sells and leases property. (See Exhibits H 1 and F 2, p.9)

15. Chamber of Commerce

Wm. J. Schandolph, President (Manager, Tetley Tea Co.)
(Term expires in 1964)

Jack Altman, President-elect (President, Desbouillons, Inc.)
(Jewelers)

Irving A. Metz, Executive Vice President

The Chamber is not at the top of the power structure. Lientz is the only top figure on the board. The Chamber functions as a research and service agency, promoter of tourism, etc.

Altman, the President-elect, is reputed to be a

strong segregationist. Metz is amiable, articulate, very well informed, but probably not a power. (See Exhibits D 1, D 2 and D 3)

16. The 500 For Progress

Described by the executives as a group of "successful insurgents who set out to do what the Chamber of Commerce should have been doing" and by the Mayor, John Jones, Mingledorff and Metz as "dissident" and "upstarts".

They do not number 500; perhaps less than 200. Have succeeded in "needling" the Savannah District Authority and Chamber of Commerce into doing many things. "The more successful they are, the less they are needed".

There are no big names in the group. Henry Goldberg of Levy's is probably the one closest to the power structure.

Nathaniel Polster, the executive director is extremely well informed, a very good source of information and an extremely sensitive observer. He is a northerner, (Ohio), a liberal, pro-integrationist; he has no power status. (See Exhibits E 1 and E 2)

B. Government and Politics

1. Political Power

Mayor Malcolm Maclean and the economic power structure are the political powers of the city. The same group, somewhat diffused, with Jack Cay as a stronger figure, functions in the county.

A group of declining power is the old John Bouhan machine, of which County Commissioner Fred Wessels is still a member. Prior to about 1955, this group was powerful and were controlled by the Central of Georgia Railroad (now sold to Southern R.R.) This group held sway in the old political

machine style with "Crackers", Jews and Irish Catholic support.

2. City Government

Savannah adopted a Council-Mayor form of government in 1947. The mayor sits as a member of council. The present Mayor is a power by virtue of his very strong personality and his acceptability to the power structure. The Mayor's power is determined much more by the power structure than by any inherent political strength.

Mayor Malcolm R. Maclean is "first family", Yale-Harvard, naval commander, successful lawyer, strong minded, relatively independent, progressive, very intelligent, extremely liberal within the Georgia context, hard headed, a bit of a prima donna.

Arthur A. Mendonsa is City Manager. Academically well-trained (city planning), quiet, competent, a "management minded" administrator, probably quite liberal but will administer official policy that is laid down.

"City Council is nothing". John Rawers, Alderman, will talk and knows what is going on.

James B. Blackburn, City Attorney is articulate, intelligent, a sensitive observer, liberal but ambitious, and will follow policy. Blackburn is a good man to talk to for sorting out facts. (See Exhibit F 2)

3. Chatham County Government

County government is more the seat of political power than is the city. County government controls patronage. The same reform group that dominates city government now controls a majority of County Commissioners. However, the old party faction, headed by Fred Wessels, Jr. (and controlled behind the scenes by John Bouhan) still has strong minority power.

John (Jack) Cay, Jr. is reputed to be a power in county politics with C. F. (Chuck) Wood, a county commissioner as "his man". (See Exhibit F 2)

C. Religion

Bishop Albert R. Stuart (Episcopal) and the Rev. Dr. Bland Tucker, Vicar of Christ Episcopal Church are the top status Protestant ministers, very influential. They have enough status to be quite liberal as to race. Bishop Stuart has led the way toward liberalization of racial patterns more than any white man, except Mayor Maclean.

Dr. Tucker may be less influential but is a better source of information.

Rev. James L. Hooten, Sr., pastor of First Christian Church is president of the all white Protestant Ministers' Association, active in integrated group and widely respected.

Bishop McDonough is the Roman Catholic Bishop; liberal, works closely with Protestants. Fr. MacNamara was the Catholic representative for the Bishop, but Msgr. Toomey is now the chief Catholic clergyman concerned for race relations. He is perhaps the strongest force for improving race relations in Savannah.

No Jewish clergyman was mentioned as having particular influence. Irving Giffen is the executive of Jewish Educational Alliance.

D. Health and Welfare

The United Community Services is highly organized with several hundred persons serving on committees.

Lawton Calhoun of Savannah Sugar is President. V. E. Kelly of Union Bag is Vice President. Lientz, Pidcock, McClurkin, Mingledorff, Charles Wood, Msgr. Toomey, McLamb,

Goldberg, are all on the board. These are names that arise frequently around the community.

E. Public Schools

Dr. Darnell L. Brawner, President, Board of Education

Dr. Thord M. Marshall, Superintendant of Schools

Mrs. Saxon Bargeron, Director of Curriculum

Basil Morris, Attorney

Brawner and Morris are both spoken of as "segregationists". Neither was interviewed. Thord Marshall is new. He came to Savannah from St. Augustine in 1963. He is guarded in his statements and appears resentful when questioned about racial matters.

Mrs. Bargeron is not a policy person but is familiar with school data.

F. Negro Leadership

1. N.A.A.C.P.

Wesley W. Law, President

Esther F. Garrison, Secretary

Dr. J. W. Jamerson, Jr., Vice President

Rev. Louis S. Stell, Jr., Chairman, Education Committee (Pastor, Bethlehem Baptist Church)

Curtis V. Cooper, Public Relations Chairman

Rev. John S. Bryan, Executive Committee

Rev. Pickens A. Patterson, Executive Committee (V.P. State Assn.)

Robert R. Tindall, Chairman, Labor Committee

Eugene H. Gadsden, Attorney for NAACP

Wesley Law has been president of NAACP for many years. Employed as a postman, he devotes all his waking, non-working hours to NAACP. He is reserved, terse, almost truculent but quite communicative after confidence has been established. He has an encyclopedic knowledge of local civil rights issues

and events. He has a logical, orderly mind and displays a capacity for sound strategy.

Because he is orderly and knows a great deal more than most, he is impatient and contemptuous of leadership of such persons as Hosea Williams who are given to exhibitionism.

Once regarded by the white community as too militant, he is now respected for his honesty, firmness and personal integrity. He is also deeply respected in the Negro community, but has antagonized some because he adheres to the plodding devices that worked in earlier years, and often shows contempt for the younger "eager beavers".

Rev. Stell is quietly articulate, fair minded, but determined. He is a supporter of Law but not manipulated by him, and is more willing to cooperate with others such as Hosea Williams.

Curtis Cooper is employed by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture in a technical capacity and probably has a college education. While intelligent and articulate, he was very diffident towards Law and probably is strongly manipulated by him.

Robert Tindall is youthful, has a college education, went to high school and college in New Jersey, is employed in a pension administration office by the Longshoremen. Tindall is very bright, articulate and independent. As Chairman of the Labor Committee, he is a key link between the NAACP and the Committee of 100 for employment matters.

Dr. Jamerson, a dentist, is Vice President of the NAACP branch, but is reported to be a supporter of Hosea Williams and often at odds with Law.

Rev. P. A. Patterson was not interviewed. He is reported to be quite independent. He supports both Law and Williams and does not get involved in factional struggles. He is respected in the white community and is a member of the Housing Authority.

Eugene Gadsden is a practicing attorney who heads up the NAACP legal work. He is reserved, not overly communicative, businesslike and is reputed to be very competent. He is respected in both the white and Negro communities. While he is reserved, he displays some disregard for Hosea Williams and the Crusade for Voters group. He ran for State Legislature.

Law, Gadsden, Stell and Patterson are the chief negotiators for rights on behalf of NAACP except for employment matters, in which area Tindall figures more strongly.

2. Crusade For Voters

Hosea Williams, President

William Balden, Assistant to Hosea Williams

Benjamin Van Clark

Mrs. Hosea Williams

Clarence Mayfield, Attorney

The Crusade for Voters appears to be the Savannah affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At least Hosea Williams has had the blessings of and assistance from that group, and has a staff worker in his office from SCLC. While Williams has several lieutenants around him, he does not appear to have a structured organization. His wife and Benjamin Van Clark are his key assistants. Williams operates primarily through ad hoc committees. Many of his followers are persons who hold official office in NAACP.

Van Clark is reputed still to be in high school, although a newspaper story identified him as an 11th grader when he led the boycott at Sol Johnson High School in 1961.

Clarence Mayfield is not officially the attorney for Crusade for Voters, but has demonstrated his sympathy for the group and has come to its legal aid.

3. Negroes Prominent in the School System

Clifford Hardwick, Supervisor of Secondary Schools

Daniel Wright, Jr., President, Negro Teachers Association

Mrs. A. B. Byers, teacher

4. Other Negroes of Prominence

Rev. F. D. Joudon, pastor, St. Philips Monumental A.M.E. Church

Rev. A. J. Martin, pastor, Townsley Chapel, A.M.E. Church

Mr. and Mrs. B. C. Ford, Acme Insurance Agency

Dr. and Mrs. S. M. McDew

Dr. and Mrs. J. W. Wilson

Mrs. A. D. Waters

A. George Sawyer, labor leader; President of Local Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union

5. The Committee of 100

James Lientz (Union Bag)

John Pidcock (South Atlantic Gas)

John Jones (Jones and Hill)

Henry E. Goldberg (Levy's)

Bishop Albert Stuart

Rev. Bland Tucker

Lee Adler

Msgr. John Toomey

The Committee of 100 is probably less than 100 and perhaps no more than 25. The membership is not announced.

No one admits to being an officer. There probably is no formal organization. The "100" is a fiction to persuade the larger community that there is a broad front working moderately for integration.

Msgr. Toomey is the chief catalyst. He and Lee Adler are the two people to contact for information.

G. Sources of Information

1. Georgia Council for Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Assistant Director

Holmes is a native of Savannah; had a church there and was present during the demonstrations. For intimate, inside information Holmes and Pauley are best.

2. Lee Adler

Scion of wealthy Jewish family; married a "first family" gentile girl and is now a very active member of Christ Episcopal Church. He is very knowledgeable and talks freely.

3. Fred Baldwin

Free lance writer and photographer, son of well to do family; well informed, talks freely, but is overly inclined to "interpret" so his information is not objective.

H. Segregationists

The following were referred to from time to time as the chief proponents of segregation and resistance to change:

Morrison's Cafeteria

Dennis Pierce, Attorney for Restaurant Association

Dr. Darnell Brawner, President of Board of Education

Basil Morris, Attorney - Board of Education

Mrs. J. Milton Lent, "The Conservatives" - formerly Senator Joseph McCarthy's private secretary; organizer for John Birch Society.

I. The Savannah Grays

This is a self organized group of citizens -- Negro and white who call themselves the Savannah Grays. While a complete listing was not obtained, the attached list of persons who offered to assist school integration are known to be the "Grays". They came together on December 2, 1961:

Dr. Bland Tucker

Mrs. Harriet Train Blake

Mrs. Frank P. McIntire

Rev. A. C. Cartright
(Retired pastor-First Cong. Church)

Mrs. J. R. Paddison

*Mrs. S. M. McDew

Mrs. A. J. Waring

*Mrs. J. W. Wilson

*Mrs. B. C. Ford

*Mrs. A. D. Waters

Rev. Francis X. Walter
(Vicar, Holy Apostles, Episcopal)

S. L. Brown

Mrs. Dorothy Taylor

* Negroes

J. Organized Labor

M. J. Counihan, Business Agent IBEW, Exec. V.P. State AFL-CIO Council

C. Esbey Thompson, V. P. First District, State AFL-CIO Council (Member of Board of Education)

Charles Ward, President, Trades & Labor Assembly of Savannah

Louis Nunn, Business Agent of Carpenters Union, Member of City Council

A. George Sawyer (Negro), President, Pulp & Sulphite Workers Union

Louis Nunn is the best source of information.

USCRC - COMMUNITY SURVEY

Savannah, Georgia

Appendix B

Documentary Sources and Key to Exhibits

I. Documentary Sources
(Not attached as exhibits)
1. Very extensive collection of news clippings re Savannah available at office of Mrs. Frances Pauley, Dir. Ge. Council Human Relations, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia.

II. Documentary Sources (attached as exhibits)

Exhibit

A-1. Community profile data supplied by USCRC Staff

2. Photo copies of news clippings supplied by USCRC

B- Planning, Housing and Urban Renewal

1. Annual Report 1961 - Housing Authority of Savannah

2. Annual Report 1962 - Housing Authority of Savannah

2a. Annual Report 1963 - Housing Authority of Savannah

3. Completion Report, July 1961 - Urban Planning Project Chatham County, Savannah Metro.Planning Com.

4. Annual Report, May 1963 - Citizens' Advisory Committee on Savannah Community Improvement Program & Urban Renewal

C- City of Savannah

1. Annual City Report, 1963

D- Chamber of Commerce

1. Population Data Sheet 1963

2. An Introduction to Savannah

3. 1963 Buyers' Guide and Membership Directory

4. 17 Mile Tour Map and Description

E- 500 For Progress, Inc.

1. Letterhead listing officers and board

2. Comparative notes on Negroes in Savannah and U. S.

F- League of Women Voters

1. Georgia's Government

2. Local Government Directory 1964

3. A Guide for Georgia Voters

4. The Case for Representation in Georgia's Legislature

G- United Community Services

1. Organization Chart
2. Board of Directors
3. Eleventh Annual Report 1962
4. Director of Human Services
5. Lists - Delegate Assembly, Participating Agencies, etc. (7 lists)
6. 1963 Report of Summer Rec. Program
7. UCS Description Leaflet
8. 12th Annual Report Flyer

H- Savannah District Authority

1. 1963 Annual Report
2. Fingertip Facts

I- Georgia State Employment Service

1. Labor Market Report - June 1962

J- Trades and Labor Assembly of Savannah

1. List of Committees

K- NAACP

1. 55th Anniversary Program 1964
2. 133rd Mass Meeting Program 1962
3. How To Become A Voter
4. Shopping Boycott Leaflets (11)

L- Crusade For Voters

1. History & Philosophy
2. Hosea Williams, Pres. Leaflet
3. The Crusader Newspaper, March 1964
4. Voter Registration Leaflet

M- Southern Christian Leadership Conference

1. Newsletters - 1963, 1964

N- Board of Education

1. Enrollment & Pupil-Teacher Study 1964

2. Local Salary Schedule 1964

3. Follow-Up Study of 1963 Graduates

4. Dropout Comparison

5. Savannah Vocational School Courses

6. Harris Area Trade School - Courses

O- Unidentified mimeographed statement re Chatham Human Relations Council

P- Current Clippings

R- Deducation Program Spencer School 1955 and Miscellaneous items and letters of commendation (6)

USCRC--COMMUNITY SURVEY

Savannah, Georgia

Part II

Recorded Interviews

1. Government Officials

   A. White
      Malcolm A. Maclean, Mayor
      Arthur A. Mendonsa, City Manager
      James Blackburn, City Attorney

2. Business Executives
   Irving Metz, Ex. Vice-Pres. Chamber of Commerce
   Nathaniel Polster, Director, 500 for Progress, Inc.
   John Jones, Jones and Hill Insurance Firm
   W. L. Mingledorff, Vice-Pres. Savannah Elec. & Power Co.
   Leopold Adler, Adler Investments

3. Attorneys

   Dennis Pierce, representing Restaurant Association

4. Labor Leaders

   A. White
      Louis Nunn, Bus. Agent - Carpenters Union

   B. Negro
      Robert Tyndal, Chrmn. NAACP Labor Com. and
                Supervisor Health & Welfare Benefits
                Negro Longshoremen's Local

5. Educators

   Dr. Thord Marshall, Superintendent
   Mrs. Saxon Bargeron, Dir. Curriculum
   R. C. Beeman, Personnel Director

6. Religious Leaders

   A. White
      Monsignor John Toomey, St. James Roman Catholic Church
      Rev. Dr. Bland Tucker, Vicar of Christ Episcopal Church
      Bishop Albert R. Stuart, Episcopal Diocese of Georgia

   B. Negro
      Rev. Louis S. Stell, Bethlehem Baptist Church
      (present during interview with W. W. Law, NAACP)

7. Civic Leaders

   A. White (Several of the persons listed under headings of business, clergy, social work, etc. might also be listed as civic leaders)

7. Civic Leaders (continued)

B. Negro

Mrs. Arnette Waters
W. W. Law, President NAACP
C. W. Cooper, Technician, Dept. of Agriculture
Hosea Williams, Crusade For Voters
Dr. S. M. McDew
Eugene Gadsden, Attorney

8. Welfare Agency Executives

A. White

Stanley A. Fischler, Assoc. Dir. Com. Services Council

9. Others

Captain Frank W. Spencer
Frederick Baldwin (present during interview with Monsignor Toomey)

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA James Blackburn
Interview

This is an interview with Mr. James Blackburn, who is City Attorney. Blackburn is a young and highly articulate person. He was anxious to talk and told a good deal of his life history in the course of the interview. He stated that he had grown up on a farm in rural Georgia and should have been "a rural segregationist". "A rural segregationist" is not necessarily an immoral man". Blackburn went from a rural area into the service and after returning from the service went to college under the GI Bill at the University of Georgia and then came to Savannah to practice law. He became active in politics in 1949. The political power at that time was centered in the county offices, not in the city. The county government did nothing for the people; it took no risks, spent very little money but it was the vehicle on which political power was established. The city government, on the other hand, was one that took the risks; it had to raise more money, provide more services and, being active in city politics, was much more risky. This was one of the reasons why politicians avoided very much activity in the city. Another factor that was discouraging the politicians was that the terms of office in the city are only two years and in the county four years. Early in the 1950's the city finances were in very bad condition and a group of young men, business men and lawyers, moved to get a new charter. They did manage to get as strong a home rule charter as Georgia law would permit. They then elected a reform mayor. The charter had been adopted under former Mayor Fullmer who opposed it. Mr. Mingledorff was the first reform mayor. Mr. Malcolm Maclean, the present mayor, was elected Assistant City Attorney at the time, was later elected alterman and finally became mayor.

Blackburn, ~~is~~ an enthusiastic supporter of Maclean's, commented that Maclean was a native of Savannah, commanded ships in the Navy during World War II and again in the Korean War, was a graduate of Yale and of Harvard Law School. Blackburn stated that he had not personally been a

part of the "first go-round" in the reform movement. When Maclean was elected alderman, Blackburn became assistant city attorney. The city attorney and his assistants are designated by the mayor with the approval of council. Blackburn used the term"elected by council". Turning to the racial situation, Blackburn stated that when he first began to pratice law in Savannah he noticed that there were Negroes serving in the juries. This was unusual for Georgia but he understood that this had always existed in Savannah. He stated that Negroes had voted in Savannah for a great many years. The state-wide reregistration which was required by state law in the early'50's was not passed to prevent Negroes from voting.

The reform administration had to invest in extensive capital improvement for the city which required the raising of taxes as they modernized the city government. At that time there was no racial problem in Savannah; no one paid very much attention to the racial problem. Negroes owned property, served on juries, voted in city elections and everyone thought that Savannah was very much advanced.

Race relations became a problem in Savannah when the sit-ins swept the south. There were sit-ins at lunch counters in Savannah since 1960. This did not arouse too much anti-Negro feeling among the whites at that time. The sit-ins were led by the NAACP which later conducted boycotts against the stores in the shopping centers. Mayor Mingledorff had tried sincerely to be constructive. He tried to help the Negores get what they wanted without antagonizing the whites by getting too far out ahead. Mingledorff did not stall or hinder the Negro drive; he simply did not want to appear to be aiding them particularly. At the time of the sit-ins council adopted an ordinance limiting pickets and prohibiting trespass. No action has ever been taken with this ordinance. The

ordinance was very unpopular in the eyes of the Negroes and Mr. Mingledorff took the blame. Under Mingledorff's administration, the Negroes joined with the most reactionary elements in Savannah in defeating a bond issue for urban renewal. Urban renewal does still go forward but it must be financed out of current resources.

Blackburn described Mingledorff as the first reform mayor, as a man who is not a segregationist, who did many progressive things, did all he could to go along with liberalization without seeming to lead.

In 1960 the reform group decided to try to move into the county government and reform that. Mingledorff resigned as mayor to run as county commissioner so as to modernize that commission. Mingledorff had become unpopular in the eyes of the Negro community while at the same time the white community charged him with being an integrationist. Mingledorff was defeated but his entire slate was elected which resulted in a majority in the county commission.

Blackburn believed that the first Negro policemen were employed in Savannah in about 1945 or 1946. At the present time it is estimated by Blackburn that about 25% of the police force is non-white. Negroes are also serving in the fire department although there are not many there and they are somewhat segregated as to sleeping quarters. No Negroes have been working at the clerical level at city hall but one is reported to have qualified. Blackburn believes that if Negroes pass the test they would be hired. He said that the city employs Negro water meter readers.

In response to a question about the civil service system, Blackburn said he was positive that no one was denied the privilege of taking the examination because of race but the city did have the rule of three and it was therefore possible for the appointing authority to refuse legally to employ Negroes if he so wished. There is a city employee union and a Negro is currently president of that. A great many Negroes do work for

the city in such categories as street work.

Negroes serve on many boards and commissions. Blackburn estimated that they were represented on at least 11 of the 13 agencies. A Negro serves on the Housing Commission.

All public facilities have been fully integrated since 1960, except for one swimming pool. The facilities were integrated without resort to court order.

Blackburn said that the mayor and the city government had taken the lead in opening up the public facilities. The city could do less with respect to privately owned facilities such as lunchrooms and hotels. Blackburn thought that it was unfortunate that the demonstrations had occurred in 1963; he was sure that they had produced no gains and that increased racial tension had been the result.

Referring to Hosea Williams, Blackburn said he had originally felt that Williams was a responsible person who would do a great deal of good in the community. He was disillusioned, however, because Hosea Williams proved to be unreliable and undependable. Blackburn said that Williams and other demonstrators had been arrested under what he called valid statutes. The police had no choice, the law was violated and it was necessary for the law enforcing authorities to take a step. Throughout the demonstrations in 1963 there were no incidents of police mistreatment of citizens. As a matter of fact according to Blackburn the demonstrators were keenly interested in maintaining good relationships with the police because they needed the police as protection. There was some emergence of the KKK but the plan never became very strong. Blackburn stated that Savannah was not a fertile ground for KKK or for the white citizens council. He admitted that the "Conservatives" were a "Goldwater-Birch" oriented. However, Blackburn does not consider them races. In conclusion, Blackburn said that Savannah was a reasonably liberal town which was perfectly

willing to make progress. However, it would not permit itself to be pushed and would rebel against the Negroes if they pushed too hard.

In conclusion, Blackburn stated that Williams had proved himself to be a demagogue and untrustworthy.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA Malcolm R. Maclean
Interview

This is an interview with Mr. Malcolm R Maclean, mayor of Savannah. Malcom Maclean is a native of Savannah, of upper status family, a graudate of Yale and Harvard Law Schools, a commander in the United States Navy in both World War II and Korea. He was one of the younger men who participated in the city's government reform movement in the late 1940's. He was elected to the city council and replaced former Mayor Mingeldorff when the later resigned as mayor to run for county commissioner. Mayor Maclean has a very strong personality. His manners are proper but he tries hard to put his visitor on the defensive. He expressed a wish that outside forces would let the city of Savannah take care of its own affairs, however, his manner did not show a great deal of resentment.

Maclean said he was proud that Savannah had accomplished a great deal in the way of integration without law suits except in the area schools and the swimming pool. The swimming pool issue has not been settled and the school issue is not fully settled either.

Integration had proceeded smoothly for several years, they had achieved bus integration in 1957, the golf courses and the airport had been integrated in 1960, the lunchcounters in 1961, Armstrong College and the Catholic schools in 1963.

He (Maclean) had asked the Bishop Stewart to form a committee to help integrate the city. The committee had been very helpful with respect to the busses, the golf courses, but hadn't been so helpful on the lunchcounters. Maclean said he was angry at the chain stores because they always wanted to wait for Atlanta to set the pace.

Everything would have gone well, he said, except for Birmingham. That is what set things off. Immediately after Birmingham, demonstrations started in Savannah and continued for two months from early June until late July.

One of the problems was the absence of specific demands. Hosea Williams who was leading the Negroes made very general kinds of demands about integration but he would not make specific proposals. This made it very difficult for the mayor in the city, because they couldn't integrate everything at once, and they would have liked to work out some sort of a program. The CHamber of Commerce came out at about that time for general integration of public facilities and public accommodations. Maclean said he had to use police force to keep the Negroes from going overboard. Most of the demonstrations were noisy and unruly but not violent. The police merely kept order they did not try to stop the demonstrations. Throughout the two months of demonstrations there were no complaints of police brutality. The police made arrests when there was actual trespass. For instance, in the case of a few restaurants the Negroes did not go in to be served, probably because they did not have enough money to pay for the meals if they had been served. Instead, they blocked the entrance to the restaurant. When they did that on the firm's property they were trespassing and the police had to make arrest.

In response to the question as to how the demonstrations were brought to an end, Maclean said, "They had to they could go no further. Hosea Williams was in jail. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference sent 'Fiery' Bevel down to take Williams place. We told him we can't go any farther. Then the Students Non-Violence Coordinating Committee came in. They are a bunch of wild hairs. We told them no matter what you do we will go no farther. The demonstrations have gone far enough. So, once they knew that they couldn't go any farther they stopped."

Maclean said that Savannah had employed Negro police since1948. It was the first city in Georgia to employ Negroes. There are now 28 Negro policemen in a force of 172, one is a Sergeant and two are detectives. Savannah was also the first city in Georgia to employ

Negro firemen. Negroes now serve on the 11 or 12 of the 26 Boards. Some were nominated by Hosea Williams and othersput forward by the NAACP.

The police are trained in an academy run by the police department. Some of the instructors are sent out by the FBI. In response to a question about humans relations training, Maclean said, "You bet we have training program for human relations. I, as mayor, the city manager and the chief tell them what the policy is. We say to them, if you don't like it get off the force. The red-necks don't like it but they want their jobs and they don't get off the force.

Maclean spoke with pride of the Savannah District Authority, the Metropolitan Planning Commission, the Urban Renewal Plans and the Housing Authroity. In response to a question about segregation in public housing he exploded. "This is the one chance we have of getting some decent housing for poor people. Where would you rather have them segregated in shacks or in decent houses? You sure kill the program if you ever talk integration in public housing around here."

He urged the interviewer to talk to the city manager but made it plain that he wanted the police commissioner left alone because the commissioner was newly appointed and should not be troubled at this time.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA Arthur A. Mendonsa
Interview

This is an inerview with Arthur A. Mendonsa, City Manager. Mr. Mendonsa is a relatively young career man in government. His training is in the field of city planning, he had been employed by the Metropolitan Planning Commission of SAvannah for a few years until there was a vacancy in the city managership. Mayor Maclean had then asked him to come in as the manager. The interview began with a discussion of city police recruitment standards. Mendonsa stated that the police were recruited through the city civil service department. THey require a high school diploma and a passing grade in the oldest employment test. There is an investigation by a credit firm as to their credit rating and moral character. They must of course be physically fit, have no arrest record and a good employment record. After a written examination there are oral interviews by an oral examining board. The oral examining board is usually made up of three persons, one a police officer, one a personnel man and one a disinterested third party.

At the present time, the police department recruitment and training program is being studied by the Public Administration Service. The starting salary for police officers is $316 per month and the maximum is $404. They do have a training program in a police department conducted police academy. Contrary to the mayor's statement, Mendonsa said that there was nothing the the training program that could be called human relations per se. There are, however, special training lectures on how to handle racial incidents.

During the demonstrations in 1963 the city administration had made sure that either the mayor, the city manager, the city attorney or the chief of police were on the scene at all times, and usually two or three of them were to make sure the police did their job properly and that they would not be accused falsely of doing something that was wrong.

The police functioned to keep the white and Negroes separate, generally this was not too difficult because during the demonstrations most of the white people stayed away. There are a few "Ku Kluxers" in the vicinity, but they are unimportant and it might be said that there is no organized Ku Klux activity at all. There is a local group called, "The Southern Patriots" which may include people who were at one time members of the Ku Klux Klan. A group which call themselves the Klan picketed the theaters at the time when the theaters were to be integrated.

All city employment, except department heads, are in the classified service under the civil service. County positions are not under civil service. In response to a question, Mendonsa said that the firemen were segregated as to sleeping quarters, but worked together with whites in their regular shift period.

Mendonsa said that the civil service commission had proceeded rather far in employing Negro librarians. Thus far there were no Negro clerks working in City Hall. There were no barriers to Negroes filing for or taking civil service examinations, but appointing authorities had discretion in selecting from the top three, and Mendonsa believed that when and if Negroes were on the list it would probably be a strong inclination to pass over them. He said that there was no formal rule to exclude Negroes but most people were cautious about that sort of thing.

SAVANNAH, GEORGIA Nathaniel Polster
Interview

This is an interview with Nathaniel Polster, Director of the Committee of the 500. In answer to the question as to what the Committee of 500 is, Polster quoted the Wall Street Journal, saying, "Chambers of Commerce are moribund. The CHamber of Commerce in Savannah had become moribund and a group of dissident, younger business men created the Committee of 500 to do what the Chamber of Commerce should have been expected to do. The group has suceeded in revitalizing leadership and today the Chamber of Commerce and the Savannah District Authority are doing many things that they would not have done if they wouldn't have been pushed into it by the Committee of 500. Polster said that the regulars in the Chamber of Commerce and Savannah District Authority would not agree to this.

Polster sensed that the interviewer was particularly interested in the leadership structure and he, that is Polster, obviously enjoyed talking about the leadership structure. Polster said that one of the strongest powers in the state of Georgia and in the Savannah area is the Union Bag-Camp Paper Corporation. The Union Bag Corporation has its headquarters in New York, and a Mr. Alexander Calder is president. The Corporation owns vast tree acreages throughout the state of Georgia and in addition contracts with many farmers in all parts of the state for the purchase of pulp wood. The Company has most of the county attorneys in the state on retainer. The Union Bag Company is far more powerful in Georgia an Coca-Cola is. James Lientz is the Savannah manager for the Union Bag Corporation. However, because he must get his orders from New York he does not wield a lot of power in his own right. However, if Mayor Maclean should call up Calder in New York and tell him what he would like Lientz do, the chances are that Lientz would see that it got done.

The most powerful person in his own right is Mills B. Lane who is president of the Citizens and Southern Bank, the main headquarters of whihh is in Atlanta, but an important branch is in Savannah. Joseph Harrison, is executive vice-president of Citizens and Southern and manages the Savannah bank. Lee McClurkin, is president of the Savannah Electric and Power Company and another very powerful person. Polster mentioned a number of other personsin the top power structure which are listed in the appendix in Who's Who in Savannah. Another important figure mentioned by Polster is J. C. McLamb who is president of the First Federal Savings and Loan Company. McLamb is a heavy contributor to the political party and a dominating person in local politics. Mayor Maclean's power is strongly affected by this power structure and McLamb is the link between Maclean and the power structure.

Polster spoke of another power groups which he said is old and declining but still holds some degree of power. The Central of Georgia a railroad, and a local attorney by the name of John Bowen who is still alive once"owed " the County Commissioners and wielded a tremendous amount of power along the lines of the old-time political machine. County governments are much more powerful in Georgia than in many states. Fred Wessel, Jr. is part of this old power group, he is still on the County Commission, although he is in a minority. This old political structure was built on manipulation of the Cracker, Catholic and Jewish groups. Many of the old-timers and the less educated in these groups still are responsive to this machine. The Solicitor General for the County Mr. Andrew Ryan and his assistant Sylvan Garfunkle owe their positions to this old power structure.

To illustrate how the power structure operates, Polster reported the following: When the power structure realized that it had become necessary to move more rapidly in the area of integration, there was a meet-

ing in Joe Harris' office (where else) about ten of the most powerful people in Savannah were present. After the decision was made it was recognized that it would be necessary to tell the public about it, that the public had to be told in just the right way. Jim Lientz of Union Bag proposed that Kirk Sutlive, a public relations man for the Union Bag company should write the article. The next step was to call William Morris who is manager of the local papers with an office in Augusta to tell him precisely where to run the article which would be in the lower left corner of the front page, which would be a fairly prominent but not too prominent location . The next question was what to tell the police. It was agreed of course that Malcolm, that is the mayor,would talk it over with Sidney Barnes who is police chief (Sidney Barnes has since been ousted because he sided with some of the wrong people in a political issue.) Finally it would be necessary to brief the County Commissioners it was agreed that Jack Cay, Jr. an insurance man would speak to Chuck Wood, head of the Police Committee for the County. Wood, it happens is also an employee of Cay's.

Polster referred to Henry E. Goldberg who is the head of Levi's Department Store which is a local branch of Allied Stores, a national chain. Goldberg, according to Polster is the key action man on race relations. He is not a policy maker he is a catalist. He sees to it that policy is carried out once the decisions have been made. Polster said "The City Council is nothing. One member of city council Jack Rowers might be a good man to talk to. One of the most knowledgeable men about what goes on in the political circles is Sheldy Myrick who is the Orindary which is the equivalent of a county judge. Another very knowledgeable person is Mary Strong, president of the League of Women Voters. Returning to a discussion of the Committee of 500 Polster listed among their achievements: 1. They formed a tourism committee which the

Chamber of Commerce immediately took over. 2. The Savannah District Authority had promoted an industrial park which was in terrible condition and the Committee caused them to clean it up. 3. They persuaded the Savannah District Authority to tear down some decayed port facilities and to start the aid program of port renewal. And fourth, they persuaded the Savannah District Authority to engage Georgia Tech to conduct economic research.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: KENTUCKY

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated since 1954:

Total: 117 districts out of 171 districts having Negroes have desegregation policies.

263 schools in 97 districts have racially desegregated classes.

(See attached list.)

(It is the policy of the Diocese of Covington to admit Negro children who may apply to white Catholic schools. Outcome? Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of Jan., 1959):

Total: At least 26 public and private colleges, including all 6 state colleges. (See attached list.)

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of Jan., 1959):

1. The United Mine Workers of America completed seven hospitals in 1956, to be operated on an integrated basis.

2. The Louisville Marine Hospital admits Negro patients.

3. All Veterans Administration hospitals.

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

Desegregated

KENTUCKY - Louisville - City's 5 golf courses desegregated, 1955.

Paducah - City golf course desegregated, Winter, 1956.

The Kentucky Court of Appeals banned segregation in all public recreational facilities in the state. December, 1955.

V. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

Felix S. Anderson is the fourth Negro to serve in the Kentucky General Assembly, and is Head of the Committee on Suffrage, Elections, and Appointments in the Kentucky House of Representatives.

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*Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of deseggregation is no longer possible.

State Administration:

A Negro aide was appointed by the governor (between May, 1954-May, 1956).

Louisville:

Woodford R. Porter was elected to the School Board in November of 1958.

Alderman William W. Beckett was selected by the Board of Aldermen to be Acting Mayor during a several day absence of the elected official in November, 1955.

Mrs. Frances Parrish is the first Negro to serve as executive supervisor for the city Division of Recreation.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VI. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Airline Waiting Rooms:

A Summer, 1958 spot survey included Louisville, only. In that city although signs indicating segregated waiting rooms are still up, in usage the facilities of both train and bus terminals are desegregated. Adult Negroes are refused service at lunch counter in white bus terminal. Airline waiting rooms are not segregated.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

NOTE: Kentucky was not included in SRC's recent voting studies; figures as to Negro voting or registration are not, therefore, included in this summary and should be added if obtainable. Information regarding desegregation of municipal transit systems should also be added.

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

KENTUCKY

Institutions	Legal Control
1. Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky	Private
2. Ashland Junior College, Ashland, Kentucky	Municipal
3. Bellarmine College, Louisville, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
4. Bethel College, Hopkinsville, Kentucky	Baptist
5. Brescia College, Owensboro, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
6. Berea College, Berea, Kentucky	Private
7. Centre College of Kentucky, ~~[illegible]~~ Danville, Kentucky	Presbyterian
8. College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky	Disciples of Christ
9. Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Kentucky	State
10. Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky	Southern Baptist
11. Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky (Formerly all Negro)	State
12. Lees Junior College, Jackson, Kentucky	Presbyterian
13. Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary Louisville, Kentucky	Presbyterian
14. Midway Junior College, Midway, Kentucky	Private
15. Morehead State College, Morehead, Kentucky	State
16. Murray State College, Murray, Kentucky	State
17. Nazareth College, Louisville, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
18. Paducah Junior College, Paducah, Kentucky	Municipal
19. Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville, Kentucky	Presbyterian
20. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Louisville, Kentucky	S. Baptist
21. Ursuline College, Louisville, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
22. University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky	Municipal
23. University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky	State
24. Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky	Methodist

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

KENTUCKY (continued)

Institutions	Legal Control
25. Villa Madonna College, Covington, Kentucky	Roman Catholic
26. West Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Kentucky	State

KENTUCKY

Enrollment in Public Schools (estimated) ...600,000
White ...560,000
Negro ... 40,000

Percentage Negro ... 6.6%

Number of School Districts ... 215

Districts Having Negroes ... 171
Number of Teachers ...24,500
White (estimated) ...22,700
Negro (estimated) ... 1,300

Teacher Pay Scale (average salary)
$3,125 for all teachers, no breakdown by race

Status of Desegregation

Note enrollments are for 1956-57 school year while mixed class totals are for 1957-58 year, accounting for instances where more children are listed in mixed classes than reflected in total enrollments.

District	Date Deseg'd. or Status	1956-57 Enrollment White	1956-57 Enrollment Negro	In Mixed Classes White	In Mixed Classes Negro
Adair Co.	1956	4,064	219	1,445	108
Allen Co.	Segre	1,898	15	—	—
Scottsville	Plan	686	36	—	—
Anderson Co.	Plan	1,809	116	—	—
Ballard Co.	Segre	1,838	109	—	—
Barren Co.	Plan	3,673	224	—	—
Caverna	1957	761	128	785	101
Glasgow	Plan	1,774	186	—	—
Bath Co.	Segre	2,297	130	—	—
Bell Co.	1956	6,948	16	407	14
Middlesboro	Segre	3,080	312	—	—
Pineville	1956	756	56	634	41
Boone Co.	1955	3,725	16	1,846	13
Walton-Verona	1956	592	12	402	19
Bourbon Co.	Segre	2,348	307	—	—
Paris	Segre	1,135	300	—	—
Boyd Co.	1956	3,089	0	0	0
Ashland	1955	6,487	154	2,327	8
Catlettsburg	Segre	1,063	3	—	—
Boyle Co.	Plan	2,102	122	—	—
Danville	1956	1,652	359	*	*
Bracken Co.	1956	1,297	11	443	6
Augusta	1956	322	7	304	8
Breathitt Co.	1956	5,265	2	1,021	5
Jackson	1956	576	17	478	8
Breckenridge Co.	1956	3,203	157	494	35
Cloverport	Segre	405	9	—	—
Bullitt Co.	1956	3,591	62	2,922	58
Butler Co.	Segre	2,744	18	—	—
Caldwell Co.	Segre	2,800	158	—	—
Calloway Co.	1956	2,623	30	*	*
Murray	1956	1,014	123	458	1
Campbell Co.	1956	3,113	0	0	0
Newport	1955	5,843	183	2,211	159
Carlisle Co.	Segre	1,219	20	—	—
Carroll Co.	Plan	1,144	29	—	—
Carrollton	Segre	835	16	—	—
Carter Co.	1955	6,302	3	*	*
Casey Co.	Segre	3,990	16	—	—
Liberty	Segre	482	2	—	—
Christian Co.	Segre	3,552	1,154	—	—
Hopkinsville	1956	2,012	889	—	3
Pembroke	Segre	158	168	—	—
Clarke Co.	1956	2,504	57	1,944	39
Winchester	1956	1,486	394	511	134
Clay Co.	Segre	6,658	127	—	—
Clinton Co.	1955	2,113	9	61	8
Crittenden Co.	1956	1,679	0	0	0
Marion	1955	592	17	*	*
Cumberland Co.	Segre	1,892	121	—	—
Daviess Co.	1956	7,419	89	371	10
Owensboro	1955	7,455	523	931	39
Edmondson Co.	Plan	2,593	41	—	—
Elliott Co.	—	2,456	0	—	—
Estill Co.	1956	2,640	0	0	0
Irvine	1956	658	7	690	6
Fayette Co.	1955	10,737	643	8,561	252
Lexington	1956	5,705	2,750	1,855	20
Fleming Co.	1956	2,564	78	462	17
Floyd Co.	1955	14,842	147	797	9
Franklin Co.	1956	3,472	76	2,315	26
Frankfort	1956	1,472	229	336	49
Fulton Co.	Segre	1,660	233	—	—
Fulton	1958	602	136	225	6
Gallatin Co.	1957	893	38	269	2
Garrard Co.	Plan	1,740	124	—	—
Lancaster	Segre	477	103	—	—
Grant Co.	Segre	1,785	12	—	—
Williamstown	1956	390	3	397	1
Graves Co.	Segre	4,493	117	—	—
Mayfield	1956	1,838	235	534	14
Grayson Co.	1956	3,573	0	0	0
Leitchfield	1955	663	19	688	18
Green Co.	1956	2,252	174	1,259	3
Greenup Co.	Segre	4,427	2	—	—
Greenup	1955	487	38	149	15
Hancock Co.	1956	1,247	44	427	19
Hardin Co.	1956	5,687	65	2,101	50
Elizabethtown	1956	1,617	217	*	*
West Point	1956	245	26	178	27
Harlan Co.	Segre	15,625	650	—	—
Harlan	Segre	1,511	317	—	—
Lynch	Segre	897	486	—	—
Hart Co.	1957	2,680	299	1,433	33
Harrison Co.	1956	1,992	18	1,392	11
Cynthiana	1956	1,783	100	*	*
Henderson Co.	1956	3,742	267	874	6
Henderson	1956	3,116	503	787	50
Henry Co.	1957	1,899	101	268	4
Eminence	1956	393	127	*	*
Hickman Co.	Segre	1,297	247	—	—
Hopkins Co.	1957	7,200	545	194	4
Dawson Sprgs.	1955	582	1	*	*
Earlington	Plan	438	246	—	—
Jackson Co.	—	3,541	0	—	—
Jefferson Co.	1956	46,267	1,422	17,986	388
Louisville	1956	54,821	12,720	32,803	13,832
Jessamine Co.	Segre	2,201	297	—	—
Johnson Co.	—	4,753	0	—	—
Kenton Co.	1955	7,237	10	1,539	8
Covington	1956	11,377	698	3,613	37
Erlanger	1955	2,001	82	832	44
Knott Co.	1955	6,094	47	780	15
Knox Co.	Segre	6,792	82	—	—
Barbourville	1955	675	8	579	11
Larue Co.	1956	2,207	140	1,897	28
Laurel Co.	Segre	6,099	36	—	—
E. Bernstadt	Plan	358	11	—	—
London	1955	907	33	890	33
Lawrence Co.	1955	3,702	4	1,247	3
Lee Co.	Segre	2,569	23	—	—
Leslie Co.	—	5,445	0	—	—
Letcher Co.	Segre	8,589	38	—	—
Jenkins	Segre	1,640	197	—	—
Lewis Co.	—	3,537	0	—	—
Lincoln Co.	Segre	4,385	168	—	—
Stanford	Segre	457	49	—	—
Livingston Co.	Segre	1,620	14	—	—
Logan Co.	1956	3,276	411	660	71
Russellville	1956	962	179	342	34
Lyon Co.	Segre	1,169	58	—	—
Madison Co.	1956	4,582	173	720	30
Berea	1956	529	6	538	9
Richmond	1955	1,615	365	189	41
Magoffin Co.	—	3,722	0	—	—
Marion Co.	1957	3,452	203	596	4
Lebanon	1957	895	212	329	2
Marshall Co.	—	2,652	0	—	—
Martin Co.	—	3,640	0	—	—
Mason Co.	1956	2,141	230	1,347	54
Maysville	1956	1,494	202	228	34
McCracken Co.	1957	5,300	216	*	*
Paducah	1956	5,740	1,116	2,213	40
McCreary Co.	—	4,342	0	—	—
McLean Co.	1956	2,387	23	1,644	24
Meade Co.	1956	2,642	105	424	10
Menifee Co.	—	1,544	0	—	—
Mercer Co.	1956	1,641	31	947	27
Burgin	1956	298	26	308	7
Harrodsburg	1956	1,085	122	258	31
Metcalfe Co.	Segre	2,434	144	—	—
Monroe Co.	Segre	3,340	75	—	—
Montgomery Co.	Segre	1,973	124	—	—
Mt. Sterling	Segre	834	191	—	—
Morgan Co.	—	4,300	0	—	—
Muhlenberg Co.	Segre	5,534	174	—	—
Central City	Segre	948	84	—	—
Greenville	Segre	771	124	—	—

District	Date Deseg'd. or Status	1956-57 Enrollment White	1956-57 Enrollment Negro	In Mixed Classes White	In Mixed Classes Negro
Nelson Co.	1956	3,850	216	*	*
Bardstown	1958	1,283	212	225	6
Nicholas Co.	Segre	1,095	6	—	—
Carlisle	1955	385	38	342	20
Ohio Co.	Segre	4,546	65	—	—
Oldham Co.	1956	2,395	176	673	4
Owen Co.	1958	1,752	87	370	8
Owsley Co.	1955	2,014	8	*	*
Pendleton Co.	1955	1,604	2	316	2
Falmouth	1955	530	8	507	17
Perry Co.	1955	10,547	224	1,558	70
Hazard	1956	1,760	224	724	48
Pike Co.	1956	22,014	106	2,304	20
Pikeville	1956	1,532	85	317	5
Powell Co.	1956	1,905	39	246	14
Pulaski Co.	1956	6,365	46	385	7
Ferguson	Segre	280	13	—	—
Somerset	1956	2,256	154	531	34
Robertson Co.	1956	529	5	443	2
Rockcastle Co.	—	3,464	0	—	—
Rowan Co.	—	3,259	0	—	—
Russell Co.	1955	3,262	46	627	10
Scott Co.	1956	1,783	212	1,725	197
Georgetown	1956	790	129	808	46
Shelby Co.	Plan	2,439	330	—	—
Shelbyville	1956	1,138	321	707	8
Simpson Co.	Segre	2,011	395	—	—
Spencer Co.	1957	1,414	63	789	4
Taylor Co.	Segre	2,260	144	—	—
Campbellsville	Segre	1,219	143	—	—
Todd Co.	Segre	2,121	398	—	—
Trenton	Segre	191	126	—	—
Trigg Co.	Segre	1,799	371	—	—
Trimble Co.	—	1,281	0	—	—
Union Co.	1957	2,775	339	230	18
Uniontown	Segre	497	21	—	—
Warren Co.	Plan	5,123	408	—	—
Bowling Grn.	Segre	2,954	536	—	—
Washington Co.	Segre	2,138	163	—	—
Springfield	Segre	630	241	—	—
Wayne Co.	1955	3,645	81	751	20
Monticello	1955	780	64	789	17
Webster Co.	1957	2,061	60	*	*
Providence	Segre	716	182	—	—
Whitley Co.	1956	5,407	0	0	0
Williamsburg	1955	823	35	806	15
Wolfe Co.	1955	2,092	3	*	*
Woodford Co.	1956	1,942	274	520	5
Midway	1956	330	72	290	64

*Number enrolled in mixed classes unknown or unreported.

Other white independent school districts and their enrollments follow:

Lone Jack, 368; Fairview, 1,273; Bellevue, 1,679; Cold Springs, 964; Dayton 2,047; Fort Thomas, 2,354; Silver Grove, 281; Southgate, 363; Albany, 517; Ravenna, 224; Raceland, 693; Russell, 1,667; South Portsmouth, 302; Anchorage, 307; Paintsville, 1,228; Van Lear, 335; Beechwood, 892; Ludlow, 1,102; Vanceburg, 507; Benton, 698; Stearns, 429; Science Hill 283; Mt. Vernon, 542; Corbin, 1,488.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATED STATUS - LOUISIANA

I. EDUCATION: PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVEL, DESEGREGATED:

None.

II. EDUCATION: DESEGREGATED* INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION (as of January 1959)

Total: 5 state supported (one graduate level only), 5 private institutions

Institutions	Legal Control
1. College of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau, La.	Roman Catholic
2. John McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La.	State
3. Louisiana State University Graduate School, Baton Rouge, La.	State
4. Louisiana State University at New Orleans, New Orleans, La.	State
5. Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
6. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Southern Baptist
7. Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
8. Southeastern Louisiana Institute, Hammond, La.	State
9. Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, La.	State
10. Xavier University, New Orleans, La. (Formerly all Negro)	Roman Catholic

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: DESEGREGATED HOSPITALS (as of January 1959)

All Veterans Administration hospitals

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: ACTIONS TAKEN FROM PRESS CLIPPINGS, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

New Orleans - City Park. All facilities, following court order, December 18, 1958.

V. SUFFRAGE:

Negro Registration 1958: 130,000 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 13.7

Negro Registration 1956: 161,410 (estimated)
(Decline, 1956-58, due chiefly to widespread purges in several parishes.)

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

New Orleans - Alexander Lameuville was appointed in October, 1954, to the position of Special Assistant in the New Orleans Veterans Administration Office.

Frank Walker, the first Negro in the South to serve as Administrative Aide in Postal Transportation, was appointed by the United States Postmaster General in 1954.

A Negro was appointed by the city District Attorney to serve on his special investigative staff in May 1954.

Mrs. V. B. Hill, a Negro, was elected to the New Orleans Teachers Retirement Fund in January 1955.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: CITY BUSES DESEGREGATED SINCE 1954

1. New Orleans

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: SEGREGATION POLICIES IN BUS, TRAIN, AIR LINE WAITING ROOMS

A Summer 1958 spot survey included Shreveport and indicated that in that city neither bus nor train stations have desegregated their facilities. It is reported that (law enforcement?) "officers were posted to direct Negro passengers to Negro waiting room" in the train terminal. The Air Line waiting room is desegregated, although separate rest room and restaurant facilities are provided.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

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REPORT ON MISSISSIPPI

BY THE MISSISSIPPI ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JANUARY 1963

File - Mississippi Advisory Ctte

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Rec'd 3/23/64

Frogmore, South Carolina
March 20, 1964
Dict. March 17

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We are not only attempting to recruit additional members but also a chairman for the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. Obviously, there are not many prospects in the state for membership, so we are seeking all those with whom we have contact to make suggestions.

In this connection, I talked with Colonel Muse by 'phone concerning his visits in the state. He indicated that in his reports to SRC, he had mentioned a number of persons that might be approached either for membership themselves or for suggestions as to who might serve. The reports he felt most pertinent were those of October 14, 1961, April 30, 1962 and Mississippi, January 1964.

See attached; send 2 copy

It would be very helpful if I were to be able to see the reports. Would there be a possibility of thermofaxing them if they are not too long? Otherwise, if you prefer for them to remain in the office, I could perhaps stop by and look at them.

I am enclosing a thermofax of some of the publicity concerning the SCLC conference here. It was helpful talking with you. I did decide not to issue a statement or release a letter.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff
Regional Consultant

cc: Col. Ben Muse

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

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PA ✓

PR ✓ – suggest you write Ben, inquiring if any of the persons named here should be touched by any of our other programs, e.g. mailings, kept informed about nascent bi-racial communication & the Wayland etc

JAV

MLV

MBB-file

Rec'd 2/23/65

WB
✓ I
SW. file

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

February 19, 1965

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

A. D. Beittel
1666 Lelia Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39216

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

We have been having a most interesting series of hearings this week before the United States Commission on Civil Rights meeting in Jackson.

Wiley Branton made an excellent report to the Commission which was very well received. After he had finished, a Jackson reporter for the New Orleans Times-Picayune, one of our most reliable newsmen, said to me: "We should have Wiley Branton spend some time in Mississippi and direct a full scale registration campaign for Negroes."

I don't know how this can be financed but I should like to see it done.

I spent four hours with Paul Anthony this afternoon in a meeting of the Board of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. I had to leave the meeting early and did not have time to pass this suggestion on to Paul.

Cordially yours

Dan

A. D. Beittel, Secretary
Mississippi Advisory Committee

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East 3rd Street, Charlotte, N. C.

January 1959

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

JOHN McNEILL SMITH, JR., Chairman
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203 West John Street
Mt. Olive
Tel: OLfield 8-2341

CURTISS TODD
1721 First Street, N.E.
Winston-Salem
Tel: PArk 4-2615

bc: Mr. M. A. Wright
Encls: The Negro Voter in the South, 1957
" " " " " " , 1958

"The Negro Vote," Winston-Salem Sentinel, 1957
"The Current Status of Negro Suffrage in N.C." by: Solomon Sutker, prepared in Summer of 1956 for SRC.

March 10, 1959

Mr. McNeill Smith
2501 West Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

In response to your letter of March 5, I am enclosing materials on Negro registration and voting. Although the information pertaining to North Carolina was mainly gathered during 1956, we know of few developments since that would change the overall situation.

I must apologize for the two thermofax copies, but this was the only way we could reproduce our only originals of these documents quickly.

I am sure your committee is in touch with the American Friends Service Committee, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, the Urban League, and appropriate departments of the University of North Carolina, which occur to us as likely sources.

If you should encounter specific questions on which the Southern Regional Council might have information, we should be happy to have you call on us.

With best wishes for the success of the Committee's work,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Thaddeus Puryear
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave

Winston Salem Urban League

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 5, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is required by law to report to the President and to Congress before September 1, 1959 on the status of civil rights in the United States. The Commission has requested the assistance of advisory committees in each state to supply information to be included in this report with respect to voting, education, housing, and employment.

The North Carolina Advisory Committee would appreciate your informing us whether there are any studies, recently completed or now in progress, which reveal any facts on the presence or absence in North Carolina of discrimination based on race, creed, or national origin in relation to voting, education, housing, or employment.

Upon your advice, we will endeavor to obtain appropriate authorization to examine such studies and include relevant data in our report.

In view of the time required to assemble the report to the President and to Congress, it is necessary that the information on each state be compiled as rapidly as possible.

Thank you for your assistance.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

Atty McNeill Smith, Chairman — Greensboro
North Carolina Advisory Committee to
United States Commission on Civil Rights

McNS/jo

Res: 2501 W. Market St.
Office: Jefferson Bldg
Rev. John L. Pilley

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

September 15, 1960

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

The North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has received a number of suggestions that it should make a research study of the extent to which any citizens in North Carolina are being denied, on account of their race, equal protection of the law in respect to medical care. Such an inquiry would be similar to that which has already been commenced by the Committee in regard to voting, housing, employment, education, and the administration of justice.

The Committee is interested in determining the scope of such an inquiry. We do not have any doctors who are members of the Committee itself, but under the procedure which we have used in connection with studies in other fields, a sub-committee can be organized to make the study and its report can then be received and adopted by the North Carolina Advisory Committee, submitted to the Commission on Civil Rights, and by that route included in the report which is required by law to be made to Congress and to the President by September 1, 1961.

Would you be willing to serve on such a sub-committee? The first job would be to define the scope of the inquiry and determine the personnel and finances which would be required. A very rough beginning towards defining the scope of the project is my memorandum of August 16, which is attached. No doubt you or other doctors could greatly refine the inquiry so that the work could be divided up among a number of persons and working simultaneously, they would produce the facts on which a report could be made.

The Committee's objective is to produce as many facts as possible, leaving only the most obvious conclusions to be reached, and eliminating insofar as possible preconceived notions and fancies. Only thus will we be able to serve the people of the state by providing information not otherwise available and to which no fair and reasonable person can take exception.

A great service can be done not only for the people of North Carolina, but I am advised by the Commission's staff that this study in North Carolina will be somewhat of a pilot study for the whole country. This is a civic responsibility where doctors are directly concerned and eminently qualified, both as to technique and subject matter.

If you are willing to help on this project, I would hope that some of the members of our Committee might meet with some of the interested doctors sometime soon in an informal way to explore further the possibilities of making such a study. Would you let me hear from you.

Very truly yours,

McNS/bm
enc.

McNeill Smith

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

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Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. Bldg.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N. C.

MILLARD BARBEE
2603 Ashe Street
Durham, N. C.

MEMORANDUM FOR PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT:

Are any citizens of North Carolina being denied, on account of their race, religion or national origin, equal protection of the law in respect to medical care?

There are four major phases of medical care. Each of these phases receives some direct support of the Government by way of appropriation of tax money.

(a) Promotion of health and prevention of disease or health maintenance

(i) Well baby clinics and
(ii) Pre-school screening, including dental screening, eye-testing, hearing, and speech defects screening

(b) Early detection

(i) Periodic health examinations
(ii) Multiple screening for t-b, cancer of the cervix, etc.

(c) Diagnosis and treatment, and disability limitation (This is the phase which involves hospitals and clinics.)

(d) Rehabilitation, including facilities for the mentally retarded, and those afflicted with cerebral palsy, epilepsy, multiple sclerosis, hypertension, and also those whose limbs have been amputated.

In each of these four categories, we should determine what facilities are now being provided directly by the Federal, State, county, or municipal governments in North Carolina. These are facilities which are owned by the governments and to which tax moneys are appropriated for their operation.

The next step is to determine to what extent there is equal access to these facilities and services. This involves questions of (a) exclusion, (b) limited admissions based on racial or religious considerations (as opposed to geographic or financial or other limitations), (c) discrimination in service and care after admission, and this would include details as to segregation and the effects, if any, of segregation upon the quantity and quality of such care or services.

As an illustration, take the third category which would include hospital bed distribution and hospital bassinet distribution. The questions of exclusion, limited admission, and discrimination after admission may be statistically shown in reports already on file with the Commissioner of Welfare, the Medical Care Commission, or the State Board of Health. Hospital reports in many states, and possibly in North Carolina, show the home county and city of the patient served, sex, age, race, and if it is not otherwise shown, the comparison of these figures as to admissions as related to the distribution of the population by race and by county.

In addition to the above inquiries in respect to hospital beds, there should be an examination of the records of the out-patient clinics: Are any citizens, on account of race or religion excluded or limited in the number of visits to the out-patient clinics? If so, is there any place for them to go for out-patient clinical care within 100 miles or such other proper radius as may be standard for hospital service? What are the facilities for such out-patient clinical care? How do these facilities compare with those available to patients of any other race? Are these clinics which are owned and operated by the Government free or are they available only upon a means test? In this connection, it may be suggested that private practitioners supplement the out-patient clinics and that, therefore, this is not a fair test of the availability of medical care. However, the question remains as to whether Governmentally owned and operated facilities are available on a non-discriminatory basis and, furthermore, whether private practitioners in the area are actually serving the potential patients.

In connection with the first two phases of medical care, the obvious place to begin is to examine the city and county health departments to determine how many public health nurses there are per thousand in each county and city in the State, how many visits are made. If there are more visits to Negroes, for example, are there enough visits to meet the needs of the people regardless of race? In other words, does the Negro child or the Negro person have an equal opportunity with white children or white persons to the services of the city or county health departments, particularly the public health nurses?

In this same connection, are there certain standards which have been established, perhaps by the U. S. Commissioner of Health, Education, and Welfare or by the American Public Health Association, which would indicate the proper number of Sanitarians which are required for so many persons? If we can determine what this standard is, then we can determine whether the counties and cities in North Carolina are providing the minimum number of Sanitarians required for the population; and, furthermore, whether areas of high density Negro population are disadvantaged in the number of Sanitarians provided by city and county health departments. This may turn out to be an economic question in that counties with a high Negro population may be the poorest counties and unable to afford the required number of Sanitarians; but we should not assume this to be the results until the inquiry is actually made and the answer found.

Wherever there is a separation of facilities which are owned and operated by the Government, there should be a calculation of the square footage available to each race, and these calculations can be further refined to show the square footage available per person in the population area served by the facility. In addition, if there are obvious differences in the quality or quantity of such space, these differences should be described with scrupulous accuracy and photographs taken.

In addition to the space requirements, the doctor-patient ratio, nurse-patient ratio, orderly-patient ratio, and practical nurse-patient ratio should be determined in each of the facilities owned and operated by the Government, and these ratios should also be calculated across-the-board for the State as a whole for the Governmental facilities which are serving in each of these four categories. To illustrate: The State Hospital at Morganton may show a certain ratio for Negro and white patients. The State may have other hospitals of a similar nature, and a Statewide figure could also be developed. This would tend to average out, but it would also be a fairer picture of the way the State government is operating its medical care program than to take merely one facility out of many similar facilities operated by the State government.

With the help of doctors, nurses, hospital administrators, and possibly a representative from the hospital insurance industry, this inquiry can be more sharply defined and limited to specific questions and instructions as to where to look for the answers.

After the data has been collected, these same professionals can evaluate the results.

Therefore, the cooperation of the following professional organizations in this field should be solicited, and each asked to designate an interested member to serve on a Select Committee to supervise this inquiry.

In this way the data will be more accurate and relevant and the conclusions of more value to the people of North Carolina.

North Carolina State Medical Society
The Old North State Medical Society
Hospital Savings Association of North Carolina, Inc.
North Carolina Nurses Association
North Carolina Public Health Association
North Carolina Hospital Association
Also Deans of:
Duke University Medical School
The Bowman Gray School of Medicine
University of North Carolina School of Medicine

McNS:mmc
October 24, 1960

November 1, 1960 McNeill Smith

Dr. Barnes Woodhall, Dean,
Duke University Medical School,
Durham, North Carolina.

Dear Sir:

The North Carolina Advisory Committee has been and is engaged in making a study of equal protection of the law in North Carolina in various fields. Its reports to the United States Commission on Civil Rights serve as the basis for the Commission's report to the President and Congress, as required by law. Reports on equal voting and education in North Carolina have already been published and reports on employment, housing, and administration of justice are in preparation.

The Committee desires to study the field of medical care in North Carolina, with a view to reporting to the people of the state and the rest of the country as to whether any citizens of North Carolina, on account of race, religion or national origin, are denied equal protection of the law. The Committee's objective is to make a factual study. Also, the Committee views its responsibility as limited to medical care programs either owned, operated, or financed by tax money.

To give this study competent direction and to make the results worth while, the assistance of the associations having professional responsibility in the area of health affairs in North Carolina is needed. Therefore, it is proposed to establish a Special Committee on Medical Care to be composed of one representative from each of the following professional organizations in North Carolina:

North Carolina State Medical Society
The Old North State Medical Society
North Carolina Nurses Association
North Carolina Public Health Association
North Carolina Hospital Association

Dr. Barnes Woodhall, Dean,
Duke University Medical School,
Dueham, N. C.

November 1, 1960

Hospital Savings Association of North Carolina, Inc. and Hospital Care Association will be asked to select one person to represent the hospital insurance industry.

In addition, we are asking the deans of each of the three medical schools to designate a person to serve on this Special Committee, and four' or five additional members from the general public will be asked to serve.

It is expected that after preliminary correspondence this Committee could agree on the lines of inquiry at one meeting; thereafter, our Committee would supply the secretarial and other staff work to pursue the matter along the lines directed by the Committee. Finally, when the data has been circulated to the members, there could be a final meeting for the purpose of evaluation of the results. It would be hoped that this could be accomplished before April 1, 1961.

Would you, therefore, as Dean of the Duke University Medical School, designate some one who would be willing to represent Duke University Medical School on this Special Committee. I am making the same request of the professional organizations listed above and the other two deans. As soon as the names of all the designees are received, each will be advised of the names and addresses of the other members of the Committee and the committee members will then be contacted directly and asked to proceed with this study.

Thank you for your cooperation. I look forward to receiving from you the name and address of whomever you designate to represent the Duke University Medical School.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enc/Memo for Proposed Research Project

File
N.C. Advisory Committee
CRC

November 3, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn,
The Field Foundation, Inc.,
250 Park Avenue,
New York, New York.

Dear Sirs:

Not!
H.

At the suggestion of Harold Fleming, I am writing to ask your advice as to whether The Field Foundation would entertain an application for a grant of $20,000 to pay the cost of the staff work to produce a factual report on whether any citizens in North Carolina, on account of their race, religion, or national origin, are denied equal protection of the law in respect to medical care.

The North Carolina Advisory Committee, appointed by the United States Commission on Civil Rights pursuant to the Civil Rights Act of 1957, desires to see this study made and would wherever appropriate make official inquiries for necessary information that might be required for such a study.

In addition, the North Carolina Advisory Committee has already secured the active interest of twenty or thirty of the leading doctors in the state who have responded to the enclosed letter dated September 15, 1960. A meeting was held with some of these interested doctors at Chapel Hill and it appeared desirable for the North Carolina Advisory Committee to request the professional organizations in the health field in North Carolina, such as the medical, nursing, hospital and public health association, to nominate persons to serve on a Select Committee to supervise this study. A copy of my letter to Dr. Barnes Woodhall, Dean of the Duke University Medical School, dated November 1, 1960, is attached. Similar letters have gone to all the other organizations indicated, together with a copy of the Memorandum of October 24, 1960, which, in a very general way, outlines the Proposed Research Project.

As soon as the professional organizations have submitted their nominees, the North Carolina Advisory Committee will complete the formation of the Select Committee, arrange for the first meeting of the Select Committee at which available records and publications can be reviewed and specific lines of inquiry agreed upon.

Mr. Maxwell Hahn,
The Field Foundation, Inc.,
250 Park Avenue,
New York, New York.

At this point the work can only go forward if we have adequate personnel which will include at least one man, preferably somebody with either legal or public health training, a secretary, and several consultants, such as persons now on faculties of various schools in the state.

If the necessary research can be completed by May 1, 1961, the results can be included in the report of the Civil Rights Commission to the President and Congress which is required by law to be made by September 1961. The Civil Rights Commission advises us that no such undertaking has been made in any of the states and that with its blessing, the North Carolina inquiry will be the first of its kind and may serve as a pilot model for such an inquiry.

Therefore, it is doubly important that the work be well done not only for what it can reveal about North Carolina but for what it can show for the rest of the country.

Even if it is impossible to complete all of the research which a thorough project would require by May 1961, I am confident that the report of the Select Committee, when completed, will be of independent value whether it is included in the Civil Rights Commission report to Congress and the President in September or not.

A proposed budget for this project would be as follows:

One man for eight months, $7,000; secretary, $3,000, travel, $4,000; printing and distribution, $3,000; consultants, $1,000; meetings, $2,000. Total $20,000.

I have not included any rent because I can arrange for suitable downtown office space for this project on a rent-free basis.

It is not anticipated that any members of the Select Committee would be paid, although it might be desirable to reimburse them for travel expenses. The doctors and hospital administrators who have so far indicated an interest in serving on this project have in no case raised any question about receiving any pay themselves.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enclosures/3

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

November 8, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mac:

I have your letter dealing with your application to the Field Foundation for funds for a study of the effect of race on medical care. I am afraid that we do not have anyone on the law faculty who would be in a position to devote the necessary time to this. Indeed, in our current situation, I could not encourage anyone to take leave for this or any other purpose.

There may be at least two possibilities on the staff of the Institute of Government. Jake Wicker (whom you may remember as a World Federalist) is not a lawyer, but I believe that he has had some experience in hospital administration. Roddey Ligon is a graduate of our Law School with a fine record, has worked in the public welfare field (and perhaps in public health), and teaches our law school course in Family Law. My impression is that the Institute's procedure, when the services of one of its men have been desired by outside agencies, has been to assign the man to the work, but to have the funds provided by the outside agency paid to the Institute. If you wish to explore further the possibility of one of these men--or perhaps someone else on the Institute staff--you should probably make your contact through Albert Coates. I have not mentioned the possibility to any of the three as I do not know what you may decide to do.

If you have not already done so, you might well wish to seek the advice of Dr. Robert Cadmus, who is the Administrator of the University's Memorial Hospital, and Dr. L. G. Welt of the Medical School faculty. I believe that both of these men would be likely to have a considerable personal interest in the project.

If you have any occasion to use a negro lawyer, I would suggest Henry Frye who is practicing in Greensboro. He had a Law Review record with us, made a very favorable impression upon all of our faculty, and I believe would do well with any assignment given him.

If I have any other ideas I will let you know. With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

HB:gd

Henry Brandis, Jr.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

November 16, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
Smith, Moore, Smith, Schell & Hunter
Suite 700, Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

I am sorry that I was out of town for more than a week after your letter of October 26 arrived. I assumed that you had already gone ahead with the final draft of this letter.

You inquire in your letter of November 7 about the possibility of a Staff Director for the study. I think that it is possible that Dr. Harvey L. Smith, University of North Carolina, 103 Miller Hall, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, might be able to help you. Dr. Smith, who is connected with the Department of Sociology, the Institute of Research in Social Science, and the Division of Health Affairs, has had experience in both sociology and medical care.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. L. Fleming

William L. Fleming, M.D.
Chairman
Department of Preventive Medicine

WLF-B

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

November 16, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700
Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

I have your letter of November 7. Am presently checking with some members of the school or our schools of Public Health and of Law concerning suitable people to serve as staff directors for your proposed study of equal protection of the law in North Carolina in respect to medical care. In the meanwhile I am writing you to suggest the name of a person in whom I have the utmost confidence.

J. Allen Williams, Jr. is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology. His field of primary interest is race relations in which field he is not only exceptionally well informed but quite stable and objective. Al was an outstanding undergraduate student here, went to Cornell University for the Master's program, and returned to us in the fall of 1959 to pursue Ph. D. work in Sociology. He did his Masters thesis on Negro and white mental illness in South Carolina. He is personally a well-organized person, with excellent work habits. He has sound training in research methodology and statistics. He does not have training in the law, though his father, whom you may know, is legal counselor to the University. Al maintains a residence here though he says that working from an office in Greensboro would be quite possible for him.

I cannot tell from your letter when you expect this research to begin, though it would appear that this is contingent upon action taken by the Field Foundation. Al would have to finish the current semester before taking this responsibility. It might be possible, if you wished to start before the end of January, for him to work during the Christmas holidays and on a reduced schedule during January. He could devote full time if necessary to your research during the spring and summer. I am confident that he would want to return to his studies here no later than next September.

His appointment would have the advantage of permitting him to draw on the resources here at the Institute for Research in Social Science, at which we are currently engaged in a large-scale program of general research into the changing status of the Negro in the South. Al currently is a research assistant in this research.

I shall write you in a few days if I can find someone trained in Public Health or the law who can be recommended for this work. In the meanwhile, if you have further word as to probable starting date of the project, this would be helpful for me to know.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Q. Campbell

Ernest Q. Campbell

EQC:dt

Medical Care

November 16, 1960

Dear Commissioner Latham:

The Commission on Civil Rights is authorized, under Section 105(e) of P.L. 85-315, a copy of which is enclosed, to constitute State Advisory Committees to assist the Commission in carrying out its duties. Our North Carolina Advisory Committee is seeking a grant in the sum of $20,000 from the Field Foundation. This money would be used to carry out a specific research project concerning denials of equal protection of the law on account of race, religion or national origin, in respect to medical care in that State.

The Field Foundation is evidently willing to give such a grant close consideration. However, as stated in the attached letter from the Field Foundation to Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee, they are concerned over making such a grant to an organization not specifically included in Section 501(c) 3.

It is the Commission's understanding that gifts to the Federal Government by a foundation would not jeopardize the Foundation's tax-exempt status. If this be the case, then the Commission wishes a specific ruling which would hold any State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights as an arm of the Federal Government and therefore a tax-exempt organization.

Although members of our State Advisory Committee serve without compensation, they do receive expenses and per diem payments for time, travel, etc., incurred while pursuing their duties as members of the Advisory Committees. They are in no way connected with any State or local government. The Committees are named by the U. S. Commission and their jurisdiction is limited to that of the parent organization. In addition, the Commission has adopted bylaws under which the State Advisory Committees must operate, a copy of which is also enclosed for your information.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This Commission is particularly interested in the possibility of Advisory Committees receiving foundation grants for research projects which are important to the nation, their State and the Commission. Since no public funds are available to staff State Advisory Committees to assist them in carrying out such projects, a favorable ruling allowing foundations to make grants to advisory committees would be extremely helpful.

Your attention to this matter will be greatly appreciated by both our North Carolina Advisory Committee and this Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon M. Tiffany

Enclosures

Honorable Dana Latham
Commissioner, Internal Revenue
Twelfth and Constitution Avenue
Washington 25, D.C.

cc: McNeill Smith
Dr. Cotter

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LWD
Return HCF

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
MC NEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
ALICE WATKINS COREY
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE

November 18, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Robert Nelson, Legislative Counsel for the Commission on Civil Rights, conferred on Monday with the appropriate person in the Exempt Organizations Branch of the Internal Revenue Service, and was assured that a grant to a State Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission for the purpose of studying the equal protection of the law in respect to medical care would be proper for a tax exempt organization like The Field Foundation.

It was suggested that such a grant could be made forthwith, without the necessity of a formal ruling, but it was also agreed that a ruling by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue would be helpful not only in satisfying the question you raised in connection with the North Carolina proposal, but such a ruling once made could be used as a guide in other situations and with other donors. Therefore, a letter in the attached form was sent out from Gordon Tiffany, Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights, to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Before the letter was sent, it was read to the person in the Exempt Organizations Branch in the Internal Revenue Service who is expected to prepare the ruling, and he agreed that the inquiry was in the proper form and that a favorable ruling would be issued.

Just how long it will take, I cannot predict, and I assume that the oral assurances will be followed up by a written ruling. You may want to withhold a decision until you receive the actual written ruling, but I did not want to delay any further in reporting to you what had been done.

In addition, I have a file about six inches thick full of correspondence with leading doctors in North Carolina and with the

COPY

deans of Duke, Wake Forest, and the University medical schools, the Dean of the Graduate School at the University, the Dean of the Law School at the University, with members of the staff of the Institute for Research in Social Science at Chapel Hill, and with the heads of the various medical organizations mentioned in the proposal which you have seen. I am happy to report a great deal of interest and enthusiasm for this research project. The North Carolina State Medical Society has named Dr. Lennox Baker, former President of the Society and an outstanding orthopedic surgeon on the staff of Duke Hospital, to be its representative on this special committee. The President of the Old North State Medical Society has chosen to serve himself, likewise the Executive Director of the Hospital Savings Association, and the President of the North Carolina Chapter of the American College of Surgeons. Also, the President of the North Carolina Hospital Association has agreed to serve himself on the committee.

You will be most interested in their letters.

I do not want to burden you with details, but you may be interested in the enclosed letters of Brandis, Campbell, and Fleming. Their suggestions are entirely unofficial and confidential and are passed along to you as samples of the type of interest which has been aroused by the possibility of this study being made. There are many other letters in the file dealing not with personalities but with questions to be answered in the course of the project, and many of the correspondents, particularly some of the very keenest younger doctors in the State, have indicated a strong interest in the making of this study.

In the course of the last 21 months, the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee has been studying equal protection of the law in voting, education, housing, employment, and the administration of justice, and reports have been made on voting and education, and interim reports have been made on employment. These studies are still proceeding; but, with all due respects to these other studies, none of them, in my opinion, have aroused as much interest as the prospect of the medical care study. Perhaps that is because the subject, while not new, has certainly not been publicized as much as the others in connection with the equal protection of the law. Also, while there has been no general publicity

of our Committee's interest in this subject, the memorandum containing the bare outline of the proposed project has been circulated among leading members of the professions having a responsibility for medical care, and I believe that it has struck a responsive note among this limited group which is in a position to know and to do something about it.

I hope that we will obtain a favorable ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in very short order, and that with your help this study can actually be made.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS/jo
encs.

bc: Mr. Harold Fleming
(with enclosures)

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 5, 1960

McNeill Smith, Esq.
Smith, Moore, Smith, Schell & Hunter
Suite 700, Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

At the recent meeting of the board of the Field Foundation our directors considered at length your request for a grant to carry out a study of the effect of race on medical care.

The directors asked me to express their regret that the Field Foundation is not in a position to support the study. Because of heavy demands, our board was able to take favorable action on a limited number of applications. The appeal of North Carolina Advisory Council was among those which our group decided reluctantly to decline.

We trust that you will find other contributors who will make it possible for the Council to carry out the study which you have outlined.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

December 9, 1960

Mr. John A. Mraz,
313 Johnston Building,
Charlotte, North Carolina.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your good letter of December 7 advising of the progress that you have been making on collecting the North Carolina statutes relating to medical care and any cases or regulations in regard to this subject.

The present status of the Select Committee is that the people whose names are shown on the attached sheet have already been appointed and have agreed to serve on the Special Committee. There will probably be six or eight others to round it out. We will want to exchange bibliography and memoranda before a general meeting. Then we will have a general meeting probably in Durham or Chapel Hill to secure consent of the Committee on the general outline of the investigation. After that time, if we have been able to secure the necessary funds, we will employ a good staff man and a couple of secretaries and maybe some consultants from the various colleges to work up the data, prepare the charts and reports, and bring it back to another meeting of the whole Committee for approval and for submission to the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee.

This is my proposal for the schedule. However, I am not "wedded" to it.

Your report will be circulated to the members of this Medical Care Committee and also to the members of the North Carolina Advisory Committee prior to that first meeting of the Medical Care Committee.

Looking forward to hearing from you, and with best regards to you, and thanks also to Barry Winston, I am

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
cc to Mr. Barry Winston
Enclosure (list of nominees to Special Committee on Medical Care)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

File

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
ALICE WATKINS COREY
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE

N.C. Advisory Ctee

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

December 12, 1960

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I enjoyed yesterday and look forward to your report. Enclosed is Maxwell Hahn's letter expressing the decision of his board which must have met last week.

I would appreciate whatever you can find out about the background of this decision, whether there is any hope that it may be reconsidered, and finally, what other suggestions you have. Meantime, we are proceeding with the setting up of the committee, collecting bibliography, and preparing such preliminary memoranda as indicated in some of the enclosed correspondence.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enclosures/3

PERSONS INTERESTED IN
HELPING ON
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON MEDICAL CARE

December 13, 1960

Dr. E. P. Benbow
104 East Norwood Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dr. Ernest Craige
School of Medicine
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. James E. Davis
1200 Broad Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. R. M. Dunham
Chief Psychologist
Dorothea Dix Hospital
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. O. T. Faison, Administrator
The Good Shepherd Hospital, Inc.
P. O. Drawer 1699
New Bern, North Carolina

Dr. Robert R. Cadmus, Director
The North Carolina Memorial Hospital
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Charles E. Llewellyn, Jr.
Asst. Professor of Psychiatry and
Head, Psychiatric Outpatient Division
Duke University Medical Center
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. George D. Penick
Rex Hospital
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Monroe T. Gilmour
1351 Durwood Drive
Charlotte 3, North Carolina

Dr. Donald B. Koonce
General Surgery
408 North Eleventh Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dr. T. Frank Williams
The School of Medicine
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1012 Kings Drive
Suite 101
Charlotte 7, North Carolina

Dr. John K. Wilson
1209 Magnolia Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dr. Walter C. Lusk
1018 North Elm Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dr. Lytt I. Gardner
Department of Pediatrics
State University of New York
Upstate Medical Center
766 Irving Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York

Dr. Alexander Heard
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. David A. Davis
Professor of Surgery
(Anesthesiology)
The North Carolina Memorial Hospital
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. John Dewey Dorsett, Jr.
211 Hawthorne Lane
Charlotte 4, North Carolina

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Director
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York 27, N. Y.

Dr. James F. Newsome
Department of Surgery
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dr. Murray B. Davis
761 East Washington Street
High Point, North Carolina

December 13, 1960

Mr. John A. Mraz
Attorney at Law
313 Johnston Building
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dr. Eugene A. Hargrove,
Commissioner of Mental Health,
N. C. Hospitals Board of Control,
P. O. Box 70,
10 S. McDowell Street,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. W. T. Armstrong,
128 East Thomas Street,
Rocky Mount, North Carolina

Mr. Frank W. Snepp,
Attorney at Law,
Law Building,
Charlotte, North Carolina.

Mr. Fred Alexander,
2623 Double Oaks Road,
Charlotte, North Carolina.

Preliminary bibliography for the Special Committee on Medical Care for North Carolina

Would each member of the Committee advise McNeill Smith, Box 868, Greensboro, N. C., of additional materials which should be included on this basic list of materials.

1. "Hospital and Medical Care For All Our People" by Dr. Clarence Poe. Revised February 1947 (Reports of Chairman and Subcommittee of North Carolina Hospital and Medical Care Commission 1944-45)

2. "North Carolina Welfare Laws, Bulletin No. 24" Revised 1959 (North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare)

3. "Chapter No. 131 - General Statutes of North Carolina (Public Hospitals) 1950" The North Carolina Medical Care Commission

4. "Negro Hospital and Medical Care Facilities in North Carolina" (April 1954- Progress Report No. RS-5) by Dr. Selz C. Mayo, Department of Rural Sociology, N. C. Agricultural Experiment Station, State College Station, Raleigh, N. C.

5. "Preventable Deaths in North Carolina" (September 1945 - Progress Report No. RS-6) by Selz C. Mayo

6. "Longevity and Health Status of Whites and Nonwhites in the U. S." by Marcus S. Goldstein, Ph. D. (Reprinted from Journal of the National Medical Association - March 1954, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 83-104)

7. "Providing Adequate Health Service to Negroes" by M. M. Davis and Hugh H. Smythe (Reprinted from 1949 Yearbook Issue of the Journal of Negro Education by Marcus S. Goldstein, Ph. D.)

8. "Post War Planning for North Carolina Agriculture; Rural Health Services and Facilities in North Carolina" - Bulletin No. 24 (1959)

9. "Post War Planning for North Carolina Agriculture; Rural Health Services and Facilities in North Carolina " Report No. 12 - October 1945

10. "Section 17 of the Budget Appropriation Bill for the Biennium 1959-61 (North Carolina State Board of Education Child Health Funds)

11. "Article 24 § 115-204. Instruction in physical education and health education. (Public School Laws of North Carolina)

12. "Medicine and the Law - Retrospect and Prospect, by LeMoyne Snyder, M. D., Paradise, California." Journal AMA '59 - Reprint by Guilford County Medical Society 1960

13. "The Mortality Experience of Industrial Policyholders, 1950 to 1955" By Edward A. Lew and Mortimer Spiegelman (Reprinted from the Transactions of the Society of Actuaries, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1 Madison Avenue, New York 10, New York)

14. Reprints from U. S. Public Health Service Reports:

1. "Negro Mortality, No. II. The Birth Rate and Infant and Maternal Mortality" by Mary Gover - Reprint No. 2750
2. "Negro Mortality, No. III. Course of Mortality from Specific Causes, 1920-1944 - by Mary Gover - Reprint No. 2837
3. "Negro Mortality, No. IV. Urban and Rural Mortality From Selected Causes in the North and South" by Maryland Y. Pennell and Mary Gover. Reprint No. 3069

(These reprints are available in most health department offices and in some large libraries. Also from the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.)

15. "Preinduction and Induction Examination Results, 1959" (Reprinted from Health of the Army, February 1960, Vol. 15, No. 2, Pages 1-10. Copies may be obtained from the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D. C., Attention Chief, Medical Statistics Division)

16. "Preinduction and Induction Examination Results 1958" (Reprinted from Health of the Army, February 1959, Vol. 14, Report No. 2, Pages 1-13)

17. "Review of The Induction Experience Under The Selective Service Act of 1948" (Reprinted from Health of the Army - Vol. 4, No. 4, April 1959)

18. "Laws of North Carolina Relating to Hospitals for the Mentally Disordered" by North Carolina Hospitals Board of Control (Reprinted from General Statutes of North Carolina and 1959 Cumulative Supplement - published by The Michie Co., Charlottesville, Va. 1959)

19. "North Carolina State Life Tables: 1949-51" April 6, 1956, Vol. 41, Supplement 32, Public Health Service, National Office of Vital Statistics

20. "A Brief History of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission," by Lytt I. Gardner, Syracuse, N. Y. (Reprinted from Pediatrics, Vol. 13, No. 1, January 1954)

21. "Public Health Service Regulations - Part 53" - U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

December 21, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO : State Advisory Committee Chairman

FROM: Cornelius P. Cotter, Assistant Staff Director
State Advisory Committees

CPCotter

SUBJECT: Eligibility of State Advisory Committees to receive gifts or grants to further the performance of their work.

I need hardly tell you that many State Advisory Committees have come to the conclusion that they could perform their appointed tasks with greater vigor and effectiveness if they had funds available to pay for secretarial, research, or other services. The Commission has been unable to provide such funds to State Advisory Committees.

I am now happy to be able to inform you that the Internal Revenue Service, of the U. S. Treasury Department, has recently issued an interpretation of the Tax Code under which interpretation contributions to State Advisory Committees are deductible by the donors in computing their taxable income. Also, under this ruling, tax-exempt foundations may contribute to State Advisory Committees without endangering their tax-exempt status.

I am sending you, with this memorandum, several copies of the Treasury Department letter incorporating this interpretation. My thought is that many State Advisory Committees may wish to solicit such contributions in order to further the purposes which the State Advisory Committees serve.

Enclosures

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

In Reply Refer To

DEC 20 1960

T:R:EO:3
JN

Commission on Civil Rights
c/o Mr. Gordon M. Tiffany, Staff Director
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to a letter of November 16, 1960, with supporting information enclosed therewith, to Commissioner Dana Latham from your Staff Director, wherein it is set forth that the Commission on Civil Rights wishes a specific ruling which would hold any State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights as an arm of the Federal Government and therefore a tax-exempt organization. It appears that the ruling is desired to insure that the making of grants to the Committees by tax-exempt foundations will not jeopardise the status of such organizations.

You are a commission of the executive branch of the Federal Government created by the "Civil Rights Act of 1957", to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. You are empowered under section 105(c) of the aforementioned Act to constitute such advisory committees within States composed of citizens of that State and may consult with governors, attorneys general, and other representatives of State and local governments, and private organizations, as deemed advisable.

Based upon the information submitted, it is held that as an integral part of the Commission on Civil Rights, a commission created in the executive branch of the Government, any State Advisory Committee constituted under section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is not subject to Federal income tax and is not required to file Federal income tax returns.

Contributions made to such Committees are deductible by the donors in computing their taxable income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 170 of the 1954 Code.

Commission on Civil Rights

Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers to or for the use of such Committees are deductible in computing the value of the taxable estate of a decedent for Federal estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by sections 2055 and 2106 of the 1954 Code. Gifts of property to or for the use of such Committees are deductible in computing taxable gifts for Federal gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by section 2522 of the 1954 Code.

In view of the foregoing, the tax-exempt status of foundations making grants in furtherance of their exempt purposes to the Committees will not be jeopardised by such distributions.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) John W. S. Littleton

Director, Tax Rulings Division

December 29, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn,
Executive Vice President,
The Field Foundation, Inc.,
250 Park Avenue,
New York 17, New York.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a copy of the Treasury Department ruling of December 20, 1960 covering the point that you raised earlier and affirming the tax exempt status of foundations making grants to State Advisory Committees of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

The North Carolina Special Committee on Medical Care which is to supervise the study of equal protection of the law in respect to medical care for the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee will be announced about the middle of January. Attached is a list of the members of this Special Committee as nominated by the various professional organizations to date and also a list of other interested and very capable persons from whom will be named six or eight additional members of the Committee so as to give it adequate balance representing all segments of the life of the state and to include those whose competence will be needed for the purposes of an adequate and accurate report.

We still very much need the benefit of at least $20,000 to finance staff work which must be done to make this study worth while. I know of your original interest in the subject matter and I would appreciate your advising me whether you wish us to make a more formal presentation of the request for Field Foundation assistance, and whether there is any approach to the subject matter which would satisfy any conditions or reservations which members of the Board may have in respect to the proposed study. Your advice will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enclosures/3 (and preliminary bibliography and Part II of bibliography)

1960

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

McNEill SMITH, Greensboro, CHAIRMAN

Senior partner, Smith, Moore, Smith, Schell and Hunter, Esqs; president, American Business Club, American Freedom Association.

MILLARD BARBEE, Durham

President, North Carolina Federation, AFL-CIO.

PAUL R. ERVIN, Charlotte

Senior partner, McDougle, Ervin, Horach and Snepp, Esqs.; lay reader, Methodist Church; former member, North Carolina State Legislature.

CONRAD O. PEARSON, Durham

Attorney.

ASA T. SPAULDING, Durham

President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; director, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

CURTISS TODD, Winston-Salem

Attorney; member, executive committee, Winston-Salem Urban League.

MRS. MARGARET R. VOGT, Wilson

Housewife and civic leader.

DR. R. A. WILKINS, Mt. Olive

Dentist.

MARION A. WRIGHT, Linville Falls

Attorney (retired); former president, Southern Regional Council.

January 25, 1961

Mr. McNeil Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

Enclosed is a sheet describing the Doris Duke Foundation as printed in the Foundation Directory for 1960. This is being sent to you at the request of Mr. Harold C. Fleming.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosure - 1.

Sent to Mr. McNeil Smith, Box &&&& 868, Greensboro, N. C. - 1/25/61

THE DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION, INC.[**]
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Incorporated in 1934 in Delaware.

Donor: Doris Duke.

Purpose and Activities: Grants to charitable and educational institutions on an annual basis for experimental or expansion projects, with priority given to agencies in New York, and occasional grants in New Jersey, the Carolinas, Hawaii, and California. Activities have included social service programs; expanding programs for assistance to American Indians; improved services for the aging through public welfare; child welfare; aid to agencies providing relief, medical care, and other services outside the United States. It engages in no direct operation of programs and makes no grants directly to individuals, building funds, capital funds, religious organizations for sectarian purposes, nor for publications, or general operation expenses.

Financial Data (Year ended 31 December 1958): Assets, $728,588 (L); expenditures, $477,089, including $460,937 in grants.

Officers: Doris Duke,[*] President; Wilbert C. Davison, M.D.,[*] Vice-President; Mrs. May E. McFarland, Secretary.

Trustees:[*] Mrs. Byrnes MacDonald, Lloyd A. Pantages, John Schiff.

[**]Taken from: The Foundation Directory, Edition 1, published by the Center by Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1960.

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING

GREENSBORO, N. C.

McNeil Smith
N.C. Advisory
Ct. of Appeals

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

JANUARY 30, 1961

1. The Council, on recommendation of our Committee, has for the past several years, been a co-sponsor of the Annual Southeastern World Affairs Institute at Blue Ridge, Black Mountain, North Carolina, the last week-end in July.

   It has also supported and been a co-sponsor of the Institute held in Chapel Hill in February of each year by the North Carolina Council on World Affairs. Members of the Committee have participated in planning the programs for both of these institutes and the attendance and interest has been excellent.

   We recommend that the Council continue to serve as co-sponsor of these two institutes to be held in February and July, 1961. Co-sponsorship of these institutes does not involve any monetary commitment on the part of the North Carolina Council of Churches, but members of our Committee and other members of the Council of Churches do take part in making the arrangements for these programs, the membership of the Council is kept advised of the dates and details and encouraged to participate, and the institutes attract many ministers, teachers, editors, government officials, and other citizens interested in learing the facts of the modern world in order that the people of North Carolina may be better informed and learn to make decisions both wiser and in keeping with the principles of our Christian faith, in the development and support of policies and programs to be carried out in our name by government.

2. The Committee recommends that the Council forward to the President of the United States an expression of its support for the basic idea of "The Peace Corps." In many areas of the world there are large populations that are illiterate, untrained, unskilled, and undernourished. They are willing and anxious to be taught how to do things for themselves. In many cases they have natural resources if they could only be taught how to use them. They are awakening to the possibilities of their own development. They need help. We, in turn, have in this country a great many young men and women with the necessary abilities and who with proper training could provide the skilled leadership for these emerging people. The government is in a unique position to arrange for the matching of the need for service and the need to serve. The Council will support the government's efforts in this direction and looks forward to being kept informed of the plans for "The Peace Corps" and the ways in which the member churches, with their experiences in many of the areas to be served, may co-operate to the end that the needs of human beings, wherever they are, may better be met.

3. The developments during the past year in Cuba are merely symptoms of conditions of poverty and frustration with exist in many parts of Latin America. A special concern should be the study of the extent to which the peoples of Central and South America which have for more than a century been independent nations are undergoing such economic and social difficulties as in fact to be slipping backward. This is not a situation of new and emerging nations as is presented in Africa and Asia today, but rather of older nations submerging. The Committee recommends to the Council that member churches be urged to study the conditions not only in Cuba but in all other Latin American countries with the view to learning how we can better assist them solve the problems of dislocated markets, extreme poverty, undeveloped natural resources, health hazards, and overpopulation. Being our

neighbors in the Americas, they are especial concerns of ours, not only to maintain their national independence but to achieve, as individual human beings, the high standards of living and personal freedom which we associate in our own minds as the badge of being "American".

4. The Committee would call the attention of the Council and of all churchmen in North Carolina to the fact that during the past ten years the voting record of the North Carolina Members of the Congress would indicate that there has been a decided change in the direction of isolationism. Instead of a strong support for legislation like the Marshall Plan, Mutual Security Assistance, and action in co-operation with other nations through the United Nations, the North Carolina delegation has, since 1952, voted a majority in the negative. For example, among the twelve representatives from North Carolina in the House of Representatives, there was only one negative vote on Mutual Security in 1952, and only two negative votes in 1953; but in 1954 there were ten negative votes and the negative votes have held at approximately that same high level of seven to ten negative votes since that time.

   This trend is similar to the shift from "Internationalism" to "Isolationism" in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and to a lesser extent in other states in the South. In fact, the trend has gone so far that the South is now, by such votes as these, far more isolationist than the Mid-West or other sections of the country. This was not true during the 1930s and the 1940's when the southern voting record was markedly more "internationalist" than the Middle West which was thought to be the citadel of hard-shell isolationism. We believe that this apparent shift in the viewpoint of our Members of Congress from North Carolina should be given further study and an attempt made to find out the underlying reasons for this shift and whether in fact the shift represents the informed will of the people as to the role which America should play in world affairs.

5. We concur in the view expressed by the senior Senator from North Carolina that "there must be something effectively done to get citizens of our nation to realize that the international situation is grave and that we may well be on the threshold of disaster to our way of life unless ways are found to meet the challenge of the world's problems..."; however, these problems are not merely, nor even most importantly "the increasing Communist threat". The problems are poverty, over-population, and frustration of vast numbers of human beings. We ask and expect our leaders of national stature to call upon us to find ways to meet the challenge of these problems. The people will respond. Not only will there be a better chance that these problems will be solved, but there will also be less time and excuse for our own people to be engaged in special interest grasping for public funds and in carping and complaining and making extreme demands as members of various pressure groups. If we as a people become committed to making the world safe, instead of just America safe, we will find the sort of vitality that comes from unity in sacrifice. Life is not a static thing. We are restless and will not be contained. Unless we are engaged in a great crusade to save others, we will be quarreling among ourselves. Unless we are on the high road, we are on the low road. If we don't have the Minute Men, we have the Minute Women. If we are not actively unselfish, we are selfish.

   It is not up to America alone to look for ways to solve all the world's problems, but it is certainly up to America to take the lead in calling upon the other peoples of the world, through the United Nations, to solve them. We must be engaged in a great common effort with the rest of mankind, and not be merely a lonely group of satiated individuals facing, rather hopelessly, what the Senator described as "the storm that is gathering against us". What a depressing picture of America. How different from the vision of our founders. How different from our earlier call to the world's poor huddled masses, yearning to be free.

   If our citizens can be told the truth about what we face, and we conceive it to be the duty not only of government officials but even more so of our church leadership both lay and clerical, to speak to us in terms not only of our world responsibilities but of the great and wonderful possibilities to do good in our time, then we are confident that our people will respond and with God's help can solve these problems. We welcome the call.

MF, file

For information only

February 27, 1961 McNeill Smith

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1961

Dr. Cornelius Cotter,
Assistant Staff Director,
Commission on Civil Rights,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Neil:

In connection with all of the Commission's studies of equal protection of the law, the following questions arise:

1. Suppose that government facilities are available but the particular individual citizen fails in one of the following respects:

(a) To recognize his need
(b) To present a request
(c) To express himself so that his need can be understood

2. Should society entice people to take advantage of beneficial programs. For example, should the Commissioner of Education publish radio announcements and TV spots and put out posters everywhere saying: "Stay one more year in school." This is an analogy to "Join the Navy and see the world." Should the same sort of enticement be directed at people to register and vote; to improve their health; to prevent disease; to take advantage of home improvement financial aid; to apply for a job with a federal contractor (listing their names and addresses)?

The government puts out 'how to do it pamphlets" on everything else, why not on some of these basic subjects so essential to the preservation of our principal natural resource; to wit, our citizens?

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc

Info copy to
Harold Fleming

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
MC NEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
ALICE WATKINS COREY
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS

March 2, 1961

-AIR MAIL-

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1961

Honorable Robert F. Kennedy,
The Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of February 28, 1961. I will be at your office, Room 5113, Department of Justice, at 12:45 p.m., Monday, March 6, 1961.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc

COPY

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
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DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

March 14, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I enjoyed very much the lunch last Monday. Contrary to my representation to you over the telephone, I have run into the need for what the businessmen call "a current cash flow." Maybe by the end of the year I will be in much better shape, but I have had to spend several thousand dollars on work at the house and today have found that the garage, in whose clutches I am in respect to my car, insists on such a large bill that I am considering buying a new car. Therefore, if there is readily available reimbursement for the Washington trip, I would accept it with thanks. If not, forget it.

My expenses were $45.87.

With best regards,

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc

Consultant Sas.

March 17, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700
Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mac:

The offer still stands, and I am glad to enclose our check for $45.87 to cover the expenses of your Washington trip.

I am sorry to hear about your run of misfortune. My sympathy is all the more genuine since I can match you item for item.

Let me take this opportunity to say that I thought your contribution at the Washington meeting was first rate. Often when people like us get together with policy makers we have only pious abstractions to offer. The concreteness of your suggestions was refreshing and impressive. And Bobby Kennedy was listening, too.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date 4-4-61

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

1 LWD ✓

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

2 MF

3 FILE

April 4, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700
Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mac:

Your idea of a separate printing and distribution of the North Carolina Advisory Committee's report is excellent. You will know better than I what intra-state distribution would be possible and desirable. I should think your proposed figure of 5,000 would be easily justified.

The main virtue of such a report for out-of-state use would be the example it might set for the other states. In this connection, I am sure the Southern Regional Council would want to buy at least a modest supply of copies.

As you will see from the enclosures, Les Dunbar will very shortly be making such decisions here, and I am passing your letter on to him.

I hope soon I will have a chance to talk with you about the new operation I am going to be launching in Washington. The aim will be to provide a useful supplement to the work of the government agencies and such organizations as the Southern Regional Council.

In any case, I shall expect to be in continuing touch with you for advice and mutual help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
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DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

March 18, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the check and for your comments. I enjoyed having lunch with Phil Hammer on Thursday.

I am in hope that we can get the Government to reprint the North Carolina Advisory Committee's reports in a separate pamphlet for wider distribution among public officials in North Carolina. I have talked with Neil Cotter about this and he thinks it will be possible. The plans of the Commission are to produce another volume of ~~state~~ Reports and it would seem to be a simple matter for the section containing the North Carolina Reports to be reprinted. I have in mind about five thousand copies, which I think could be placed strategically in the state. Do you have any suggestions as to what sort of quantity could reasonably well be printed for distribution in North Carolina. I doubt that the Reports would have out-of-state application, but if you are interested and have any suggestions along that line, let me know.

Very truly yours,

Mac

McNeill Smith

McNS/eg

Rush

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ADDRESS REPLY TO: 8/22/61

file

Leslie Dunbar:

Could you possibly review attached & return to me with comments before Friday?

Do you have latest figures on N. C. policemen?

This draft prepared by W L Thorp & Dickson Phillips (UNC) & Spaulding & McKean also on Subcommittee.

McNeill Smith

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

A. T. SPAULDING, *Vice-Chairman*
N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.
Durham, N. C.

MARGARET R. VOGT, *Secretary*
1127 Delane Avenue
Wilson, N. C.

PAUL R. ERVIN, *Asst. Sec.*
806 E. Trade St.
Charlotte 2, N. C.

HECTOR MacLEAN
Southern National Bank
Lumberton, N. C.

CONRAD O. PEARSON
P. O. Box 1428
Durham, N. C.

WILLIAM L. THORP
Peoples Bank & Trust Co. Bldg.
Rocky Mount, N. C.

CURTISS TODD
Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. Bldg.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N. C.

MILLARD BARBEE
2603 Ashe Street
Durham, N. C.

write more for U.S. Civil Rights Commission

September 1, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear McNeill:

Enclosed are some later notes regarding library desegregation. This is not a complete listing of cities which have desegregated their libraries; it is simply the ones about which we know.

Citation for the police figures is Elliott M. Rudwick, "Negro Police Employment in the Urban South", Journal of Negro Education, spring 1961.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. -2-

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

August 29, 1961

ADDRESS REPLY TO: McNeill Smith

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for the careful reading of the first draft of the report on Instrumentalities of Justice. As the result of some additional information and comments of others like yourself, the text has been redrafted and I hope it will be clearer and more useful.

What is "The Rudwick Study"? I want to use the figures on policemen in North Carolina in 1959, but I do not know how to cite the source.

Also, has there been any later material on libraries since the article by Anna Holden in January 1954 which appears at Page 60 in "Changing Patterns"? If so, I would certainly like to have a copy of the latest information on this subject.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

A. T. SPAULDING, *Vice-Chairman*
N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.
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1127 Delane Avenue
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Rocky Mount, N. C.

CURTISS TODD
Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. Bldg.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N. C.

MILLARD BARBEE
2603 Ashe Street
Durham, N. C.

March 16, 1962

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear McNeill:

I must apologize for the delay in sending comments and the draft of your housing report. You will recall -- because you helped so much with it -- our report of last year recommending certain actions for the incoming Administration. I have been pretty frantically engaged the last few weeks in doing a sort of companion piece, on the accomplishments of one year of executive action. It's done now, and we'll send you a copy. In the process, however, I had to neglect other things.

I have now gone over the draft and Jim Moss, our Research Director, has read it carefully. I am enclosing his comments.

I think Jim's remarks are sound and I generally agree with them. I might disagree a bit on the use of the statements of loan people: I happen to find this sort of material interesting. It is, however, lengthy and unless you have space to burn I believe you should look for places to shorten the report.

I am looking forward eagerly to C.C.R.'s publication of the North Carolina reports.

We thank you also for the copy of your compilation of statutes and ordinances. This ought to be invaluable. Could it be suggested that every state committee do one of thes?

I am enclosing also a copy of my Annual Report. You'll notice a marked line on page 14. We hope to hear from you sometime on this; it will be a particular pleasure to welcome you to the Council.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

I have read the manuscript carefully and marked sections which I feel might strengthen the presentation of the material included and present more clearly the arguments with which the document deals.

I found the quantity of statements of Savings and Loan Agencies in North Carolina repetitive. It seemed to me that you might pinpoint the essence of these remarks and cite only a sampling of seven or eight as documentary evidence. The rest might be included in the appendix. The essence of these remarks appear to me to be as follows:

1. We make housing loans without regard to race or color.

2. The housing loans are based solely upon the financial ability and reputation of the applicant.

3. Housing loans tend to be concentrated in all-Negro areas.

4. Higher priced housing and housing in trasitional areas pose the greatest difficulties for Negro applicants.

5. Only a minority of housing loans fall within the FHA or VA financing category.

6. There is open land available for housing expansion for Negroes.

In short, a summary of the findings of your questionnaire might be presented as I have indicated above or graphically presented in some form of table.

I think that the section dealing with legislative trends in public and private housing might well be moved toward the front of the document so as to clearly state the legal position of the Negro in the housing market in North Carolina. A strong statement would, therefore, emerge suggesting that restrictive covenants and the confining of racial populations to restricted residential areas by public authorities is unenforcible in the courts, and that these restraints upon public action applies to both purchase and rental housing.

In the section dealing with public housing, it would appear to me that a statement clearly indicating the

Federal Government's position with regard to financial assistance to communities limiting access to housing by race would show that urban renewal officials are under the same policies as public housing bodies.

One should raise the question of whether housing assisted in any way by federal funds should be racially discriminatory. In this regard I think one would want to reconsider the statement in Section C, "In every place where such public housing units are in actual operation, the percentage of units being occupied by Negroes is substantially in excess of the percentage of non-white households in such cities." Considering the greater economic need of non-white families, as stated in your report, for public aided housing it could be stressed that the total public aided housing supply should be available to all citizens without regard to race or color. Therefore, it may not be unusual, considering the economic status of the Negro families in these communities, for even up to 80 and 90 per cent of the public aided housing units to be occupied by Negro families. I do not feel that a suggestion ought even to be implied that public aided housing units should be distributed according to the numerical strength of white and Negro households in a city.

This position seems to be even more tenable when one notes the statement that there is substantial FHA and VA financing of housing. I did not get that impression as I read the comments of Savings and Loan officials. It seemed to me that seldom more than 10 to 20 per cent of all loans made fall within this category and some of these institutions indicated that they made no loans under either of these programs. This would seem to impose the burden on borrowers, both Negro and white, to meet the requirements of conventional mortgages requiring one-third ldown payment. A part of the Negro housing market, therefore, would oridnarily flow into home ownership, were smaller down payments available, remained within the category of renters of both private and public housing because of the absence of federally insured loans.

I believe that an equally strong case could be made for Negro families relocated under the Urban Renewal and Redevelopment programs. I think that there is the requirement that all families relocated under redevelopment programs must be re-housed in decent, safe, and sanitary housing at prices they can afford to pay, without regard to racial barriers. I suspect that the pressing problem still confronting the North, namely, relocating of Negro families into new racial ghettos, may be even more aggravated in the South and some attention might be directed to Federal Program guarantees in this area.

In the Conclusion, I think a fact that should be pointed up and stressed is that financial institutions in North Carolina so uniformly and readily provide financing for Negro housing requirements. This is not so true in the North. Perhaps also the report should encourage greater government participation in the housing field where urban communities cannot handle the financial problems involved alone.

These are the major suggestions that I have. I think it is a very thorough, comprehensive document and one that may well set the precedent for assessing the housing practices and requirements with respect to Negroes in other states throughout the South.

3/16/62

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 8, 1962

Mr. McNeill Smith
Drawer G
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

I have read ~~your~~ the manuscript carefully and ~~, as you have requested~~ marked sections which I feel might strengthen the presentation of the material included and present more clearly the arguments with which the document deals.

I found the quantity of statements of Savings and Loan Agencies in North Carolina repetitive. ~~and monotonous.~~ It seemed to me that you might pinpoint the essence of these remarks and cite only a sampling of seven or eight as documentary evidence. The rest might be included in the appendix. The essence of these remarks appear to me to be as follows.

1. We make housing loans without regard to race or color.

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4. Higher priced housing and housing in transitional areas pose the greatest difficultues for Negro applicants.

5. Only a minority of housing loans fall within the FHA or VA financing category.

6. There is open land available for housing expansion for Negroes.

In ~~the~~ short,

~~Since these replies were obviously taken from questionnaires submitted to these institutions,~~ a summary of the findings of ~~this~~ your questionnaire might be presented as I ~~have~~ indicated above or graphically presented in ~~some~~ form of table.

I think that the section dealing with legislative trends in public and private housing might well be moved toward the front of the document so as to clearly state the legal position of the Negro in the housing market in North Carolina. A strong statement would, therefore, emerge suggesting that restrictive covenants and the confining of racial populations to restricted residential areas by public authorities is unenforcible in the courts, and that these restraints upon public action applies to both purchase and rental housing.

In the section dealing with public housing, it would appear to me that a ~~policy~~ statement clearly indicating the Federal Government's position with regard to financial assistance to communities limiting access to housing by race would, ~~therefore, place in the same category the policy of~~ show that urban renewal officials ~~as~~ are under the ~~well~~ as public housing bodies.

same policy

One should raise the question of whether housing assisted in any way by federal funds should be racially discriminatory. In this regard I think one would want to reconsider the statement in Section C, "In every place where such public housing units are in actual operation, the percentage of units being occupied by Negroes is substantially in excess of the percentage of non-white households in such cities." Considering the greater economic need of non-white ~~families, as~~ stated in your report, for public aided housing it ~~should~~ could be stressed that the total public aided housing supply should be available to all citizens without regard to race or color. Therefore, it may not be unusual, considering the economic status of the Negro families in these communities, for even up to 80 and 90 per cent of the public aided housing units to be occupied by Negro families. I do not feel that a suggestion ought even to be implied that public aided housing units should be distributed according to the numerical strength of white and Negro households in a city.

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This is not true in the North.

In Conclusion, ~~the summary~~ I think ~~it's~~ it is a fact that should be pointed up and stressed that financial institutions in North Carolina so uniformly and readily provide financing for Negro housing requirements. ~~and~~ Perhaps encourage greater government participation in the housing field where urban communities cannot handle the financial problems involved alone.

These are the major suggestions that I have. I think it is a very thorough, comprehensive document and one that may well set the precedent for assessing the housing practices and requirements with respect to Negroes in other states throughout the South.

also the report should

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

BC for Mr. Leslie Dunbar

JM
MJ - file

May 16, 1962

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1962

The Honorable Terry Sanford,
Governor of North Carolina,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

My dear Governor:

Enclosed is a copy of the Committee's report on Equal Protection of the Laws in Housing in North Carolina. As you can see from the report, the opinions of many persons who deal directly with housing in North Carolina were sought by the Committee and the report incorporates the replies.

So many persons contributed data to this report, which we believe to be the first of its kind undertaken in North Carolina, that it represents a statewide co-operative effort to take a good long look at the condition of our housing and the extent to which the government, local, state and federal, has had a part in determining the nature of that housing and its availability to all of our citizens.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith, Chairman
North Carolina Advisory Committee

McNS:mmc
Encs/1

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

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McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
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HERBERT O. DAVIS
ALICE WATKINS COREY
JAMES G. EXUM, JR.
JACK W. FLOYD

TELEPHONE 273-8265
DRAWER G

September 12, 1963

Rec'd 9/13/63

SB
BP
JT

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is an errata sheet making certain corrections in the first printing of the North Carolina Advisory Committee's published volume: EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS IN NORTH CAROLINA. You have one or more copies. If you need any more copies of the errata sheet, would you ask for them from the Commission, attention Mr. Peter Sussman. This correction sheet was prepared at the time of the second printing. The first printing of 5,000 was exhausted and the Government Printing Office has made a re-run of the book.

Yours aye,

McNeill Smith

McNS:bmcp
Enclosure

ERRATA

Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina

Page 19, line 41 -- delete the words "as in (a) and (b) above."

Page 27, Table 8 -- the "Nonwhite potential registered, percent" for Gaston County is 59.2.

Page 42, Figure 4 -- the bars indicating voter participation should show:

Year	Percent	Year	Percent	Year	Percent	Year	Percent
1888	84	1908	52	1928	43	1948	35
1892	75	1912	48	1932	45	1952	52
1896	85	1916	53	1936	48	1956	48
1900	70	1920	45	1940	43	1960	54
1904	45	1924	38	1944	40		

Page 75, footnote -- second sentence should read, "In any event, the merit system percentage of 7.9 is significantly lower than these indicators of Negro participation in State employment."

Page 102, line 9 -- title should read "TEACHER LOADS".

Page 107, Figure 7 -- Rutherford and Forsyth counties should be shaded to correspond with the legends representing 51-60 percent and 81-90 percent, respectively. Each county on the chart may be checked against Appendices 9-10, pages 245-247.

Page 108, Figure 8 -- Gaston, New Hanover, and Rowan counties should be shaded to correspond with the shading of the legend representing 51-60 percent.

Page 138 -- the correct figure for Mississippi (next to the last in the right table) is 11.3.

Page 173 -- the second sentence within the second paragraph, under the title "Nonwhite Access to Public Housing," should read: "According to North Carolina law, the rent is one-fifth of the family income for families having no children or as many as two dependents and is one-sixth of the family income for families having three or more minor dependents."

Page 222, line 31 -- after sentence ending ". . . refuse to serve him at all." insert: In 1903 the legislature enacted G.S. 72-1 reading: "Every innkeeper shall at all times provide suitable food, rooms, beds and bedding for strangers and travelers whom he may accept as guests in his inn or hotel." Whether and to what extent this changed the common law rule is not clear.

Page 248, Appendix 11 -- the last two vertical lines falling between the titles "Negro" and "Percent for Negro" should be moved to the right and fall between the titles "Percent for Negro" and "Total."

LWD
SB
MJ

McNeill Smith is no longer chairman of the N. C. Advisory Committee.

The new chairman is:

Dr. J. Francis Paschall
North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee
Duke Law School
Durham, N. C.

— file

I have put Dr. Paschall on lists to receive New South and the Research mailing list; Mr. Smith asked to be removed from New South as the chm.

he gets it as an SRC member

SPECIAL COMMITTEE on MEDICAL CARE
(In process of formation)

Dr. Hubert M. Poteat, Jr.	N. C. State Chapter American College of Surgeons
Dr. Lenox D. Baker	Medical Society of the State of N. C.
Dr. Chas. D. Watts	Old North State Medical Society
Mr. Jos. E. Barnes	N. C. Hospital Association
Mr. E. B. Crawford	Hospital Savings Association
Mr. E. M. Herndon	Hospital Care Association
Dr. Charles Bugg	N. C. Pediatrics Society
Dr. W. L. Fleming	The University of N. C. School of Medicine
Dr. Wingate M. Johnson	The Bowman Gray School of Medicine
Dr. Wayne J. Benton	The N. C. Academy of General Practice
Mrs. Mary K. Kneedler	N. C. State Board of Health
Dr. Horace Hamilton	N. C. State College, Dept. Rural Sociology

Part II

Bibliography for the Special Committee on Medical Care for North Carolina:

1. "Year Books No. 24, 25, and 26 - Reports of Hospital and Orphan Sections of The Duke Endowment for 1955, 1956, and 1957"

2. "Annual Reports of Hospital and Orphan Sections of The Duke Undowment for 1958 and 1959."

3. "Hospitals - Guide Issue dated August 1, 1960 - The Duke Endowment"

4. "North Carolina Hospital Discharge Study, 1959-60" - available at North Carolina State Board of Health

5. "U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1959, (Eighth edition), Washington, D. C."

Hamilton, C. Horace. Medical Care Services in North Carolina: A Statistical and Graphic Summary. N. C. Agr. Exp. Sta. Report No. R.S.-4, February 1945.

_____. Sickness and Hospitalization in Eastern Rural North Carolina 1947. Mimeographed paper, Department of Rural Sociology, North Carolina State College.

_____. Rural Health and Medical Service in North Carolina. N. C. Agr. Exp. Sta. Progress Report R.S.-9, August 1950.

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Hay, Donald G. and Sheldon G. Lowry. Use of Health Care Services and Enrollment in Voluntary Health Insurance in Montgomery County, North Carolina, 1956. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Progress Report R.S.-31, March 1958.

Lowry, Seldon G. and Donald G. Hay. Use of Health Care Services and Enrollment in Voluntary Health Insurance in Stokes County, North Carolina, 1956. N. C. Agr. Exp. Sta. Progress Report R.S.-32, March 1958.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE on MEDICAL CARE

Dr. Hubert M. Poteat, Jr.	North Carolina State Chapter, American College of Surgeons
Mr. Jos. E. Barnes	North Carolina Hospital Association
Dr. Lenox D. Baker	Medical Society of the State of North Carolina.
Dr. Chas. D. Watts	Old North State Medical Society
Mr. E. B. Crawford	Hospital Savings Association
Mr. E. M. Herndon	Hospital Care Association
Dr. Charles Bugg	North Carolina Pediatrics Society
Dr. Wm. L. Fleming	The University of North Carolina School of Medicine
Dr. Wayne J. Benton	The North Carolina Academy of General Practice
Mrs. Mary K. Kneedler, Chief	Public Health Nursing Section North Carolina Public Health Association North Carolina State Board of Health
Dr. Horace Hamilton	North Carolina State College, Department of Sociology
Mrs. Margaret B. Dolan	North Carolina State Nurses' Association
Dr. John V. Verner, Jr.	Duke Medical Center
Dr. Wingate M. Johnson	The Bowman Gray School of Medicine

HCF ✓
SM
Pls cross-reference with CR Commission file or wherever we file lists of state adv cttees
H.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1400 Main Street - Room 605
Columbia, S.C.

March 3, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.N.E.,
Atlanta, 5, Ga.

D ear Paul Rilling:

Thank you for the SRC Newsletter, which I received this morning. I am hastening to comply with the request that I furnish you with a list of the South Carolina Advisory Committee members of the Civil Rights Commission. Earlier I sent you clippings from the press of the organizational meeting which was held here in Columbia on December 29th. One of the members, a Roman Catholic priest from Camden, the Rev. Allan Jeffords, who had been elected secretary of th e committee, has died since the organizational meeting. He has not been replaced. This leaves a committee of six as follows:

1. MR. E. R. McIVER (W), 47, former resident of Darlington and now manager of a building supply firm in Conway, is acting chairman.

   In January I visited Mr. McIver and found that we have a family connection. Altho the papers state that he is an avowed segregationist, I found him to be quite fearless and open-minded. He showed me numerous communications to him, most of which had tried to dissuade him from becoming a member of the committee. He stated that the rugger interfence which was run had merely strengthened his determination to serve. He is quite outspoken in his belief that there is a great deal which Negroes will have to do for themselves if they are to attain status of mass acceptability.

2. DR. THOMAS CARR McFALL (N), 51, vice-chairman of the group, is a physician of Charleston. He is the first Negro in South Carolina to be permitted to follow his patients and make full use of the community hospital. Dr. McFall has served with distinction on a state-wide health commission, having been appointed by several different governors.

   Dr. McFall is a delinquent member of SCCHR. While he is not a fearful person, he is a conservative and practicesthe good manners typical of Charleston gentility.

3. ANDREW McDOW SECREST (W), 36, press secretary, is editor of the CHERAW CHRONICLE, a weekly newspaper.

   Mr. Secrest's editorial policy has been fearless and constructive. He is a member of SCCHR Board of Directors, tho he is not active beyond his community other than in newspaper circles.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1400 Main street - Room 605
Columbia, S.C.

4. DR. DEWEY MACEO DUCKETT (N), 58, a Physician of Rock Hill.

Dr. Duckett is Vice Chairman of SCCHR, a former Chairman of the Rock Hill Council on Human Relations, a member of the Executive Committee of the South Carolina Counference of NAACP branches. He is a militant whose militantcy is softened by an ideal "bedside manner."

5. C OURTNEY PARKER SICELOFF (W),38, Director of the Penn Center at Frogmore, S.C., in newspaper releases has emphasized his desire to face all points of view objectively and to keep an open mind.

6. THE REV. JAMES HERBERT NELSON (N), 40, a Presbyterian minister at Sumter, is chairman of the Sumter Council on Human Relations, in which capacity he serves also as member of the SCCHR Board.

Mr. Nelson is highly respected, is very dynamic and fully committed to democratic advance.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

International headquarters: 9 PARK STREET, BOSTON 8, MASS.
CApitol 7-3660 *Cable address*: UNSERCOM BOSTON

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HON. J. RAY SHUTE
National Campaign Chairman

New York Office:
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Oxford 7-0248

FRANK Z. GLICK
Executive Director

February 12, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose a copy of the names and addresses of members of the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. Also enclosed is a copy of the letter which the Human Relations Council sent with a copy of the enclosures relating to government contractors.

Other enclosures sent to them on bombings, painting of churches, etc., could be sent to you if you are interested. Also enclosed is Mr. Dempster's response to that letter. We are pointing out to him again that the list of most Tennessee contractors is available from the Tennessee Industrial Newsletters.

Sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen Martin,
Field Representative

GM:bkb

Enclosures

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

COPY COPY

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, Washington 25, D.C.

P.O. Box 3127 Knoxville, Tennessee

February 2, 1959

Mr. Galen Martin, Staff Secretary
Knoxville Area Human Relations Council
Post Office Box 1011
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Martin:

I have been out of the city for several days which I hope will explain the delay in my reply to your letter of January 22, making certain suggestions to be considered by the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights.

I have written for a list of the addresses of Tennessee firms having government contracts. After receiving this, I will endeavor to obtain the information suggested in your letter. I thank you for your offer of further cooperation and you may expect to hear from me from time to time on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Geor. R. Dempster, Chairman
Tennessee Advisory Committee
Commission on Civil Rights

cop.bkb,2/12/59

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
673 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: TENNESSEE

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated since 1954:

Total: 84-94 Negro students attending previously white schools in three school districts.

District	Total Enrollment White	Total Enrollment Negro	No. of Negroes in Formerly White Schools, 1958-59	Level
Anderson County	8,500	144	10	High School
Anderson County-Oak Ridge	7,600	200	Estimated 40-50	High School
Nashville	16,729	9,964	34	1st and 2nd grades

(Parochial schools of Nashville desegregated; local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959).

Total: 5 state, 10 private institutions (some on graduate level only - see attached list).

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January, 1959).

All Veterans Administration hospitals

Knoxville's Mayor George Dempster announced there would be no segregation in a new hospital under construction in the city, July 1955. Outcome?

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

Nashville - golf courses desegregated, February 1956 following court order.

Knoxville - Three city parks desegregated, 1955.

V. SUFFRAGE:

Negro Registration, 1958: 185,000 (estimated by an experienced capitol news correspondent).

Negro percentage of total registration, 1958: 13.2

*Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

VI. NEGROES HOLDING ELECTIVE OR APPOINTIVE PUBLIC OFFICE:

SRC records indicate that the following men are currently in office. Local check advised to determine their present tenure and to add names of other Negro office-holders if there be any.

Knoxville - City Planning Commission: A Negro was elected (by the City Council) to this body in August, 1955.

Nashville - City Council: Two Negroes are currently serving on the City Council (an elective office): Z. Alexander Looby and Robert E. Lillard. Mr. Looby was first elected in 1951, re-elected in 1955.

Nashville - School Board (SRC newsclips do not indicate whether School Board members are elected or appointed); Coyness Ennix is the only Negro member.

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated since 1954 - Knoxville, Nashville, and Chattanooga.
(Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies on Bus, Train, Air Lines Waiting Rooms

A summer, 1958 spot survey included the following Tennessee cities:

Knoxville:
Memphis
Chattanooga
Nashville

Bus station provide separate waiting room facilities; however, Nashville's Greyhound station allows Negroes to sit in the main waiting room and to use unsegregated restrooms. Nashville's train terminal has removed the "Colored" sign from the formerly segregated Negro waiting room, while in the other cities these signs have been replaced with Colored Intra-State Passenger signs. When they exist, eating facilities are segregated. Air Lines terminals are desegregated in all four of these cities; Air Lines restaurants, however, are segregated in Memphis (desegregated in Knoxville, Chattanooga and Nashville).

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TENNESSEE

	Institutions	Legal Control
1.	American Baptist Theological Seminary Nashville, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	Baptist
2.	American University of Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee	Private
3.	Austin Peay State College, Clarksville, Tennessee	State
4.	East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, Tennessee	State
5.	Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	Private
6.	LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	American Missionary Asso'n, Congregational
7.	Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee	Presbyterian
8.	Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee (Formerly all Negro)	Private
9.	Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee	State
10.	Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee Note: Summer of 1954 admitted 14 Negro principals to special program. Later developments?	Private
11.	Scarritt College for Christian Workers Nashville, Tennessee	Methodist
12.	Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville, Tennessee	State
13.	University of the South School of Theology Sewanee, Tennessee	Protestant Episcopal
14.	University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee	State
15.	Vanderbilt School of Law, Nashville, Tennessee	Private
16.	Vanderbilt School of Religion, Nashville, Tennessee	Private

COPY COPY

KNOXVILLE AREA HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL, P.O. Box 1011, Knoxville 1, Tennessee

January 22, 1959

Mr. George Dempster, Chairman
Tennessee Advisory Committee
Commission on Civil Rights
314 Springdale Avenue, N.W.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Dempster:

By decision of the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council I enclose some information and a suggestion for the work of the Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights.

Enclosed are copies of articles reproduced from local newspapers. These articles are complete as carried by the newspapers, and are generally self-explanatory. They provide information on the events relating to human relations about which some are not aware.

Various releases from the Commission on Civil Rights have emphasized its fact-finding role. We would like to suggest one possible area for fact-finding by the Tennessee Committee which seems to provide a special opportunity. I refer to the extent to which Federal Government contractors in Tennessee have -- or have not -- implemented their contract provision against discrimination in all phases of employment. Enclosed you will find a list of contract awards to nine Knoxville firms. Also enclosed is a copy of one page from a "Tennessee Industrial Newsletter," as an example of the information reported there on this subject.

Our suggestion is that the Tennessee Advisory Committee consider the possibility of surveying these contractors to see to what extent they have implemented their promise to our government. The questionnaire need not be involved, but could simply ask questions such as the following: number of employees, number of non-white employees, occupational titles they hold, whether or not employment services assisting minority groups have been told that the contractors will hire without discrimination, and general comments on the need for additional training of minority groups. We know that you and others on the Advisory Committee will be able to word questions which will elicit the information desired.

A list of the contractors could be compiled from past copies of the Tennessee Industrial Newsletter. The addresses of these firms are given in the Directory of Tennessee Industries, published by the same agency. Such a survey should reveal the extent to which the program of the President's Committee on Government Contracts has succeeded in our area. It should also show how much more needs to be done by Federal Agencies to insure equal opportunity for all people working under Federal contract.

I would like to make clear the willingness of the Human Relations Council, and my own willingness, to help your committee in any way possible. Please do not hesitate to call on us.

Very truly yours,

Galen Martin,
Staff Secretary

cop.bkb 2/12/59.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACT AWARDS TO KNOXVILLE FIRMS
From November 24, 1956 through September 1958

Firm	Product	Amount	Approximate Date
C. B. Atkins Co. (400)1/ Harvey Street, N.E. & plant 2501 Bragg N.W.	Furniture	$ 55,716	(2-58)
	Furniture	32,912	(2-57)
Camel Manufacturing Co. (250) 329 S. Central St.	Tarpaulins	748,467	(6-58)
	Tents	89,152	(6-58)
	Tents & Canvas Covers	2,107,106	(2-58)
	Tents	129,412	(7-57)
Dempster Brothers (480) Springdale Avenue	Refuse Containers	276,652	(6-58)
	Hoisting Units	94,425	(6-58)
	Truck Parts	29,065	(2-58)
	Hoisting Units	41,355	(7-57)
	Refuse Containers	136,965	(3-57)
Dobbs Industries 111½ Fort Sanders St. N.W.	Raincoats	916,000	(6-58)
	Raincoats	77,438	(2-58)
Knoxville Iron Co. (250-500) 1943 Tennessee Ave. N.W.	Steel Angles	46,837	(6-58)
	Steel Angles	33,733	(11-57)
John Ownbey Co. Inc. 516 Dale Ave. N.W. & Fort Sanders St. N.W.	Army Trousers & Navy Peacoats (This contract provides employment for 100 or more through mid-1959)	2,920,688	(about 7-58)
	Cotton Jackets	633,501	(6-58)
	Army Trousers	853,128	(2-58)
Southern Athletic Co. Inc. (950) 111 Fort Sanders St. N.W.	Army Coats (This contract provides employment for 410 people)	1,889,000	(10-58)
	Men's Peacoats	720,000	(2-58)
	Jackets	1,980,000	(7-57)
Southern Aviation Mfg. Co. 111 Fort Sanders St. N.W.	Cotton Coats	180,410	(2-58)
Wynn Enterprises Inc. 516 Dale Avenue N.W.	Cotton Trousers	834,150	(11-56)

SOURCE: Compiled from Tennessee Industrial Newsletter, published monthly by the Tennessee Industrial and Agricultural Development Commission.

1/ This figure indicates total number of employees according to 1957-58 Directory of Tennessee Industries.

This list is as complete as possible, but does not include all contracts.

TENNESSEE INDUSTRIAL *NEWSLETTER*

TENNESSEE INDUSTRIAL & AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
Geo. I. Whitlatch, Executive Director
CORDELL HULL BUILDING
NASHVILLE 3

Vol. 13, No. 11 Robert Cassell, Editor March 1, 1958

As an Example: * * *

GOVERNMENT CONTRACT AWARDS, NOV. 6, 1957 THRU FEB. 13, 1958

American Bread Co.	Nashville	Rolls	$ 106,389
American Finishing Co.	Memphis	Cotton cloth	150,435
C. B. Atkins Co.	Knoxville	Furniture	55,716
Camel Mfg. Co.	Knoxville	Tents & canvas covers (3 contracts)	2,107,106
Crocker Fire Fighting Equip. Co.	Memphis	Rubber hose	30,975
Dempster Bros., Inc.	Knoxville	Truck parts	29,065
Dobbs Industries, Inc.	Knoxville	Raincoats	77,438
Fleetwood Coffee Co.	Chattanooga	Coffee (2 contracts)	32,771
Fly Mfg. Co.	Shelbyville	Shirts	191,100
General Shoe Corp.	Nashville	Shoes & boots (5 contracts)	1,831,602
Hardwick Woolen Mills	Cleveland	Trousers	1,229,472
Layne & Bowler, Inc.	Memphis	Pumps	18,619
John Ownbey Co., Inc.	Knoxville	Trousers	853,128
Pace Corp.	Memphis	Fuzes	59,220
Pace Corp.	Memphis	Duffel bags	720,018
Pace Corp.	Memphis	First aid cases	153,753
Pace Corp.	Memphis	Flags	54,508
Southern Athletic Co., Inc.	Knoxville	Men's peacoats	720,000
Southern Aviation Mfg. Co.,Inc.	Knoxville	Cotton coats	180,410
Southern Mfg. Co.	Nashville	Cotton shirts	672,106
Southern Packaging Co.	Greeneville	Rations packs	74,511
Stein-Way Clothing Co.	Johnson City	Trousers	186,161
The Swartzbaugh Mfg. Co.	Murfreesboro	Food carts	30,543
Temco, Inc.	Nashville	Shells	574,700
Tenn. Overall Co., Inc.	Tullahoma	Cotton trousers	549,036
Turner's Dairy Co.	Memphis	Dairy products	79,526
The Wheland Co.	Chattanooga	Piston assemblies	469,841

* * *

~~GAINESBORO GETS FURNITURE PLANT~~

~~A & W Furniture Co. which started at Cookeville last year has announced plans to relocate in Gainesboro this month. The Jackson County Court has voted a $25,000 bond issue to purchase a building for the plant which will employ 65 to 75 in manufacture of upholstered furniture, says the Putnam County Herald.~~

* * *

Confidential

54 Morningside Drive
Apartment 53
New York 25, New York
March 21, 1959

Mr. Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shine:

At the last meeting of the Tennessee Advisory Committee in Nashville on March 5th we discussed requests that the Advisory Committee seek information on the availability of employment opportunities for qualified Negro applicants in industrial firms in the state which have Federal Government contracts and in Government departments, agencies, and installations operating within the state. I was asked to assume the chairmanship of a sub-committee on Employment and I have accepted this responsibility provided I can assemble a suitable committee and the necessary resources for its effective operation.

The basic function of such a sub-committee, as I see it, would be to gather the essential facts to indicate the minority hiring and utilization practices. Such an effort would require the utmost in tact and the assistance of knowledgeable leaders and scholars (researchers) as well as the full cooperation of the Commission on Civil Rights' staff. In fact, I believe my ability to get assistance will depend rather heavily upon the cooperation that we may expect from the Commission.

In order to systematically obtain a factual picture of the situation, the first essential requirement is an accurate listing of the names and addresses of the following:

1. Private companies having contracts with the Federal Government operating in Tennessee,
2. Federal Government agencies, department, facilities, installations, etc., operating in Tennessee.

I believe the most feasible and appropriate means of obtaining such information is for the Commission to request such information from the appropriate Government agencies. Consequently, I am writing to ask that you obtain these lists for the confidential use of the Tennessee Advisory Committee. Mr. Wofford attended our meeting and will be able to give you more details as to the basis of this request.

At best, such a study could cover only a sample of the private firms having Government contracts, and Federal Government agencies and facilities. Such a sample must be drawn objectively and at random if the results are to have significance. This is why we shall need official lists. Even partial lists drawn on an objective basis would serve our purposes, e.g., firms receiving contracts during a specified period giving the dollar value of the contract and the products or services being furnished. Whether the contract is still in force at the time information is requested is not important since our only objective would be to obtain a picture of prevailing minority employment policies and practices of firms that are now or have been recently dealing with the Federal Government. Be assured that confidences would be respected and that the

information of individual firms would not be identified in such a study.

May I hear from you promptly on this matter as such an effort would have to be commenced promptly if the indispensible cooperation of university oriented professional help is to be obtained.

In reply to your letter of March 12th, my New York address is 54 Morningside Drive, Apartment 53, New York 25, New York (Phone UN 6-1174); and my office, National Manpower Council, Columbia University, New York 27, New York (MO 6-2234).

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

Tennessee Advisory Committee
Civil Rights Commission

&&&&

Mr. George R. Dempster, Chrm.
314 Springdale Avenue, N. W.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. A. Maceo Walker
P. O. Box 241
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Mr. Maclin P. Davis
Grey Iron ~~Foundry~~ Foundry
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. Jean Russell
4418 Lockwood Court
Knoxville, Tennessee

Additions to CRC as per Louise Young's quarterly report March - May, 1960:

Mr. Alfred H. Thatcher of Chattanooga

Mr. Charles Cornelius, Sr., of Nashville

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2001 Division Street • Nashville 4, Tennessee • ALpine 5-6483

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Mrs. Matthew Walker, Nashville
Robert J. Warner, Jr., Nashville
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Harold D. West, M.D., Nashville

March 24, 1960

Louise Young
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Rilling,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

1. Our Quarterly Report goes in the mail today, we think.

2. The Tennessee Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission includes the following members:

George(?) ~~John~~ (?) Dempster, Chairman. Formerly Mayor of Knoxville, an elderly man, quite sincere, who has accomplished considerable integration in his own business. Said to be dilatory in the work of the Commission, which has even been ascribed to senility. I think this is too severe a judgment. Attitudes topnotch.

Mrs. Ben Russell, Greenville, Tennessee, Secretary.. Highly effective as Secretary. Well informed, highly intelligent, warmly committed to integration as well as Civil Rights. Sometimes over-aggressive. Highly acceptable as a consultant and on several committees. Not always acceptable as a speaker.

Dr. John Hope. Top-flight in every way. Highly skilled as a consultant. Imaginative, resourceful, friendly, frank, - a man of obvious integrity.

Maclin Davis, Nashville. A successful business man, members of whose family have large wealth and power in the community. A devoted churchman, Episcopalian, devoted also to the memory and example of his late Father, Norman Davis, President of International Red Cross, and Ambassador to Great Britain. Courageous, devoted to the general welfare, committed to full Civil Rights for Negroes along with wider economic opportunities. Completely honest, temperamentally rather conservative. Not very articulate and widely respected in Nashville where he has been especially prominent in the Association for the United Nations. His experience in race relations was sharply limited until a few years ago. He is now at ease with cultured Negro men and women as well as with the less privileged. A top leader for us in Nashville when we need to speak with the Mayor, the Governor, the Chamber of Commerce or the Board of Education.

Maceo Walker, Memphis. A young Negro business man, graduate of Fisk and of the Business Administration Dept. of the University of Michigan. Freed from insecurity through his own accomplishments as well as his inherited wealth and position. Not over-ambitious, friendly and easy to work with.

Paul Rilling
March 24, 1960

Miss Ellen Correll, 692 Poplar Ave., Memphis. Is on the staff of St. Mary's Cathedral (Episcopal). She is experienced and skillful in relating herself helpfully to all kinds and conditions of men. Has been a leader in race relations for a long time and more recently in the Inter-denominational Council of Churches. Miss Correll likes to think of herself as holding the line until Memphis business men (white) of appropriate attitudes, can be persuaded to accept membership on the Council.

3. We inclose list of newly elected officers and Board members, with addresses. Officers are elected annually.

Chairmen of Affiliated Groups:

Nashville Community Relations Council, Geo. Barrett, 315 Rosebank Ave., Nashville

Memphis Committee on Community Relations, Dr. Paul Tudor Jones, 2297 Court Ave., newly appointed. Mr. Lucius E. Burch, Jr., 128 North Court Ave., was previous President. This group has assumed responsibility for maintaining order, if and when changes come. I judge that they are being useful now.

Memphis members of the Tennessee Council are now in the process of setting up an organization dedicated to action now for improved race relations. Rev. John Chas. Mickle is Convener, 762 Walker Ave., Memphis.

In Chattanooga, the leadership duties are divided between Lea James, 4003 Mayfair Ave., Mr. and Mrs. Seamour Shavin, 334 N. Crest Road, and Mrs. F. R. Muhleman, 871 McCallie Ave.

In Knoxville, Rev. Lea Earl Acuff, 807 North Fifth Ave. N.E., is President of the Knoxville Area Council on Human Relations. There is some intention of organizing a wider group.

In Oakridge, the President is Mrs. Robert Peelle, 409 West Vanderbilt.

Sincerely,

Louise Young

Louise Young
Executive Director

LY:kb

File

MEMORANDUM February 3, 1961

To: Harold Fleming
From: John Hope II

Re: Request for assistance in tabulating state Advisory Committee materials

You will note that I have not finished the draft of the letter you requested, but thought that I should leave what has been done. The budget item will be sent back to you.

XYZ Foundation
Race Relations Township
USA

Dear _____:

The Southern Regional Council has worked closely with and assisted the Commission on Civil Rights since its beginning. It has felt that the effective implementation of the Civil Rights Acts (1957 and 1960) can render a most valuable service in transforming the race relations of the region to a more democratic pattern and thus contributing to more rapid economic development of the South. The high regard of the Commission for the objectives and contribution of the Southern Regional Council are readily demonstrated by its repeated reliance upon the Council for advice and information and the large number of officers and members of the Council invited to serve as members of the various state Advisory Committees to the Commission on Civil Rights, particularly in the Southern states. (list names here of Council officers, members and friends)
We have long felt that these quasi-official committees have high potential as a resource for the protection and extension of civil rights in the South but that under the present Commission they have fallen far short of their possibilities in this regard. Consequently, mainly by informal approaches, we have tried to involve them in meaningful beginnings over and above the direct demands upon them of the Commission on Civil Rights.

One of the most notable and persistent of these efforts provides the reason for this letter and the request made herein. Mr. John Hope II, who serves as chief consultant of the Southern Regional Council, has been a member of the Tennessee Advisory Committee

since its inception and is its vice-chairman and chairman of its sub-committee on employment. In the latter capacity, he began cultivating an interest in the systematic study of minority employment practices within his state some two years ago and during the past 12 months has promoted similar interests among the other state advisory committees (S.A.C.), particularly in the South. At the Gatlinburg meeting on education conducted by the Commission on Civil Rights (C.C.R.) in March (?) of 1960, at the request of the Commission, he conducted a seminar attended by chairmen and vice-chairmen of the S.A.Cs. from the 17 Southern states on techniques for studying the civil rights aspects of the minority employment problem by such committees. The memorandum and tentative questionnaire developed as a basis for this discussion was subsequently mailed to all S.A.Cs. (see copy of memorandum attached.)

The Tennessee Advisory Committee (T.A.C.) met concurrently at Gatlinburg and authorized its subcommittee on unemployment to undertake a two phase study of the employment practices of federal government contractors and federal government establishments operating within its state. Since that time, these studies have been initiated and that of government contractors is nearing completion.

Consequently, Mr. Hope (note: might be better to insert Consultant Service Program here instead of Mr. Hope as may be true in other parts of the letter) has received several requests for assistance in making employment studies by other S.A.Cs. Through the aegis of the SRC - CSP, such assistance has been given to committees in North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Kentucky. In addition, to our knowledge, such research is underway in two other states -- West Virginia and Nebraska. Conceivably others may follow.

Mr. Hope plans to circulate the Tennessee study to all S.A.C.s within the next few weeks in the hope that this may entice still others to follow. He has received commitments from the C.C.R. staff that the study will be printed in a volume published by the C.C.R. and it is hoped that sufficient assistance can be provided to other state committees to assure that they can complete such studies in time for inclusion in such a publication. We feel that such surveys of patterns of Negro employment practices will provide all groups concerned with race relations in the South a body of knowledge now almost completely lacking, in contrast to areas outside the South, and will provide an objective factual basis for future action to improve current practices which is now virtually non-existent. In sofar as fact can replace emotion, impersonal mass information can be substituted for miscellaneous case studies and unverified reports and myths. We believe that the speed of transition can be increased and the extent of trauma of change diminished during this process.

The date set for submission of SA.C. materials by the C.C.R. is April 1, 1961. It is unlikely that this deadline can be met unless the processing of questionnaires can be centralized and conducted by a single trained staff under uniform supervision. Since the questionnaires of the four states involved have followed substantially that of Tennessee and Mr. Hope has prepared and used a code and processing procedure that can be readily adapted for use in all of these cities, it seems feasible that a "crash program", centered in the Race Relations Department of the Congregational Christian Churches at Fisk University and under his direction could meet this deadline if it could be initiated promptly.

This process involves three phases:

1). Collection of data.
2) Processing -- assembling, editing, coding, punching, tabulating, and computing.
3) Analysis and preparation of report.

The first of these is the responsibility of the respective S.A.Cs. The method is a standardized mailed questionnaire sent to all contractors who have Government contracts, these mailings to be made by the C.C.R. Two mailings are recommended, probably two to three weeks apart. The C.C.R. and the S.A.C. are completely responsible for this phase of the process. We are advised that the flow of replies has started in North Carolina so that editing and coding could begin immediately. The mailing of questionnaires by the remaining three states was to have begun no later than February 1, so that processing of these may begin by February 15.

Substantial financial assistance for the second phase (processing) seems absolutely indispensable if the above deadline is to be met. It is also likely that such aid will be needed for the third phase unless a particular committee can obtain the services of a competent scholar conversant with analysis with IBM tabulations in the employment field who can donate intensive full-time services over a period of time in mid-March, 1961.

The Race Relations Department has IBM equipment and staff resources. If the volume of return should be unexpectedly large, the larger, faster, but more expensive computers could be economically employed. This service is available at the Computer Center at Vanderbilt University. A qualified staff can readily be recruited in Nashville and persons who have had experience with the Tennessee study might be used in the training of new personnel, though some of these would not be available for full-time participation because of

other current responsibilities.

An accurate estimate of the number of questionnaires is difficult at this time because the state advisory committee section of the CCR is still compiling such lists by contracting agencies for each of the states making studies. However, on the basis of Tennessee experience and the judgments of the CCR staff on the basis of current information, the number of questionnaires expected for analysis is about 2,500 distributed very approximately as follows:

North Carolina -	1,000
South Carolina -	200
Louisiana -	1,000
Kentucky -	300

With this limited specific information, the following approximate budget is submitted.

(This will be mailed back to you early next week in terms of the approximate $5,000 figure we discussed. I shall also send you a copy of a set of Tennessee questionnaires, a memorandum and such other items as would seem helpful at this time.)

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

February 6, 1961

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing copies of the suggested budget about which we talked and, for your information, three sets of materials related to the overall project.

Sincerely,

John

John Hope II
Director, Industrial Relations

P.S. You will note that the "Leasing" figure is different from that given by phone but the total is the same. I picked up the wrong figure from my calculations.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of Tennessee Advisory Committee of the Commission on Civil Rights and Participants in the Regional Conference of State Advisory Committee Chairmen, Gatlinburg, Tennessee

FROM: John Hope II, Chairman, Employment Sub-Committee, Tennessee Advisory Committee

SUBJECT: The Rationale and Some Alternative Approaches to the Study of Patterns of Negro Employment

While the suggestions made in this memorandum for the study of employment practices are directed primarily to the immediate needs of Tennessee and probably the South generally, they are applicable with varying emphasis to all sections of the country. While the Negro group is the largest disadvantaged minority in our section, employment problems of other groups may command major attention elsewhere, e.g., the Spanish-speaking of Mexican origin in the Southwest, and of Puerto Rican origin in the East; Indians in the West and Southwest; etc.

The more restrictive application of employment rights under the Constitution, the less sympathetic political and social climate, (the less sympathetic political and social climate,) and the greater limitations of research resources in the South than in the non-South may limit our present study to Federal Government oriented employers. However, state advisory committees in some sections may find it feasible to extend the scope of their studies to the practices of state, county, and municipal government employers and may examine the negative role of certain unions.

The tentative recommendations for consideration by the TAC are found on page 17.

I. Legal Bases for an Employment Study by the Commission

The interest of the Commission on Civil Rights (CCR), and consequently, its creature, the Tennessee Advisory Committee (TAC), in the rights of an individual citizen to earn a living (Employment) arise primarily from the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution which guarantee equal protection to citizens (and thus opportunity) without regard to race, religion, or national origin. The former protects the individual against unfair action by the Federal and the latter by a State government. The constitutional authority of the Federal Government to prevent such discrimination arises mainly from various powers of Congress and the President while that of states rests mainly upon specific provisions, i.e., the Fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Jack Greenberg in his recent book entitled Race Relations and American Law,[1] has the following to say about the legal framework for protection against discrimination in government employment:

> ....discriminatory laws and practices in government employment are interdicted by the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments. The duty of the nation and the states under these amendments extends as far as they participate in the employment relationship, and covers, for example, such pre-employment activities as job referrals and apprenticeship training. (p. 156)

At another point in his treatise, Mr. Greenberg continues as as follows:

> While some government jobs may perhaps occupy a penumbral area not accessible to conventional judicial remedies, it is clear that the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments may be invoked to interdict federal and state government efforts

[1]Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Ch. VI, pp. 154-207. See also The Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, American Law Division, Employment. Civil Rights Project, Report United States No.5, July 1, 1959.

to use race as a factor in almost all of their own employment activities --including hiring, pay, promotion, access to work areas, and all the incidents of government service. There have been only a few reported cases in point, but Alston v. School Board of the City of Norfolk makes clear that the rule is what one would expect: that race may not play any part in any aspect of employment by government. (pp. 158-159) .....

A. Federal Government Employment--

The Federal government has implemented the constitutional standard for civil service by a statute which provides that "in the administration of this chapter ("Classification of Civilian Positions"), there shall be no discrimination with respect to any person, or with respect to the position held by any person, on account of sex, marital status, race, creed, or color." This admonition refined the basic directive of the Civil Service Act of 1883 which provided that competitive examinations be given, that vacancies be filled from among those rated highest eligibles as indicated by the results of such competitive examinations.

Today, not only the statutory mandates, but also the detailed Executive Order No. 10590 (1955), is designed to prevent racial discrimination in every aspect of employment in the Executive Branch, almost all of which is in the civil service. (There is no similar directive governing other branches of the federal government, except, of course, the military.) The order established the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy (consisting of representatives of the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Labor, the Office of Defense Mobilization, the Department of Defense, and three public members appointed by the President), which, in addition to advising the President, the Civil Service Commission, and the various department heads, reviews cases of discrimination referred to it and renders "advisory opinions" to department and agency heads. The order, however, it should be stressed, is directed primarily at the departments and agencies, making them principally responsible for keeping themselves free of discrimination.....

Perhaps the most important of the committee's regulations governing agencies --control is otherwise fairly loose-- are that when a complaint is filed an appraisal must be undertaken of employment practices in the questioned unit; and that, except in cases involving disciplinary action, the burden of developing sufficient facts to resolve the issues rests on the agency and not the complainant. The first means that even though the particular complaint may be unwarranted other discrimination may be exposed, although its chief purpose,

apparently, is to ascertain agency policy with respect to the minority involved in the complaint. The second relieves the complainant of the hardship of finding and developing evidence, all of which is probably in the agency files. However, this regulation does not appear to be the equivalent of placing the burden of proof on the agency, nor is it the same as discovery proceedings employed in regular litigation. (pp.159-161)

B. State and Quasi-State Government Employment -- Mr. Greenberg describes the legal bases for action against discrimination in these types of employments in the following terms:

> Under the laws of many states discrimination in state employment is forbidden. The very theory of civil service laws should prohibit discrimination without even mentioning the racial question, but obviously notwithstanding the wide extent of state civil service, discrimination has occurred and, therefore, some states with civil service laws have specifically also forbidden racial bias. Some regulate the matter through general FEPC statutes, some by statutes regulating governmental or civil service, and some by civil service rule or practice. Certain states, it appears, cover the situation by a combination of methods, others have no law on the matter. The position of some states is that the law neither requires nor forbids discrimination -- among these are states in the South where one might expect to find discrimination. Only Oklahoma in reply to a questionnaire has stated that it uses a racial standard in state employment: "selective certification...on the basis of race and sex....
>
> On the state level there might be a suit based on the Fourteenth Amendment or an applicable bias statute, or possibly administrative hearings when statute or civil service rule so provide. (pp.163-164)

With regard to Quasi-State pre-employment activities pertinent to the work of the Commission on Civil Rights, Mr. Greenberg observes:

> The states not only employ workers of their own. They also refer workers to private companies through the state employment services which, supported in part by the federal government, continue to run the offices of the United States Employment Service (USES), whose property has been transferred to the states. All of the services have been ordered to refuse discriminatory job orders by the federal departments, but except where state law forbids job discrimination they appear to honor nonfederal requests for

discriminatory referrals. Referrals may be made on a discriminatory basis where state law permits either by a state on its own initiative or at the request of an employer....

While there has been no reported litigation, these state services would seem to come under the Fourteenth (and, in view of federal participation and control, probably the Fifth) Amendment duty not to differentiate on the basis of race.

The states also often participate in apprenticeship programs. In this activity too they cannot, under the Constitution, make racial distinctions. (pp. 165-166)

C. Private Employers with Government Contracts-- The areas in which discriminatory practices of private employers most clearly constitute violation of civil rights and thus are of concern to the CCR are those in which private employers have contracts to provide goods or services to the Government as buyer. While some states include nondiscrimination clauses in their contracts for supplies, none of the southern states have such provisions.[1] Thus, for all practical purposes effective actions against private employers on contractual grounds are confined to those which have contracts with the Federal Government.

Mr. Greenberg describes the legal bases for such actions in the following terms:

Apart from states and cities with fair employment and kindred laws, ...the chief duty on private employers not to discriminate is that imposed by the uniform anti-discrimination clause in all federal contracts, which requires that there be no discrimination on the part of government contractors and their subcontractors. Every Federal Government contract (with a few minor exceptions) must contain the following provision required by Executive Order No.10557.

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[1] See Greenberg, Op. Cit., Appendix 14, p.384

> In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the non-discrimination clause.
>
> The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials....

Executive Order No.10479 established in 1953 the Government Contract Committee (popularly called the "President's Committee on Government Contracts"), which succeeded to and carried on in expanded form the work of the Committee on Government Contract Compliance (established by Executive Order No.10308 in 1951). Its chairman has been Vice President Nixon; its vice chairman is the Secretary of Labor; and industrial, labor, and civic leaders constitute its membership. The order provides that the committee shall make recommendations to the contracting agencies for improving and making more effective the nondiscrimination provisions of government contracts; it directs all contracting agencies of the government to co-operate with the committee; and it authorizes the committee to receive complaints of alleged violations of the nondiscrimination provision of government contracts. Upon receipt of a complaint the committee directs it to the appropriate contracting agency to be processed in accordance with its procedure. Each agency is required to report to the committee the action taken with respect to these and other complaints of discrimination. The committee is then to review and analyze the reports submitted by the contracting agencies.

Contrary to what seems to be the popular belief, the committee operated principally through the compliance officers of the various contracting agencies, e.g., the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Defense. It is the agencies which have the power to effect compliance; the committee actually has little power to require action. By its mandate it may

> exhort, consult, and prod, and although its authority is enhanced by the fact that the Vice President is its chairman, with all the implications which flow from his powerful political position, in the last analysis it alone cannot declare that either a violator must comply or sanctions will be imposed. It has to rely on persuasion, conciliation, mediation, and an extensive educational program involving the distribution of literature, posters, and motion pictures and the establishment of high-level contacts between important government officials and leaders of industry. (pp.186-188)

II. Reasons for the TAC's Concern about Discriminatory Employment Practices

It is widely alleged that the federal policy of nondiscrimination because of race described by the above mentioned constitutional provisions, executive orders, and administrative regulations are far from fully realized in practice within the state of Tennessee. The TAC has received complaints that Negroes are denied equal opportunity for employment in firms producing for the Federal establishment and within its departments and agencies operating in this state. Insofar as this is true, it constitutes denial of equal protection under the law as guaranteed by the Fifth amendment to the Constitution. It is more vehemently complained that the Negro's opportunity for employment in state, county, and municipal public agencies is much more narrowly restricted than in Federal departments and agencies. Insofar as such allegations are correct, they constitute a violation of the civil rights of Tennessee citizens guaranteed under the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution.

On the other hand, it is apparent to the TAC that neither the absence of Negro employees nor their general confinement to traditional job categories necessarily constitute bona fide proof of discrimination. Inadequate education and vocational training, past deprivations and disabilities which are reflected in present low motivation and limited

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

appreciation for the values which undergird our industrial system of production, location of plants far removed from centers of Negro population, and many other factors may contribute to the apparent under-employment and underutilization of Negro manpower within our state.

Whatever the nature of the causes of present Negro manpower waste, the full employment of all of our manpower potential is intimately related to the size and quality of our economic development and that of the nation as a whole in the years immediately ahead. The character of this development will be paramount in determining the standards of living which our citizenry may attain, perhaps even their security in a free society, and their prospect of continuing to enjoy present standards.

III. A Suggested Role for the TAC

One of the major functions of this Committee is to collect and transmit pertinent facts to the CCR regarding the status of civil rights in our state. The TAC proposes to make an objective factual survey of the patterns and practices of Negro employment followed by private employers with Federal Government contracts and, Federal Government departments and agencies operating within the state. The findings of such a study will ultimately contribute to a comprehensive picture of the status of civil rights in employment for the nation as a whole which, it is hoped, will appear in the final report of the CCR to the President. It is felt that in dealing with the civil rights problems involved in making a living as in other such problems, a sound adjustment can be more effectively and harmoniously achieved insofar as fact replaces opinion and stereotype, and as reason is substituted for emotion in seeking solution.

By the use of the mass data technique, a composite and comprehensive picture of the prevailing patterns of Negro employment may

by obtained without isolating or exposing the practices of individual firms or Government agencies. The policy-maker of an individual employing establishment may determine how his Negro employment policies, practices, and attitudes compare with those of his competitors by comparing his known pattern of use with that of the employer group as a whole as revealed in the overall findings of this study. In order to conduct such a study, the Committee must be in a position to assure to all respondents that information furnished it will be held in strictest confidence and will be divulged only upon the consent of the establishment providing it. It is desirable, if possible, to agree to make available to all responding employers copies of the survey report.

Through such a study, answers to such questions as the following may be sought:

1. What are the prevailing patterns of employment and utilization of Negro manpower in Tennessee among private firms which hold Government contracts and Government departments, agencies, and installations, e.g., practices of recruitment, initial hiring, and assignment; promotion, upgrading and transfer; remuneration; lay-off and termination, in-plant training; etc.?

2. How many Negroes are employed, at what kinds of jobs and at what occupational levels are they engaged in such establishments?

3. What, if any, are the main obstacles to the employment of Negro manpower? Obstacles to their employment in general? To their employment at traditional levels and jobs classification? To their employment at their maximum skills?

4. How, if at all, may these obstacles be reduced or eliminated?

5. Does the contracting firm know the Federal Government's racial or minority employment policy? Does the individual Government establishment know the Federal Government's racial employment policy?

6. Has it (private or public establishment) made any changes or adjustments in its employment practices because of this policy? If so, what has it done?

7. What, if anything, has the Federal Government done (through any of its agencies or departments) to weaken or destroy any of these limitations to Negro employment and use?

8. In private plants where collective bargaining agreements exist (or public establishments where unions are recognized), what, if anything, has the union (or unions) done to affect pro or con the Negro employment and utilization practices of the plant?

9. In the judgment of employers who hire them, how would the work of Negro employees be rated as to the quality of their performance? How does it compare with that of white workers in general? With white workers at comparable jobs or occupational levels?

10. How, if at all, may the performance of Negro employees be improved. How may it be brought to the level of comparable white employees?

IV. Scope and Limitations of Study

The coverage as to numbers and kinds of employer establishments to be considered may vary from state to state depending upon the relative importance of particular types of employers as potential sources of employment, and upon the quantity and kinds of resources which various state advisory committees can involve in such a study. In listing certain alternative approaches and techniques for study, it must be emphasized that the particular state committee should choose those subjects for study best fitted to its needs and resources. Furthermore, the value and level of accuracy of such a study for our purposes need not be seriously affected by the inability to survey the whole field, if scientific sampling procedures are rigorously followed. There is a wide range within which "the suit can be cut to fit the cloth" and still contribute significantly to the body of fact presently lacking about racial employment patterns.

The following is a list of types of employers any one or more of which may be appropriately studied by a state advisory committee:

A. Federal Government oriented --

1. Private employers with Federal Government contract.

2. Departments, agencies, and installations of the Federal establishment operating within the state.

3. State, county, and/or local public agencies which obtain federal aid or assistance (grant-in-aid, technical assistance, etc.), e.g., state employment services, departments of education, programs and agencies involved in health and welfare, public assistance and social security agencies, national guard units of the state, etc.

B. State, county, and/or local government oriented --

1. Public agencies and departments staffed by civil service commissions or agencies -- state, county, or municipal; and other state, county, or municipal agencies not so recruited, e.g., departments of education, etc.

Whatever the types of employers chosen for study, the ideal area of coverage for study is the entire state. However, the more intensive study of certain areas selected on the basis of their relative importance as sources of important information is desirable. Such objective criteria as the following may be considered: geographical concentration of firms with Government contracts, relative sizes of contracts held, distribution of Federal Government agencies and installations, size of community and size of Negro population in it, etc.

V. Methods of Fact-Finding

Alternatives as to scope and method of study using impersonal, mass data, research methods include the following:

A. Extensive coverage (probably using mail questionnaires) --

1. State-wide survey of all relevant employers.

2. State-wide survey of selected types of relevant employers.

B. Intensive coverage (probably by personal interview, guided or otherwise) --

1. Sample coverage of all relevant types of employers in selected areas, e.g., major cities; areas of high concentration of Government contracts, Government employment, etc.

2. Sample coverage of selected types of employers in selected areas.

C. A combination of extensive and intensive approaches specifically chosen so as to fit the particular needs of a given state and its available research resources.

Hearings, public or private, and conducted either by the CCR or the state advisory committee provide another fact-finding means which is less impersonal and may be more restricted in scope, but may also provide greater depth of understanding and more penetration of the nuances of the problem than the mass data approach. This method may complement the survey findings in an important and even crucial way.

VI. Random Notes on Techniques and Procedures

In collecting information by the survey method, the mailed questionnaires used in the extensive coverage should be as brief as possible and the questions asked should emphasize objective fact, giving minimum attention to more subjective information such as judgments, opinions and attitudes. The latter type of information may be more adequately and efficiently obtained through interviews and hearings. If scientific and appropriate sampling techniques are utilized, the more subjective, but important, data representative of the whole state may be obtained without covering all employers of the type or types chosen for study. Whatever the specific techniques employed, emphasis should be placed upon the behavior of the subjects studied rather than their attitudes. The latter requires a level of sophistication in research techniques and financial resources of a size unlikely to be available to state advisory committees.

The hearings technique might be confined appropriately to those types of agencies involved in the employment process whose activities are crucial and central to the recruitment and initial placement of state, county, and municipal employees, e.g., civil service agencies, state employment services, and public educational and training institutions.

In the organization and analysis of data collected, the state advisory committee might appropriately seek the assistance of interested and professionally qualified individuals, organizations, and institutions. Care should be taken that these participants agree in advance to fully respect the confidential character of the data handled by them. Some key individuals among these might be asked to serve on the employment

subcommittee of the state advisory committee so as to give them a quasi-official status and responsibility.

In order to obtain such assistance of the quality and quantity necessary, certain reciprocal assurances of value to such volunteers may be necessary. For instance, such participants might legitimately exact of the Committee assurance that the studies in which they participate would be transmitted offically to the CCR by the Committee and/or that they would be made public in some form.

In conducting past research with the use of volunteers from colleges and universities, the writer has had much success in the use of mature graduate students, particularly where they were allowed access to data developed by them which they could use for term paper or thesis purposes on an anonymous basis and without divulging its source.

In selecting the period of study and the approximate date for which objective facts are requested, it is desirable, as far as possible, to choose dates and periods which coincide with those used for offical reporting purposes by employers, e.g., year-end figures (calendar or fiscal), dates used by President's Committee on Government Contracts in its regular compliance checks with selected government contractors, reporting periods and terminal dates used by Government agencies for purposes of official reporting (yearly, quarterly, or monthly). The President's Committee on Government Contracts amd The President's Committee on Employment Policy may be helpful in advising on appropriate dates.

VII. Sources of Information

Primary reliance should be placed on obtaining information directly from the employers concerned in the study. However, significant

data available from various government sources should be fully utilized and other bibliographical sources, both primary and secondary, should be canvassed.

In order that valid and representative findings may be obtained from the types of employers studied, comprehensive lists of the names, addresses, and other data necessary for sampling are required for each of the types of establishments to be studied. Insofar as all such firms cannot be covered, selection of the respondents must be made on an objective basis, i.e., "blind" and random choice.

The following are types of lists which are needed for such objective surveys:

1. All firms in the state (or units of firms) which have have contracts with the Federal Government to furnish it goods and/or services (with the exception of types of contracts specifically exempt from the jurisdiction of The Government Contract Committee). Such a list should include all firms producing such goods or services within the state. (The question of whether the firms producing goods and services outside the state for use within the state remains open.)

2. All Federal Government establishments operating within the state, e.g., all with headquarters, branches, or units operating within the state. (Whether those rendering services outside for use inside the state constitute an appropriate area of study is an open question.)

3. All state, county, and municipal agencies which receive assistance from the Federal Government, e.g., grants-in-aid, public assistance, contributions of professional or technical assistance from federal employees, loans or gifts of facilities or equipment from federal sources.

4. All state, county, and municipal civil service agencies or commissions which procure manpower for public agencies within their respective jurisdictions.

5. List of (major) departments, agencies, and establishments of state governments and of each county and municipality in the state that procure their personnel through specific public personnel recruitment agencies of their respective governmental jurisdictions, e.g., state, county, or municipal civil service commissions, boards, or agencies.

Insofar as the types of employers chosen for study are to be sampled rather than complete study of the total universe attempted, it will also be desirable to obtain certain appropriate objective information about each employer which is required for objectively sampling on the basis of predetermined criteria. Such data may include such items as dollar value of government contract held, number of persons employed by government agencies being considered or size of their annual budget, location of establishment by size of community, etc. In each case it willbe desirable for the state advisory committee in consultation with the CCR to determine which body can more appropriately and expeditiously obtain the desired information. It cannot be emphasized too much, that availability of adequate lists of the employers to be used as sources of information constitute an indispensible first step in any mass data research undertaking of the type described in this memorandum.

VIII. Sources of the Means for Effective Fact-Finding

A careful appraisal of the availability of the necessary supplies and equipment, professional manpower, and Government assistance is an indispensible requirement of the state advisory committee prior to embarking upon any such program. Looking to the future, if state advisory committees are to be motivated to work effectively in the fact-finding field whether with regard to employment or other phases of civil rights problems, a much clearer and more specific picture of the resources available from the CCR for such purposes is required.

Recommendations for Study in Tennessee

In determining the nature and scope of our study of racial employment patterns, the relative importance of the various types of employers as potential sources of minority employment in the state, the relative prospects of remedial action among these where discrimination exists, and the resource limitations of the TAC for conducting such research must be carefully weighed.

1. In scope, our initial study might be confined to Federal Government oriented employers, including private employers with Government contracts and agencies and departments of the Federal Government. (IV A. 1. and 2.)

2. As to method, major reliance may be placed upon the use of a mailed questionnaire which should be sent to all employers in the state within the scope of our study, i.e., Government contractors and Federal agencies. (V A. 1 and 2. and possibly (?) B. 2.)

3. This study may be greatly facilitated if the CCR will use its good offices to obtain for us the following names and addresses of employers:

   (a.) All private firms operating within Tennessee that have Federal Government contracts.

   (b.) All Federal Government establishments operating in the state.

4. If information as to the dollar size of the contract held by each private employer and some other indicator of size of each Government establishment (perhaps approximate number of employees) can be provided along with name and address, those with negligible minority employment potential may be eliminated from the study. This may greatly reduce the resource requirements for the study without appreciably limiting its value for our purposes.

(Tentative sample questionnaire for mailing to employers named below)

Survey of Minority Employment Practices
in
Private Firms with Government Contracts
and
Units of the Federal Government

1. Type of product or service _____

2. Location of operating plant or unit _____

_____

3. Do you have any Negroes in your employ at present? Yes____; No ____.

4. How long have Negroes been in your employ?**
   Less than 1 year? ____; Number of years?____.

5. a) Number of employees at present (or last report period)?*
   Total _____; Total, Negro _____;
   Negro, Male ____; Negro, Female _____;

   b) Number working on Government contracts, if different from No. 5?*
   Total _____; Total, Negro _____.

6. a) Please check (X) the main occupational categories at which your total and and Negro labor forces, respectively, are engaged at present.

	Total	Negro
1) Unskilled		
2) Service		
3) Semi-skilled, production		
4) Other semi-skilled		
5) Skilled		
6) Clerical and kindred		
7) Sales		
8) Managerial and supervisory		
9) Professional		
10) Others (list them)** _____		
_____		
_____		

   b) List skilled jobs held by Negroes.** _____

   _____

   c) List supervisory jobs held by Negroes.** _____

   _____

*If exact figures are not available, please give numerical estimates or indicate what percents of total are in each of these.

***Use back of page, if necessary. Indicate question number.

d) List clerical and kindred jobs held by Negroes.** _____

e) List professional jobs held by Negroes.** _____

f) List jobs held by Negro women (other than unskilled and service labor).** _____

g) If Negroes are not employed above the semi-skilled level in your establishment, has their employment above this level been considered by management?
Yes _____; No _____.
If so, what are some of the reasons for their absence?** _____

Employment Practices

7. a) How, if at all, have you recruited your Negro employees? (Place check mark (X) after each of your sources and rank the first four in order of importance by inserting 1 by most important source, 2 by the next most important, etc.)

Check	Rank	
		Tennessee Employment Service U. S. Civil Service Commission registers Your company employment office Friends and relatives of present employees Private employment agencies or placement bureaus Educational or training institutions, e.g., public high schools, vocational and business schools Social welfare, civic, and racial uplift agencies Others (list them)** _____

b) Does this method differ in any way from that used in recruiting white workers?
Yes _____; No _____. If so, how?** _____

c) Do you have a definite minimum educational requirement for initial employment?
Yes _____; No _____. If so, what?** _____

8. a) Do you have any employee training program? Yes _____; No _____.
On-the-job? Yes _____; No _____.
Supervisory? Yes _____; No _____.
Apprenticeship? Yes _____;
Other types? (List them)** _____

b) In which of these, if any, are Negroes participating?** _____

9. a) Are graduates of public vocational training (high) schools in your city directly recruited for jobs in your firms? Yes _____; No _____.

b) If so, are any of these Negroes? Yes _____; No _____.

c) If none are Negroes, what are the principal reasons for their absence? _____

10. a) Have any of your Negro employees been upgraded or promoted from one job classification to a higher one in the last year (Approx.)?
Yes _____; No _____; last 6 Mos.? Yes _____; No _____;
last 3 Mos.? Yes _____; No _____.

b) If so, in what main occupational categories did these promotions occur? Please check (X) below the categories within which (or between which) this has occurred: Unskilled ( ); Service ( ); Semi-skilled, production ( ); Other Semi-skilled ( ); Skilled ( ); Clerical ( ); Professional ( ); Managerial and supervisory ( ); Other categories (list them)** _____

c) What are the main reasons for the limited upgrading among Negro employees?** _____

11. a) In your experience, how have your Negro employees proved with respect to the efficiency on the job? (Please check (X) one of the following):
Average _____; Above average _____; Below average _____.

b) How do your Negro employees compare with others at comparable occupational levels as to the following? (Place check mark (X) in the appropriate column below):

	Same	Better	Worse	Don't Know
Absenteeism?				
Labor turnover?				
Tardiness?				
Deportment on the job?				
Responsibility				

12. To the best of your knowledge, has your firm experienced any difficulty in employing Negroes? Yes ____; No ____. By employing them above the semi-skilled level? Yes ____; No ____. If you have had difficulty, what was its source and nature?** _____

13. Indicate any suggestions you may have for solving any of the problems or difficulties mentioned above (question No. 12), or for improving, in general, the relations between white and Negro employees in your plant.** _____

14. To your knowledge, what, if anything, has the Federal Government done (through any of its agencies or departments) to decrease the obstacles to full Negro employment and use which you as an employer face? _____

15. Does the Federal Government have a definite policy against discriminatory employment practices in establishments like yours (Government contractors or Government establishments)? Yes ____; No ____. If so, is there a particular Government agency responsible for its administration? Yes ____; No ____. If so, what is its name? _____

If not, is such an agency needed? Yes ____; No ____.

16. If you are a private employer with a collective bargaining agreement with a union (or unions), has the union (or unions) done anything to affect pro or con the Negro employment or utilization practices of your establishment. Yes ____; No ____. If so, what has it (or they) done?** _____

17. Name and affiliation of union (or unions), if any, with which your establishment (in Tennessee) has a union-management contract.** _____

18. Name of your establishment (Company or Government Agency)*** _____

19. Address _____

*** The source of your information will be held strictly confidential.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Tennessee Advisory Committee is engaged in a study of employment practices of Federal Government contractors operating in Tennessee. It is our understanding that you have such a contract (or contracts). The enclosed questionnaire is an important part of this study.

Our purpose is to obtain a composite picture of the prevailing patterns of Negro employment in such establishments as a group and to ascertain the main reasons for these practices. The information provided by respondants will be held strictly confidential.

The Committee's initial consideration of the employment problem arose from complaints alleging denial of equal employment opportunity because of race. However, subsequent discussions have led it to the view that the absence of Negroes in a given plant or job category does not necessarily denote discrimination. It seemed apparent that relevant factors such as limitations in education or vocational training, failure to apply for employment, etc. as well as this economically irrelevant factor might contribute to the current employment pattern.

The aggregate findings may prove valuable to each participating contractor because he will be able to see how his experiences compare with those of other contractors. The more complete and accurate the replies, the more comprehensive will be the analysis of the state's pattern and the more serviceable the findings to the individual firm.

We shall appreciate your co-operation in answering and promptly returning this questionnaire in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Disregard questions that do not apply to you or for which information is not available. Do not withhold the questionnaire because you cannot answer every question. You may direct any queries that you may have to either of the signers.

Sincerely yours,

Maclin Davis

Maclin Davis, Chairman, TAC

John Hope II

John Hope II, Chairman
Employment Sub-Committee

Reply to:

Tennessee Advisory Committee
c/o Tennessee Foundry and
Machine Company
806 - 16th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

MC:JH:rtf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Several weeks ago, a letter was mailed to you which described a study of employment practices of Federal Government contractors operating in Tennessee which the Tennessee Advisory Committee is conducting. It also asked that you cooperate in this important undertaking by answering and returning the enclosed questionnaire. We have received no reply from you to date and, consequently, are wondering whether your letter has miscarried or whether there are questions you wish to raise before replying.

Responses have been received from most of the firms canvassed and their questionnaires are now being processed. In order for us to proceed promptly to the analysis phase of this study, it is imperative that we receive your reply. A duplicate questionnaire and self-addressed envelope are enclosed for your convenience. As mentioned in our previous letter, you may disregard questions that do not apply to you or for which information is not available. Do not withhold the questionnaire because you cannot answer every question.

As previously stated our purpose is to obtain a composite picture of the prevailing patterns of Negro employment in the establishments of Federal Government contractors as a group and to ascertain, as for as possible, the main reasons for these practices. The information provided by you will be held strictly confidential.

We will be happy to send you a copy of this study upon its completion if you will indicate this wish on the questionnaire.

Sincerely yours,

Maclin Davis, Chairman, TAC

John Hope II, Chairman
Employment Sub-Committee

Reply to:

Tennessee Advisory Committee
c/o Tennessee Foundry and
Machine Company
806 - 16th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

MD:JH:als

Survey of Minority Employment Practices
in
Private Firms with Federal Government Contracts

1. Type of product or service _____

2. Location of plant producing contract goods or services _____

_____

3. Do you have any Negroes in your employ at present (or during nearest pay period to the present)? Yes___; No___.

4. How long have Negroes been in your employ?**
   Less than 1 year?___; Number of years?___.

5. a) Number of employees at present (or during nearest pay period to present)?*
   Total_____; Total, Negro_____;
   Negro, Male_____; Negro, Female_____;

   b) Number working on Government contracts, if different from No. 5?*
   Total_____; Total Negro_____.

6. a) Please check (X) the main occupational categories at which your total and Negro labor forces, respectively, are engaged at present (or during nearest pay period to it). Give rough estimates of numbers, if possible.*

Total Employees	(X)	Negro Employees	(X)	
				Unskilled
				Service
				Semi-skilled, production
				Semi-skilled, Other or non-production truck drivers, etc.
				Skilled
				Clerical and stenographic
				Sales
				Supervisory
				Technicians, Technical Assistants, etc.
				Professional (Training above college level)
				Others (list them)** _____

   b) List skilled jobs held by Negroes.** _____

   _____

   c) List clerical and stenographic jobs held by Negroes.** _____

   _____

   d) List jobs held by Negroes as technicians, technical assistants, etc.** _____

   _____

   e) List professional jobs held by Negroes.** _____

   _____

*If exact figures are not available, please give numerical estimates or indicate what per cents of total are in each of these.

**Use back of page if necessary, Indicate question number.

f) List Supervisory jobs held by Negroes.** _____

g) If Negroes are not employed above the semi-skilled level in your establishment, has their employment above this level been considered by management?
Yes___; No___.
If considered, what are some of the reasons for their absence?** _____

_____

7. a) How, if at all, have you recruited your Negro employees? (Place check mark (X) after each of your sources and rank the first four in order of importance by inserting 1 by most important source, 2 by the next most important, etc.).

Check (X)	Rank	
		Tennessee Employment Service Your company employment office Friends and relatives of present employees Private employment agencies or placement bureaus Educational or training institutions, e.g., public high schools, vocational and business schools Social welfare, civic, or other agencies Others (list them)** _____

b) Does this means of recruiting Negroes differ in any way from that used in recruiting white workers? Yes___; No___. If so, what?** _____

_____

c) Do you have a definite minimum educational requirement for initial employment?
Yes___; No___. If so, what and how?** _____

8. a) Do you have any employee training program? Yes___; No___. If so, what kinds?
On-the-job? Yes___; No___. Apprenticeship? Yes___. No___.
Supervisory? Yes___; No___. Other types? (list them)** _____

_____

b) In which of these, if any, are Negroes participating?** _____

_____

9. a) Are graduates of public vocational training (high) schools in your community directly recruited for jobs in your firm? Yes___; No___.

b) If so, are any of these Negroes? Yes___: No___.

c) If not, why not?** _____

_____

10. a) Have any of your Negro employees been upgraded or promoted from one job classification to a higher one while you held and were executing a Government contract? Yes___; No___.

If so, approximately how many?_____.

b) If so, what main occupational categories or levels have they reached by such upgrading? Please check (X) below the appropriate categories:

Unskilled ( ); Service ( ); Semi-skilled, production ( ); Semi-skilled, other types ( ); Skilled ( ); Clerical & stenographic ( ); Technician, technical assistant, etc. ( ); Professional ( ); Supervisory ( ); Other categories (list them)** _____

c) Roughly what time period (or periods) does this cover? _____

d) If there are particular (or unique) obstacles to upgrading your Negro employees, what are they?** _____

_____

11. a) In your experience, how have your Negro employees proved with respect to their job efficiency: (Please check (X) one of the following):

Average ____; Above average ____; Below average ____.

b) In general, how do your Negro employees compare with whites at comparable occupational levels as to the following? (Place check mark (X) in the appropriate column below):

	Same	Better	Worse	Don't Know
Absenteeism?				
Labor turnover?				
Tardiness?				
Deportment on the job?				
Responsibility				
Technical competency				

c) Are any of the answers to 11.b) based upon analysis of personnel records?
Yes ____; No ____.
If so, which ones? _____

_____

12. To the best of your knowledge, has your firm experienced any difficulty in utilizing Negroes? Yes ____; No ____. In using them above the semi-skilled level? Yes ____; No ____. If you have had difficulty, comment on its sources and nature.** _____

_____

13. Indicate any suggestions you may have for solving any of the problems or difficulties, if any, mentioned on page 3 (Question 12), or for improving, in general, the relations between white and Negro employees in your plant.**

_____

_____

_____

14. To your knowledge, what, if anything, has the Federal Government done (through any of its agencies or departments) to decrease the obstacles to full Negro employemnt and use which you as an employer face?** _____

_____

_____

15. With what government agency (or agencies) does your firm have a contract?

_____

16. Has your firm encountered difficulties in seeking to comply with the non-discrimination provision contained in your government contract?
Yes___; No___. If so please explain.** _____

_____

_____

17. If you are a private employer with a collective bargaining agreement with a union (or unions), has the union (or unions) done anything to affect pro or con the Negro hiring or utilization practices of your establishment?
Yes___; No___. If so, what has it (or they) done?** _____

_____

18. What is the approximate dollar value of Government contracts now held by your firm (in Tennessee)?* _____

19. Give name and affiliation of union (or unions), if any, with which your establishment (in Tennessee) has a union-management contract.**

_____

_____

20. a) Name and address of your establishment (producer of contract goods or services)** _____

_____

b) Name and address of parent firm, if the producing unit is part of a multi-unit firm.* _____

_____

_____

0

_____

0

Estimated Cost of Processing State Advisory Committee, CCR, Studies of Minority Employment Practices of Federal Government Contractors — Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina.*

Processing Questionnaires		$ 2,950.00
Assembling, code preparation, editing, coding	$1,700.00	
Punching, tabulating, computing	1,250.00	
Analysis and Report		800.00
Travel		475.00
Loading -- overhead, materials, etc.		633.75
		$ 4,858.75

*Processing of Tennessee by Mr. Hope made possible by The Race Relations Department of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches.

File

Race Relations Department

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICES
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OF THE
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

MEMORANDUM

FROM
JOHN HOPE, II

TO: Mr. Herald Fleming

RE:

DATE: 2/6/61.

Remembered these after sealing envelope. I don't remember whether I gave you a copy of these on the plane.

John

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

In Reply Refer To

DEC 20 1960

T:R:EO:3
JN

Commission on Civil Rights
c/o Mr. Gordon M. Tiffany, Staff Director
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to a letter of November 16, 1960, with supporting information enclosed therewith, to Commissioner Dana Latham from your Staff Director, wherein it is set forth that the Commission on Civil Rights wishes a specific ruling which would hold any State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights as an arm of the Federal Government and therefore a tax-exempt organization. It appears that the ruling is desired to insure that the making of grants to the Committees by tax-exempt foundations will not jeopardize the status of such organizations.

You are a commission of the executive branch of the Federal Government created by the "Civil Rights Act of 1957", to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. You are empowered under section 105(c) of the aforementioned Act to constitute such advisory committees within States composed of citizens of that State and may consult with governors, attorneys general, and other representatives of State and local governments, and private organizations, as deemed advisable.

Based upon the information submitted, it is held that as an integral part of the Commission on Civil Rights, a commission created in the executive branch of the Government, any State Advisory Committee constituted under section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is not subject to Federal income tax and is not required to file Federal income tax returns.

Contributions made to such Committees are deductible by the donors in computing their taxable income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 170 of the 1954 Code.

Commission on Civil Rights

Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers to or for the use of such Committees are deductible in computing the value of the taxable estate of a decedent for Federal estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by sections 2055 and 2106 of the 1954 Code. Gifts of property to or for the use of such Committees are deductible in computing taxable gifts for Federal gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by section 2522 of the 1954 Code.

In view of the foregoing, the tax-exempt status of foundations making grants in furtherance of their exempt purposes to the Committees will not be jeopardized by such distributions.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) John W. S. Littleton

Director, Tax Rulings Division

TENNESSEE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Minutes of Meeting held on July 14, 1962

The regular call meeting of the State Advisory Committee took place on July 14, 1962 at 9:30 a.m. at the Holiday Inn in Nashville, Tennessee with Chairman Henry Forgy presiding.

Present were Sen. Hobart Atkins, Mrs. Jean Russell, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Mr. Seymour Shavin, Mr. Bill Henry, Mr. Matthew Lynch and Mr. George Barrett. From the Commission was Mr. Courtney Nelson from Washington and Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Regional Consultant from South Carolina.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read with the correction noted that the AMA should read the American Missionary Association, and the report to read Tennessee Advisory Committee report. It was moved by Dr. Henderson and seconded by Mr. Shavin that the minutes stand as corrected. Passed unamiously.

Following the reading of the minutes, the Chairman announced that there were several persons present in response to the Committee's invitation to appear before the Committee at this time to discuss what these organizations thought would be an appropriate field of study for the forthcoming year.

Organizations requested to be present, but failing to appear, were the following: State representative of the NAACP; representative of the Urban League in Memphis; Dr. Herman Long, the Race Relations Institute at Fisk and Dr. Jack Marion of the United Presbyterian Church in Nashville.

Those present or represented were: The United Church Women, Mrs. Jean Russell; the National Council of Churches by Rev. Will Campbell, and Tennessee Council on Human Relations by Miss Kay Jones.

A written statement was received from Mr. Ray Allen of the Community Relations Council of Jackson. A statement was received from Dr. Gideon Fryer, which was made available to all the members. Failed to reply were: Dr. Crutcher from Knoxville; Rev. Major Jones of Chattanooga; Mr. Hunter Lane of Memphis Community Relations Council; Mr. Moore of the Chattanooga Community Relations Conference; Mr. Murray of Johnson City; Mr. Ramsel of Oak Ridge and Rev. K. M. Smith of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference. A letter from the Tennessee Medical Association was received in response to an invitation sent to them in error.

The Chairman recommended that Mrs. Russell be first allowed to read the statements of the United Church Women, then Rev. Campbell for the National Council of Churches and then Miss Jones with the Tennessee Council. A copy of the statement from the United Church Women is attached.

Rev. Campbell stated that he did not submit a written, formal statement, because of the policy of the National Council of Churches - that we wished to appear in an informal capacity as an individual and make an informal statement. Mr. Campbell stated that he felt the pressing problem was a new pattern in schools, employment, etc., where there has been a growing willingness to accept tokenism. The question, as he saw it, was how to move from tokenism to full participation of all in our society.

Miss Jones presented a thorough statement, copies of which are attached with copies being presented to all present.

Mr. Forgy commended Miss Jones for the thoughtful preparation of the Tennessee Council statement.

Following Miss Jones' presentation, discussion followed on the question of employment that dealt with state employment services; Executive Order 10925; attempts to develop factual information leading to recommendations, and other facets of the problem.

Further discussion dealt with attempts to approach the "Public" utilities and the possibility of complaints before the State Utility Commission and Federal Communications Commission. It was further suggested that the ARA be looked into and the NDEA. It was brought out in the discussion the problem of training, which involved two areas of discrimination: Initial hiring and upgrading.

Lengthy discussions followed on the status of the law and how it operates on Federal contracts, and whether or not the SCA can do anything about job opportunities in areas where there are no government contracts. It was suggested that the discussion be limited to areas where SCA can make effective recommendations to the Commission as to specific projects, i.e., study of union practices and employment hiring procedures; TVA; government instalations; highway programs and etc.

After a lengthy discussion on the functions of the SAC and its role, it was moved by Dr. Henderson;

> that the State Advisory Committee continue to call on other agencies for statements and assistance. Seconded by Mrs. Russell. Passed unanimously. It was moved by Mr. Barrett that the State Advisory Committee request federal government agencies in this area for appropriate information as to their hiring practices, etc. and specifically material that was prepared to be submitted to the Federal Civil Service Commission in Washington. Seconded by Bill Henry. Passed.

RECESSED FOR LUNCH

Following lunch, the question of the August meeting was raised by Chairman Forgy. He pointed out that the hotel accommodations were not available in August due to the fact that this was the height of the season in Gatlinburg. Mr. Henry moved:

> that the August meeting be discontinued and that the Gatlinburg meeting be moved to September 9. Seconded by Sen. Atkins and Passed.

The Staff, Mr. Nelson and Mr. Siceloff, solicited reaction to the Civil Rights Commission hearing in Memphis.

> Sen. Atkins wanted to know more about the conclusions after the Memphis hearing. Mr. Nelson said there may be a conclusion after Memphis or after all the urban hearings. Sen. Atkins brought up the discussion of housing in Knoxville.
>
> Mrs. Russell's reaction to the Memphis hearings was that the coverage was so limited that she had very little reaction to it.

Mr. Henry did not attend the hearings due to a previous commitment. He commented that the general feeling was that the Commission was unwelcomed and there was a misapprehension as to the function of the hearings, and that such was quickly forgotten once the Commission left.

Chairman Forgy raised the question as to the proper use of the State Advisory Committee and hearings. He said there was no opportunity before the Memphis hearings for such to be utilized, or even to be recognized.

Mrs. Russell raised the question of the failure of the Commission Staff to contact anyone in Tennessee for consultation prior to the hearings.

Mr. Nelson stated that part of the communication between sections of the Commission was not very good, and that this could have led to some failure of the communications between the Commission Staff and the State Advisory Committee.

Mr. Barrett and Mr. Lynch both made general criticisms of the failure to utilize the available materials and resources of Tenn. in such a hearing. Mr. Lynch was particularly critical of the fact that no responsible labor leaders were contacted in regards to the hearings and that the Commission staff seemed to be more interested in persons with titles than with knowledge. Mr. Barrett's general criticism was that the failure to utilize the resources of persons available for such in this state. In his opinion, the hearings were simply a case of little or no preparation, and it ended up as a polite exchange between the witnesses and members of the Commission. That it served very little for fact-finding and left a lot of mis-information hanging in mid-air. It was further observed by Mr. Barrett that the Commission seemed disinterested in the facts that were initially brought out by the Staff, and did not follow up with any decerning questions or with any questions at all. Additionally, it seemed that after certain staff interrogation Commissioners tended to apologize for staff questioning, and then offered comments commending various officials for token efforts, or for matters about which the Commission had not explored or was not sufficiently knowledgeable to comment. The feeling was that the Commission went out of its way to accommodate itself to the existing atmosphere of Memphis.

The Chairman then called for the reports of various persons. Sen. Atkins reported on the Administration of justice which dealt with the reapportionment suit in the last session of the Legislature and stated it was still moving forward. He was particularly interested in the ex parte use of injunctions and raised the question of whether or not there were a violation of civil rights.

Mrs. Ragland, who was absent, was asked to report on education at the next meeting. Mr. Barrett asked for communications to be added to the September agenda.

Mr. Henry raised the question as to when the date of SAC recommendations to the Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Nelson noted that the Commission life extends to September, 1963, and he suggested that something be in before then, possibly by August of 1963.

The discussion continued as to the main activity of the SAC for this year. Mr. Shavin suggested that it should be civil rights aspects of employment. Mr. Henry said that it was his feeling that Mr. Sugarmon felt that this was of great importance. Mr. Lynch agreed, and said this had to be broken down in the proper perspective, i.e., training of and employment of youth, and the prime labor market 21-36 which would include - a) hiring, b) initial training, c) promotion, and d) the aged Labor Market, i.e., 35-65, i.e., regarding training.

After much discussion it was moved by Mr. Shavin that the SAC study as its major project, civil rights aspects of employment. Mr. Lynch seconded. Passed.

Chairman Forgy appointed a sub-committee to present an agenda to the SAC at its September meeting dealing with this project consisting of Mr. Lynch, Chairman; Mr. Shavin and Dr. Henderson.

Mr. Henry raised the question of publicity of the SAC wants. Chairman Forgy suggested that the press be invited to the SAC meetings.

Mrs. Russell moved that the press be invited to the Gatlinburg meeting by the Secretary. Mr. Henry seconded. Passed Unanimously.

Mr. Nelson asked for copies of all press clippings.

Chairman Forgy brought up the question of housing. Mr. Barrett suggested it be deferred to next meeting.

Adjourned 2:30 p.m.

ES - typ
MY - file
See Commission on Civil Rights, gen.

May 23, 1966

Mr. Jacques E. Wilmore
Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mid-South Region
Federal Office Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Jacques:

Thank you very much for copies of the Forms 57 of the two prospective employees. We very much appreciate your thinking of us in this regard.

We still hope you are going to have an opportunity to come visit with us some day.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 5/16/66

(1)

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

MID-SOUTH FIELD OFFICE
167 North Main Street, Room 30
Memphis, Tennessee 38103
Telephone: (901) 534-3139

May 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing copies of completed Form 57's of two candidates for employment in the civil rights field who have come to the attention of this office.

I have interviewed both and feel that both, with varying strengths and weaknesses, are good candidates for your organization.

If you are interested and want more of my reaction about them, please telephone me.

Sincerely,

Jacques E. Wilmore
Director, MSR

Encl:

XYZ Foundation
Race Relations Township
USA

Dear _____:

The Southern Regional Council has worked closely with and assisted the Commission on Civil Rights since its beginning. It has felt that the effective implementation of the Civil Rights Acts (1957 and 1960) can render a most valuable service in transforming the race relations of the region to a more democratic pattern and thus contributing to more rapid economic development of the South. The high regard of the Commission for the objectives and contribution of the Southern Regional Council are readily demonstrated by its repeated reliance upon the Council for advice and information and the large number of officers and members of the Council invited to serve as members of the various state Advisory Committees to the Commission on Civil Rights, particularly in the Southern states. (list names here of Council officers, members and friends)
We have long felt that these quasi-official committees have high potential as a resource for the protection and extension of civil rights in the South but that under the present Commission they have fallen far short of their possibilities in this regard. Consequently, mainly by informal approaches, we have tried to involve them in meaningful beginnings over and above the direct demands upon them of the Commission on Civil Rights.

One of the most notable and persistent of these efforts provides the reason for this letter and the request made herein. Mr. John Hope II, who serves as chief consultant of the Southern Regional Council, has been a member of the Tennessee Advisory Committee

since its inception and is its vice-chairman and chairman of its sub-committee on employment. In the latter capacity, he began cultivating an interest in the systematic study of minority employment practices within his state some two years ago and during the past 12 months has promoted similar interests among the other state advisory committees (S.A.C.), particularly in the South. At the Gatlinburg meeting on education conducted by the Commission on Civil Rights (C.C.R.) in March (?) of 1960, at the request of the Commission, he conducted a seminar attended by chairmen and vice-chairmen of the S.A.Cs.from the 17 Southern states on techniques for studying the civil rights aspects of the minority employment problem by such committees. The memorandum and tentative questionnaire developed as a basis for this discussion was subsequently mailed to all S.A.Cs. (see copy of memorandum attached.)

The Tennessee Advisory Committee (T.A.C.) met concurrently at Gatlinburg and authorized its subcommittee on unemployment to undertake a two phase study of the employment practices of federal government contractors and federal government establishments operating within its state. Since that time, these studies have been initiated and that of government contractors is nearing completion.

Consequently, Mr. Hope (note: might be better to insert Consultant Service Program here instead of Mr. Hope as may be true in other parts of the letter) has received several requests for assistance in making employment studies by other S.A.Cs. Through the aegis of the SRC - CSP, such assistance has been given to committees in North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Kentucky. In addition, to our knowledge, such research is underway in two other states -- West Virginia and Nebraska. Conceivably others may follow.

Mr. Hope plans to circulate the Tennessee study to all S.A.C.s within the next few weeks in the hope that this may entice still others to follow. He has received commitments from the C.C.R. staff that the study will be printed in a volume published by the C.C.R. and it is hoped that sufficient assistance can be provided to other state committees to assure that they can complete such studies in time for inclusion in such a publication. We feel that such surveys of patterns of Negro employment practices will provide all groups concerned with race relations in the South a body of knowledge now almost completely lacking, in contrast to areas outside the South, and will provide an objective factual basis for future action to improve current practices which is now virtually non-existent. In sofar as fact can replace emotion, impersonal mass information can be substituted for miscellaneous case studies and unverified reports and myths. We believe that the speed of transition can be increased and the extent of trauma of change diminished during this process.

The date set for submission of SA.C. materials by the C.C.R. is April 1, 1961. It is unlikely that this deadline can be met unless the processing of questionnaires can be centralized and conducted by a single trained staff under uniform supervision. Since the questionnaires of the four states involved have followed substantially that of Tennessee and Mr. Hope has prepared and used a code and processing procedure that can be readily adapted for use in all of these cities, it seems feasible that a "crash program", centered in the Race Relations Department of the Congregational Christian churches at Fisk University and under his direction could meet this deadline if it could be initiated promptly.

This process involves three phases:

1). Collection of data.
2) Processing -- assembling, editing, coding, punching, tabulating, and computing.
3) Analysis and preparation of report.

The first of these is the responsibility of the respective S.A.Cs. The method is a standardized mailed questionnaire sent to all contractors who have Government contracts, these mailings to be made by the C.C.R. Two mailings are recommended, probably two to three weeks apart. The C.C.R. and the S.A.C. are completely responsible for this phase of the process. We are advised that the flow of replies has started in North Carolina so that editing and coding could begin immediately. The mailing of questionnaires by the remaining three states was to have begun no later than February 1, so that processing of these may begin by February 15.

Substantial financial assistance for the second phase (processing) seems absolutely indispensable if the above deadline is to be met. It is also likely that such aid will be needed for the third phase unless a particular committee can obtain the services of a competent scholar conversant with analysis with IBM tabulations in the employment field who can donate intensive full-time services over a period of time in mid-March, 1961.

The Race Relations Department has IBM equipment and staff resources. If the volume of return should be unexpectedly large, the larger, faster, but more expensive computers could be economically employed. This service is available at the Computer Center at Vanderbilt University. A qualified staff can readily be recruited in Nashville and persons who have had experience with the Tennessee study might be used in the training of new personnel, though some of these would not be available for full-time participation because of

other current responsibilities.

An accurate estimate of the number of questionnaires is difficult at this time because the state advisory committee section of the CCR is still compiling such lists by contracting agencies for each of the states making studies. However, on the basis of Tennessee experience and the judgments of the CCR staff on the basis of current information, the number of questionnaires expected for analysis is about 2,500 distributed very approximately as follows:

North Carolina -	1,000
South Carolina -	200
Louisiana -	1,000
Kentucky -	300

With this limited specific information, the following approximate budget is submitted.

(This will be mailed back to you early next week in terms of the approximate $5,000 figure we discussed. I shall also send you a copy of a set of Tennessee questionnaires, a memorandum and such other items as would seem helpful at this time.)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: TEXAS

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

Total: 124 districts (out of 722 having Negro schools) have begun desegregation. Approximate number of children in desegregated classes: Negro - 3,750
White - 325,000 (See attached list.)

(Parochial schools in San Antonio have been desegregated. Desegregation in Parochial schools in Texas is thought to be extensive, since complete desegregation by 1956 had been anticipated by Parochial school officials. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of Jan., 1959):
Total: At least 36 public (state, municipal, county) supported colleges are desegregated in policy or practice. (See attached list.)

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of Jan., 1959):

All Veterans Administration Hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Actions taken from Press Clippings, 1954-58:

1. Desegregated

TEXAS - Houston - golf courses, June, 1954, after federal court order.

Dallas - golf courses, June, 1954.

Ft. Worth - golf course, 1955.

San Antonio - golf courses, 1956. Swimming Pools, tennis courts, 1956.

Beaumont - 2 city parks, including golf course, September, 1955.

Corpus Christi - Municipal swimming pool, 1956.

Austin - all public recreation facilities, March, 1956.

2. Action to avoid desegregation

Marshall - Voters authorized sale ofswimming pool and city park after a Negro filed suit asking the pool to admit Negroes, 1956. (Outcome?)

---

*Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

3. Pending Legal Action

Houston - Suit filed in U. S. District Court, June, 1958, asking desegregation of Sylvan Beach Park.

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration, 1958: 150,000 (estimated)
Negro Percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 6.8

VI. NEGROES HOLDING ELECTIVE OR APPOINTIVE PUBLIC OFFICE

Houston - Mrs. Charles E. White was elected to the Houston School Board in November, 1958.

Port Arthur - A Negro councilman was elected, Fall, 1955.

(Local check advised for additional or more recent information.)

VII? TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated Since 1954:

1. San Antonio
2. Corpus Christi
3. Dallas
4. El Paso

(Results of a spot survey. It is safe to assume that other Texas cities - particularly in the West Texas area - have desegregated seating on their city buses. Local check advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Airline Waiting Rooms

A Summer, 1958, spot survey included the following Texas cities:

1. San Antonio has desegregated waiting room, restaurant, and restaurant facilities in its bus, train, and airline terminals.

2. Houston's bus stations are segregated. One train station has separate waiting rooms while the other has only one general waiting room. A recently constructed airport does not have segregated waiting room facilities but does have separate dining areas in its restaurant.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TEXAS

Institutions	Legal Control
24. Lutheran Concordia College, Austin, Texas	Lutheran
25. Mary Allen College, Crockett, Texas (Formerly all-Negro)	Baptist
26. Midwestern University, Wichita Falls, Texas	Private
27. McMurry College, Abilene, Texas	Methodist
28. North Texas State College, Denton, Texas	State
29. Odessa (Junior) College, Odessa, Texas	District
30. Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
31. Pan American College, Edinburg, Texas	County
32. Paris Junior College, Paris, Texas	Municipal
33. St. Anthony's Junior Seminary, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
34. St. Edwards University, Austin, Texas	Roman Catholic
35. St. Mary's University of San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
36. St. Phillip's College, San Antonio, Texas	Public
37. San Angelo (Junior) College, San Angelo, Texas	Municipal
38. San Antonio College, San Antonio, Texas	Municipal
39. Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas (School of Theology and Evening Law School)	Methodist
40. Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas	Baptist
41. Southwestern Medical School of University of Texas Dallas, Texas	Public
42. Temple Junior College, Temple, Texas	Municipal
43. Texarkana College, Texarkana, Texas	Municipal
44. Texas Christian University (Graduate School) Fort Worth, Texas	Disciples of Christ
45. Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville, Texas	State
46. Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, Texas	Lutheran
47. Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas (Previously all-Negro)	State

DESEGREGATING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

TEXAS

Institutions	Legal Control
48. Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Texas	Municipal
49. Texas Western, El Paso, Texas	State
50. Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas	Presbyterian
51. University of Dallas, Dallas, Texas	Roman Catholic
52. University of St. Thomas, Houston, Texas	Roman Catholic
53. University of Texas, Austin, Texas	State
54. University of Texas Dental Branch, Houston, Texas	Public
55. University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston, Texas	Public
56. Uvalde (Junior) College, Uvalde, Texas	≠
57. Victoria (Junior) College, Victoria, Texas	Municipal
58. Wayland Baptist College, Plainview, Texas	South Baptist
59. Wharton County Junior College, Wharton, Texas	County
60. Wichita Falls Junior College, Wichita Falls, Texas	State

≠ = Tax supported, whether State or District, unknown

124 school districts desegregated or with desegregation policies are listed below with date process begun, where available:

ARANSAS COUNTY — Rockport (55).

ATASCOSA COUNTY — Pleasanton (57).

BAYLOR COUNTY—Seymour.

BEE COUNTY—Beeville, Pettus.

BELL COUNTY—Killeen.

BEXAR COUNTY—Alamo Heights East Central, Edgewood, Ft. Sam Houston, Harlandale, Lackland, Northeast, San Antonio (55), S. San Antonio, Bexar Rural High (56), S.W. Rural High (56).

BREWSTER COUNTY — Alpine (55).

BROWN COUNTY — Brownwood (55).

BURNET COUNTY—Burnet.

CALHOUN COUNTY—Co. Indep. (Pt. Lavaca), (55).

CAMERON COUNTY — Brownsville (55), Harlingen (55), LaFeria (55), San Benito (56).

CASTRO COUNTY—Dimmit (56), Hart (56).

CULBERSON COUNTY — Van Horn (56).

DALLAM COUNTY—Dalhart (56).

DeWITT COUNTY—Nordheim.

DIMMIT COUNTY — Carizzo Springs (55).

ECTOR COUNTY—Odessa.

EL PASO COUNTY—El Paso (55), Socorro (56), Ysleta, El Paso Rural High.

ERATH COUNTY—Dublin (56).

FRIO COUNTY—Pearsall.

GALVESTON COUNTY — Moody State Home.

GUADALUPE COUNTY—Marion, Navarro, Schertz-Cibolo, Seguin.

HALE COUNTY—Cotton Center.

HAYS COUNTY — San Marcos (55).

HIDALGO COUNTY—Donna (56), Edinburg (55), McAllen, Mercedes (55), Mission, Pharr-San Juan (56), Weslaco.

HOCKLEY COUNTY—Pep.

HOWARD COUNTY—Big Spring (55).

HUTCHINSON COUNTY—Borger.

JIM WELLS COUNTY—Alice.

KARNES COUNTY — Falls City (56), Kenedy (55), Karnes City (55), Runge.

KINNEY COUNTY—Brackett or Brackettsville (56).

KLEBERG COUNTY — Kingsville (55).

LAMB COUNTY — Littlefield, Spade.

LLANO COUNTY—Llano (55).

LUBBOCK COUNTY — Lubbock (55).

LIMESTONE COUNTY—Echols.

LYNN COUNTY — Tahoka (55), Wilson.

MASON COUNTY—Mason (55).

MEDINA COUNTY—Devine (55), Hondo, Natalia (56).

MENARD COUNTY—Menard.

MIDLAND COUNTY—Midland.

NUECES COUNTY—Aqua Dulce, Bishop (55), Corpus Christi (55), Robstown (55), Sundeen, Tuloso-Midway, West Oso.

PARMER COUNTY—Bovina, Friona (54), Farwell (56), Lazbuddie (56).

PECOS COUNTY—Fort Stockton (55).

POTTER COUNTY—Amarillo.

REEVES COUNTY—Pecos (55).

REFUGIO COUNTY — Austwell-Tivoli, Refugio, Woodsboro.

SAN PATRICIO COUNTY—Aransas Pass, Ingleside, Mathis (55), Sinton.

SAN SABA COUNTY—San Saba (55).

SWISHER COUNTY—Kress, Happy (56), Tulia (56).

TAYLOR COUNTY — Abilene County School.

TERRELL COUNTY — Sanderson (56).

TERRY COUNTY—Wellman.

TOM GREEN COUNTY—San Angelo (55).

TRAVIS COUNTY—Austin (55).

UVALDE COUNTY—Uvalde.

VAL VERDE COUNTY—Del Rio (55), San Felipe (55).

VICTORIA COUNTY — Victoria, Bloomington (58).

WARD COUNTY — Monahans-Wickett.

WEBB COUNTY—Laredo.

WICHITA COUNTY — Wichita Falls (55).

WILLACY COUNTY—Raymondsville.

WILSON COUNTY — Floresville, LaVernia (55), Poth (55), Stockdale.

WINKLER COUNTY — Kermit, Wink.

YOAKUM COUNTY—Plains.

ZAVALA COUNTY—Crystal City (55).

Colleges—Of the 47 formerly all-white public colleges and universities, seven senior and 18 junior colleges now accept Negroes, in practice or principle. Estimated Negro enrollment in the senior colleges is about 200 (173 of them at the University of Texas) as compared to about 230 last year. In the junior colleges enrollment of Negroes again is expected to be about 100 as it was during 1956-57. Several private and church-affiliated-institutions also accept Negroes, including Wayland Baptist College at Plainview, Midwestern University at Wichita Falls and Presbyterian and Episcopal seminaries in Austin.

Teachers—Some 35 teaching positions have been eliminated because of school desegregation, but only about 20 teachers have been displaced. All have found new jobs in Texas schools. Negro teachers have been utilized in Hondo, Uvalde and possibly Refugio, probably in non-teaching capacities.

Official State Attitude

Divided but generally pro-segregation.

Public Reaction

Three pro-segregation amendments on the July 1956 Democratic primary ballot were approved

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: VIRGINIA

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated:

Total: A total of 53 Negro students now attend previously white schools in four school districts.

District	Number of Negroes in Formerly White Schools 1958-59
Alexandria	9
Arlington	4
Norfolk	17
Warren County	23 *

* Number is expected to rise to a possible 100.

(Parochial schools of Alexandria, Arlington County, Charlottesville, Fairfax County, Hampton, Newport News, Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke, Williamsburg and Warwich are desegregated. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: 5 state supported, 6 private institutions

Institutions	Legal Control
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Va.	Brethren
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions, Virginia	State
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. (Formerly All Negro)	Private
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond, Va.	State
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia Alexandria, Virginia	Protestant Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William & Mary, Richmond, Va.	State
St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va. (Formerly All Negro)	Protestant Episcopal
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.	State

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated Institutions of Higher Education, continued:

Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia — Baptist
(Formerly All Negro)

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES: Action 1954-58

Seashore State Park was ordered desegregated in 1955. An attempt to lease it to private persons for segregated operation was blocked by federal court in 1956. Present status?

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 131,626 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration: 14.1

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

New Kent County: Samuel Crump was elected to the County Board of Supervisors, October 1955.

Portsmouth: Talmadge Johnson was appointed to the Portsmouth Board of Equalization of Real Estate Assessments for six months in 1955.

Virginia Beach: Mrs. Alice B. Petty was sworn in as personal property tax assessor for Princess Anne County in January 1957.

(Local check advised for more recent or additional information.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: City Buses Desegregated since 1954

1. Richmond
2. Norfolk
3. Portsmouth
4. Newport News
5. Petersburg
6. Charlottesville
7. Fredericksburg
8. Lynchburg
9. Roanoke
10. Fairfield

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: Segregation Policies in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

A Summer 1958 spot survey included the following Virginia cities:

Charlottesville -
Norfolk
Roanoke

Although there are still two waiting rooms in the bus and train stations in these three Virginia cities, signs requiring segregation have been removed (with the exception of Trailways Bus Station in Norfolk where signs remain but segregation is not enforced.). There are, however, separate restaurants or lunch counters when such accommodations are provided. Air line waiting rooms are desegregated, including restaurant facilities in Charlottesville and Norfolk.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

Enclosures:
The Birmingham News Article
New York Time Article - Nov. 11, 1956
Winston-Salem Journal + Sentinel - June 30, 1957
Biographical Notes On Board Members

July 29, 1957

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Mr. Frank McCulloch
Office of Senator Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

This is in pursuance of our telephone conversation of this morning.

First, let me say how much we appreciate Senator Douglas' very able and forthright rebuttal of the attacks made on the Southern Regional Council Friday. I am writing the Senator separately to express our thanks.

The attack, as you know, is based on the listing by the Firing Line of several past and present members of the Southern Regional Council's Board who are alleged to have had some affiliation at some time with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Some of these past and present board members are people who occupy positions of distinction and whose careers, in several cases, have earned them national reputations. Since their names have already been derogated by insertion in the record of the May 15th issue of the Firing Line, I do not think that further mention of them would be damaging. I am enclosing brief biographical notes on those past or present Board members cited by the Firing Line who are particularly good examples of the worthlessness of the charges. I believe that the Senators of their respective states could only speak of them with respect and esteem.

We are also concerned about the attack on the validity of the Southern Regional Council's reports on Negro registration. In reply to the claims of Senator Johnston and others, the following points may be worth noting:

(1) The way in which our figures for Alabama were shown, unfortunately, is subject to criticism. Ten counties have no entry in the column for Negro registrants. This leads logically to the conclusion that our survey produced positive evidence that there were no Negroes registered in these counties. This is not necessarily true. The field consultant for Alabama placed a dash beside those counties in which no Negroes were registered and those for which no Negro registration figures could be secured. Our Research Assistant carried this into the overall summary, feeling that the matter was adequately covered by the qualifying statement in the foreword: "A zero, blank, or dash means that there are no Negro registrants known to our sources of information." I realize that this was misleading and apologize for that fact. The counties may be distinguished in three categories: Our Alabama consultant made a positive finding of no Negroes registered in DeKalb, Marshall, Wilcox and Lowndes Counties; he could not secure information as to Negro registration in three counties - Blount, Clay and Winston - in which the Negro population is extremely small and where the registration, if any, would be negligible; and he simply was unable to secure a reliable report on three counties with significant Negro populations - Jackson, Morgan, and Tallapoosa. The same kind of distinction that was made in the case of North Carolina should have been made here, and I can only echo appreciatively Senator Douglas' remark that when one is dealing with a thousand counties, the possibility of error is indeed present.

(2) This discrepancy should not be allowed to invalidate the overall picture for Alabama. Our estimate of the state-wide total as of the summer of 1956 was 53,366. In May of 1956, The Birmingham News reported a state-wide estimate of 50,000. In May of this year, The Montgomery Advertiser reported editorially that the "prevailing guesses range from 40,000 to 50,000." I am enclosing a thermofax copy of The Birmingham News article, which contains other information of interest, and a reprinted version of The Montgomery Advertiser editorial. The point here is that two of the leading daily newspapers of Alabama reported estimates that were slightly smaller than that of the Southern Regional Council. It is of minor interest to see that The Birmingham News was also apparently unable to secure Negro registration figures for Morgan County.

(3) In the Congressional Record for Friday, at page 11633, Senator Johnston ridicules the Council's statement about the percentage of Negroes registered. Actually, the Council's report stated that Negroes made up eighteen per cent of Louisiana's total registration and that this was the highest such percentage among the Southern states. This is an accurate statement. Senator Johnston in his confusion then proceeds to quote Mr. Fowler, Director of the State Board of Registrants, to the effect that Negroes make up 14.8 per cent of the total - a lower estimate than the Council's! The probable explanation of this is that between March 1956 and October 1956 the official tabulation of Negro registrants in Louisiana dropped from 161,410 to 152,378. The Council used the earlier figure. Both of these figures are official compilations and are on public record at the State Board of Registrants and the Office of the Secretary of State.

(4) Senator Johnston, at page 11632, attacks the Council's figures for South Carolina by quoting John McCray, Negro 1953 State Chairman of the South Carolina Progressive Democrats. According to his statement, "McCray said in 1953 that 125,000 Negroes were registered in South Carolina at that time," etc. This was a greatly inflated estimate, and I am enclosing a copy of the New York Times of November 11, 1956, in which the same Mr. McCray estimates the total of Negro registrants in the state as 80,000 to 85,000. It is clear that either Mr. McCray was misquoted the first time or secured later information which caused him to revise his estimate sharply downward. Senator Johnston's statement that nobody could make a field survey of Negro registration in South Carolina's forty-six counties is absurd. In every county, there are leaders, white and Negro, who can give very nearly exact estimates of the number of Negroes registered. Our figures are admittedly estimates and they were obtained in this way.

(5) I am also enclosing a copy of an article on the Negro vote in North Carolina from the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, June 30, 1957. You will note that the writer, Mr. Chester Davis, cites as fact some instances of discrimination and gives various estimates of the state-wide total which tend to confirm the SRC's estimate of 135,000.

I hope that these points in substantiation of the Council's report will be helpful. In every case, the sources of this information are sources other than the Southern Regional Council and it might be well

to indicate this in any use the Senator cares to make of this material.

With appreciation and every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER - Regional Director - AFL-CIO - 216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Served as Labor Advisor to National War Labor Board, War Production Board, War Manpower Commission, and United States Department of Labor. Appointed by Governor Frank Clement to membership on State Citizens Advisory Committee to Tennessee Department of Public Welfare, ~~(serving currently)~~.

RUFUS E. CLEMENT - President, Atlanta University - Atlanta, Georgia

Member Atlanta Board of Education (currently serving second term). Member of Advisory Commission of the U. S. Office of Education Survey on Higher Education for Negroes. Member, NEA Committee on International Relations. Member, Board of Directors, United Negro College Fund. President, the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges. Member, Board of Governors, National U. S. O.

HERBERT M. DAVIDSON - Editor, The News-Journal - Daytona Beach, Florida

Has served as editor of The News-Journal since 1928. A past president of the Associated Dailies of Florida. A member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and an honorary member of Sigma Delta Chi, the journalistic fraternity. Served in World War II with the Overseas Division of the Office of War Information. Past Chairman, the Daytona Beach Community Chest; past Chairman of the Bethune-Cookman College Executive Committee; director of the Daytona Beach Rotary Club; member of the Schools of Journalism Committee of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association. For several years, represented the SNPA on the National Council for Education in Journalism. Past President, Unitarian Fellowship of Daytona Beach.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS - President, Morehouse College - Atlanta, Georgia

Formerly Dean of School of Religion, Howard University. Board Member, National YMCA. Board Member and past vice-president, National Council of Churches of Christ in America. Past member of the Central Committee, World Council of Churches. Member, National Committee of Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. Named "Alumnus of the Year", University of Chicago Divinity School, 1949.

HOWARD W. ODUM - Deceased

Instructor, University of Mississippi, 1905-08. Superintendent, University Summer School for Teachers, University of Georgia, 1916-1919. Director, Bureau of Home Service,

Southern Division, American Red Cross, 1918. Dean, School of Liberal Arts, Emory University, 1919-20. Kenan Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina 1920-1954. Director, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1924-44. Member and Assistant Director, President's Research Committee on Social Trends. Chief of Social Science Division, Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago. Chairman, North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration. Chairman, North Carolina Civil Works Administration. Member, North Carolina State Planning Board. President, American Sociological Society. Recipient, Catholic Conference of the South Award, 1943, Bernays Award, 1945. Author of numerous volumes of research and commentary on the Southern region.

FREDERICK D. PATTERSON - ~~President~~ Director, The Phelps-Stokes Fund - New York, N. Y.

Formerly President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. President, United Negro College Fund. Trustee, Fisk University, Bethune-Cookman College and Hampton Institute. Formerly member, Colored Work Department, National Council YMCA. Formerly, special assistant to Secretary of U. S. Department of Agriculture. A member, Board of Incorporators, American Red Cross.

EDWIN A. PENICK - ~~Retired~~ Bishop, The Episcopal Church - Raleigh, North Carolina

Served as rector of: St. Paul's Church, Bennettsville, South Carolina; Church of the Good Shepherd, Columbia, South Carolina; St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, North Carolina. Consecrated Bishop Coadjutor Diocese of North Carolina, 1922; Bishop, Diocese of North Carolina, 1932. Formerly: President, North Carolina Council of Churches; Civilian Chaplain, U. S. Army; Trustee, University of the South, St. Augustine's College, (president of board), and, President of Board of Trustees of St. Mary's School, Raleigh. President, Board of Managers, Thompson Orphanage, Charlotte, North Carolina.

EDMUND C. PETERS - Retired - Atlanta, Georgia

Taught in the public schools of Tennessee and Louisiana, serving as high school principal in latter state. Served with War Work Council of the YMCA in Far East, 1917-1920. Missionary work with Methodist Church in China, 1920-27. Married, 1920, Dr. Ethel M. Polk, a medical missionary of the Methodist Church. Elected President of Paine College, a Methodist institution, Augusta, Georgia, in 1929. Served in that position for 27 years.

MARION A. WRIGHT - Attorney - Linville Falls, North Carolina

Practiced law in Conway, South Carolina, until retirement in 1947. Past President, Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina. President, South Carolina Conference on Social Workers and South Carolina Citizens Library Movement. Chairman, South Carolina Library Board and South Carolina Commission on Adult Education. Served, by appointment of President Roosevelt, as a member of the Enemy Alien Board for South Carolina during World War II.

C
O
P
Y

UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Banking and Currency

August 26, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Office of the President
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was more than pleased to have been able to place the materials about the Southern Regional Council in the Record immediately following the attack on the organization.

I have had some personal experience with unfair attacks and I was determined to have the answers appear with the charges.

Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice. In fact, it is some reflection on the Department that it was necessary for us to turn to private groups for help, especially when that help demands such a high degree of courage on your part.

With best wishes,

Faithfully,

/s/ PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:HSL

C O P Y

(Handwritten postscript)

May God bless you and your associates for the noble work you are doing. I have always noted the pharasaical attitude of many people to lies of this character, satirized by Arthur Clough a century ago in his "modern version of the Ten Commandments."

"Bear not false witness. Let the lie
Have time on its own wings to fly."

I was in (the) chair late one night when the attack was made and resolved to nail it in its tracks and immediately left the chair and bore witness to the truth. It is possible that those who cooked up the attack did not realize I was ready to refute it. It was a happy accident that I was there.

PHD

September 18, 1957

Mr. Frank W. McCulloch
Committee on Finance
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

Thank you very very much for your work concerning the reprints in the Congressional Record. We are extremely grateful for the time you have given us concerning this material.

The proofs are in good shape with the exception of two places which are marked. One evidently is just a typo and the other is corrected information based on a later report.

Enclosed is our check for $171.70 made out to the Public Printer. I do not believe we will need extra copies but thanks for the reminder.

Again thanks for the very fine work on this project.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

September 13, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I regret that the pressure of work in the last days of the session--followed by my absence from the office for a week--delayed our action on your request for the reprints.

We have now set the wheels in motion.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the proofs. Would you be willing to read and correct these proofs and return them to me? There are quite a few figures and names in them, and I am sure that proof-reading by some one of you who is familiar with the material will be most helpful in eliminating any errors that may have crept into your own original copy or into the Printing Office's transcription of your material.

Since the material you wanted reprinted did not fill up more than 5 1/3 of the 8 pages, I asked the Printer, at a $7-8 extra cost, to "lead it out" so that it would be more readable. I hope you will feel that was worthwhile, but if not I'll pay the extra myself.

Yes FBR.

As soon as you return the proof, we shall have the order run off. Do you wish all the copies delivered to you in Atlanta? I believe the bill currently comes to $171.70. Checks should be made to the Public Printer. If you wish any added copies, it is of course cheaper to include them in the original order, rather than re-order later. I do not mean to press the time of payment but when you do make it, the check has to go through the office of the Member ordering the reprint.

Please let me know if you have any questions or suggestions.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Frank W. McCulloch

Frank W. McCulloch

FWM:ems enc.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Paul H. Douglas (U.S. Senator)

REGARDING;
Article carrying complete text -
Award for meritorious public service

DATE:

November 12, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

The Sidney Hillman Foundation

November 25, 1957

Mr. Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

Thank you for your letter of November 22, 1957. I am sorry we have not mailed you copies of this material, however, I think your office has seen most of this material in one form or the other.

We are mailing you, under separate cover, two copies of the report on voting.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lea

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Congress of the United States

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BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.

JOHN W. LEHMAN, CLERK

November 22, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I believe we have been remiss in not following up a newspaper account of a recent report issued by the Council. On reading about it, I felt it would be useful to us, and I wonder if you would send us a copy. From the news account, I gathered this is more recent material than the earlier report on Negro voting which you were kind enough to send us previously.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Frank W. McCulloch

Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas

FWM/es

HCF copy

File - Sen. Douglas

Materials sent at request of Mr. McCulloch April 14, '58

* Mr. Das Kelly Barnett (white)
Associate Professor of Christian Ethics
Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest
Austin, Texas

Mrs. J. A. Burt (white - church woman)
1815 Enterprise
Jackson, Mississippi

* Dean Merrimon Cunninggim (white)
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Mr. N. J. Demerath, Director (white - formerly from NC)
Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

* Dr. A. W. Dent (Negro)
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Albert Foley (white - Jesuit)
Department of Social Science
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

* Dr. Lewis Killian (white)
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

The Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D. (white)
Archbishop of San Antonio
230 Dwyer Avenue
San Antonio, Texas

Dr. Charles H. Parrish (Negro)
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dr. Rupert Picott (Negro)
Virginia Teachers Association
316 E. Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

*Mr. Lucius Pitts (Negro)
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
201 Ashby Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Jean Russell (white church woman)
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Mrs. Candler Tatum (white church woman)
2422 Fifteenth Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

*Dean Chester Travelstead (white - formerly from U-S.C.)
School of Education
University of New Mexico
Albequerque, New Mexico

Father L. J. Twomey, S.J. (white)
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Mrs. Bonita Valien (Negro Educator)
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

*Mr. John Wheeler (Negro - Banker & Lawyer)
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox (white church woman)
2205 Old Knoxville Highway
Marysville, Tennessee

Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson, Sr. (white church woman)
Route 3
Laurens, South Carolina

Mr. Thomas Young (Negro)
Editor and Publisher
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

State Superintendents:

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Superintendent of Public Instruction
Department of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dr. Robert Martin
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dr. W. W. Trent
Superintendent of Schools
Department of Education
Charleston, West Virginia

Dr. Hubert Wheeler
Commissioner
Board of Education
Jefferson City, Missouri

file Sent to Sen. Douglas' office 4/14/58

Mr. Das Kelly Barnett
Associate Professor of Christian Ethics
Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest
Austin, Texas

Mrs. J. A. Burt
1815 Enterprise
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Merrimon Cunninggim
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Mr. N. J. Demereth, Director
Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dr. A. W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Albert Foley
Department of Social Science
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Dr. Lewis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

The Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D.
Archbishop of San Antonio
230 Dwyer Avenue
San Antonio, Texas

Dr. Charles H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dr. Rupert Picott
Virginia Teachers Association
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Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
201 Ashby Street, N.W.
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824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Mrs. Candler Tatum
2422 Fifteenth Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dean Chester Travelstead
School of Education
University of New Mexico
Albequerque, New Mexico

Father L. J. Twomey, S.J.
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Mrs. Bonita Valien
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Mr. John Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox
2205 Old Knoxville Highway
Marysville, Tennessee

Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson, Sr.
Route 3
Laurens, South Carolina

Mr. Thomas Young
Editor and Publisher
Journal and Guide
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State Superintendents:

Dr. Oliver Hodge
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Department of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dr. Robert Martin
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dr. W. W. Trent
Superintendent of Schools
Department of Education
Charleston, West Virginia

Dr. Hubert Wheeler
Commissioner
Board of Education
Jefferson City, Missouri

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

3/24

Harold Fleming

A few more copies available, if you want them

Cong Rec reprint of 1958 Douglas's bill

Art Levin

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Call MBA -

Picotte ✓
Pitts ✓
John Wheeler ✓
Twomey + Lucey + Foley ✓
See Tilly re: Wilcox
Jean Russell ✓
Nick Demerath ✓
Lewis Killian ✓
Bonita Valien ✓
Al Dent ✓
Dean Cunningham ✓
D. Kelly Barnett ✓
CHP ✓
Thos Young
School Supt - State

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

Mrs. Ralph Wilson mtg. S.C. Lanier ✓

Mrs. Candler Tatum mtg - B'ham ✓

Mrs. Wilcox mtg Knoxville ✓

Mrs J.A. Brent mtg ✓ Jax. Miss ✓

Mrs. Nashville ✓

Mr. Jean Russell Phy ✓

Memo TR-2-2951

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Call —
Mon or Tues.

> Paul D. Wms.
* > Marion A. Wright
? > A. C. Miller
? Jacobs Redding —
> J. M. Richards
> Benj Mays
> Harry V. Richardson
Luther Foster
C. G. Gomillion
Miss Josephine Wilkins

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Lafayette Harris
Harry Golden -
* Paul Christopher
Clement -
State Edwards —
border State
Welbon James
Wilma Stokely
Gallagher -
? Claibourne? -

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

M L King Jr. *

Catholic priests -

Dean of Educ SC

* Bishop Lowitt

" Marmion -

Thomas Pettigrew -
address

Church women -

J. M. Dabbs -

Harry Ashmore -

Fisher
Hickey } School supt

[Carmichael]

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

The Civil Rights Act of 1958—Both National and International Developments Give A New Urgency to Need For this Legislation

SPEECH AND EXHIBITS

BY

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 10, 1958

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the senior Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER], the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the junior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. CARROLL], the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill entitled "Civil Rights Act of 1958," and I ask that it may be printed in the body of the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD, as requested by the Senator from Illinois.

(See exhibit No. 1.)

The bill (S. 3257) to effectuate and enforce the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DOUGLAS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed at the conclusion of the printing of the bill an article from the Christian Century for February 5, 1958, entitled "Protestantism Speaks on Justice and Integration."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit No. 2.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the measure which a group of my colleagues and I have just introduced is a bill to give effect to the constitutional guaranties, under the 14th amendment, of equal protection of the laws.

We should never forget that the 14th amendment provided that all persons who were either born or naturalized in the United States were citizens both of the United States and of the State in which they live. No differentiation was provided between these citizens—all were presumed to be of equal value and to possess equal rights. No categories of first- and second-class citizenship were set up.

This amendment also went on to declare that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. These provisions are an organic part of the fundamental law of the land.

The Supreme Court is the body which under the Constitution is charged with the interpretation of that document. It has done so in the case of the 14th amendment.

While I shall not question the good faith of anyone, I had always thought that citizens should seek to obey the Constitution and laws as thus interpreted, even as they might seek to change them. If individuals can assume the right to decide for themselves which laws they will obey and which they will disobey, utter chaos is introduced into our lives. Sections and groups will feel justified in disregarding laws which clash with their interests, and the Union as we know it will break up.

Most of us do not want to see this happen. With charity toward all and malice toward none, should we not push on to put substance behind this amendment and not permit it to be nullified or violated?

That is the purpose of this proposed legislation, to extend full first-class citizenship and equality of opportunity to all of our Negro and Spanish-speaking citizens.

Twice in the past 2 years the House of Representatives by large majorities has adopted provisions to protect these basic rights under the 14th amendment. Forty-one Members of the Senate in 1957 voted or announced their position against stripping that section from the civil rights bill. Other Senators expressed their deep interest in the rights involved, though opposing the specific provisions to protect them in part III of that bill. Clearly this is a major item in the unfinished business of the country and the Congress.

The sponsors of this legislation believe they have greatly improved and clarified the proposed methods for giving effect to these rights. We offer the bill now in order that Congress and the executive branch may take their rightful places alongside the Supreme Court to help end the denials of equal justice on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

A CONSTRUCTIVE NEW APPROACH TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In the area of public education, where the rights of Negro citizens, and in the Southwest of Spanish-speaking citizens, are being most stoutly contested today, this measure embodies a new approach to the safeguarding of their constitutional rights.

It provides for technical assistance—at a cost of $2.5 million a year for 5 years—

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financial grants—in the amount of $40 million a year for 5 years—and administrative procedures to help local governments to put into successful operation plans for desegregation.

Thus, it would foster compliance with the Constitution and the historic decisions of the Supreme Court by offering the best available technical information, conciliation, encouragement, financial aid, and desegregation planning, with due regard for the court's orders concerning deliberate speed.

It recognizes the responsibility of the Federal Government for the impact which the Court's decisions have on local educational policies which were based on a different concept of the law. It would hold out the helping hand of the National Government, therefore, to those communities in all sections of the country which are trying or will try to end racial segregation in their public school systems.

We believe this is a constructive approach to one of our most basic and complex national issues. By enacting it, we believe the Congress can help to broaden the emphasis from a succession of hotly contested legal battles—essential as they are—to a new succession of cooperative and effective community efforts to remove the barriers to equal treatment in our public schools.

It is there in the communities in the last analysis that these problems must be worked out. If we can thus help to bring the finest educational, social and moral—as well as legal—insights to bear upon the issue in one locality after another, it should immeasurably strengthen the Nation's foundation of law and order, respect for human dignity, and active good will.

ENLARGED PREVENTIVE REMEDIES

At the same time this bill provides authority for the Attorney General to bring preventive actions in equal protection cases generally, as well as in public-school cases. The legal remedies against violations of important constitutional rights would thus be enlarged, as was attempted in part III which was stricken from last year's civil rights bill, only by provisions this time which are much clearer.

The mounting difficulties under some State laws for private individuals to receive the required help as they seek legal protection for their rights, we believe, make this Government assistance essential. Our system of law and justice requires that the door to the courts shall not be barred against the redress of unlawful grievances and the settlement of controversies over constitutional rights.

If anyone be in doubt as to the laws I am referring to, these remarks are pointed at the so-called antibarratry laws of a growing group of States in the South, which tend to make it a penal offense for anyone to offer money or legal assistance for court actions to the interested parties, such as the parent of a child whose constitutional rights, in the opinion of the parent, are being violated.

Here again it should be emphasized that the primary aim of these provisions in the proposed legislation is preventive, not punitive.

COMPLIANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION AND THE DESEGREGATION DECISONS

The preambles to the bill include, among their important findings, that the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court express the moral ideals of the Nation and point the way to a Nation enhanced in strength and dignity at home and enhanced in honor and prestige throughout the world.

We stand firmly behind the Supreme Court, and we believe that the attempts to disparage the Court because of its decisions in this and certain other matters are not founded upon a full understanding of American principles. We believe it is proper for Congress and for the public opinion of the Nation to stand behind the Supreme Court in these matters.

The findings likewise point out the importance of our recognizing more generally that "the Constitution, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, is the supreme law of the land."

Upon these clear principles and the express power given to Congress in the 5th section of the 14th amendment, the positive provisions of the bill to foster compliance with the Constitution and the Court's desegregation decisions are based.

THE SPIRIT IN WHICH WE HOPE THIS MEASURE MAY BE CONSIDERED AND APPROVED

In a notable speech to the patent bar in New York last year, Chief Judge John J. Parker of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, a native of North Carolina and a distinguished southerner, expressed something of the spirit in which we hope this measure may be considered and approved. He said, in part:

> What is it that really makes America great—greater than any other nation that has ever existed? It is not the strength of the Army or Navy or Air Force. It is not the wealth of field or forest or mine or factory. It is not the splendor of her cities or the culture of her colleges and universities. It is that in her heart of hearts she believes in the sovereignty of the individual soul and the open door of opportunity for every man without regard to race or creed or color or any other circumstance. * * *
>
> At the head of the judicial system stands the Supreme Court of the United States, and the decisions of that Court must be accepted as to the meaning of the Constitution. You can't have even a baseball game without an umpire to interpret and apply the rules, and you can't have constitutional government without the authority somewhere to interpret and apply the Constitution. Final authority to do this is vested in the Supreme Court, whose duty it is to apply the great general principles of government which the Constitution embodies to the changing conditions of the times, with power on its part to overrule even its own prior decisions, when in the light of better understanding or changed conditions they are deemed by it to be erroneous.
>
> If liberty is to continue to live in America, these constitutional principles must be preserved. * * *
>
> And no man must be prejudiced by reason of race or color or creed in his standing before the law or in his enjoyment of benefits conferred by the State.

I think it was 28 years ago that Judge Parker was nominated for membership on the Supreme Court of the United States. The confirmation of his appointment was defeated by the so-called liberal bloc in the Senate. Had I been a member of that liberal bloc then, I probably would have voted as they did. But with the passage of time, I think it has now become apparent that the defeat of Judge Parker was a great mistake, and that Judge Parker has gone on to a distinguished career in the 4th Circuit, which entitles him to the respect and admiration of the people everywhere.

I think that is a caution, probably, to those of us who may be tempted upon occasion to reject nominations, to reflect that the passage of time reveals qualities of which we may not be fully aware at the moment.

THE URGENT NEED FOR POSITIVE ACTION

Both national and international developments give a new urgency to the need for this legislation.

It is over 3½ years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in public schools is a denial of equal opportunity and violates the 14th amendment. It is over 2½ years since the final order of the Court was entered in those cases, providing that the principles be applied

with practical flexibility, but with all deliberate speed. And earlier decisions ordering the admission of Negroes to State universities had foreshadowed these decisions of 1954 and 1955 for a number of years.

Substantial progress toward compliance has been made since then in a number of border States. Token progress has been made in the elementary and high schools of some other States and in universities and colleges of most States.

But strong resistance is still effective in a group of at least seven so-called hard-core Southern States.

The Southern School News estimated in January that there is desegregation in only 762 out of 3,008 biracial districts in the 17 Southern and border States.

That publication also noted that more than 140 State legislative measures have been enacted since 1954 in an effort to preserve segregation. Outright nullification statutes, pupil placement schemes, provisions to close or withdraw all State funds from any school which is desegregated, support for a "private school" system if necessary, criminal penalties for spending tax moneys on desegregated schools, loss of retirement benefits for failure by State officials to enforce State laws requiring segregation, power to suspend compulsory attendance laws, and interposition statutes are some of the devices adopted.

Such restrictive statutes have not been confined to the field of education. They have also been passed to preserve racial segregation in transportation and recreational facilities, to restrict Negro registration and voting, to harass the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations active in this field. And new proposals are reported frequently in the daily press.

Mr. J. Francis Polhaus, formerly on the staff of the Department of Justice, and now counsel for the Washington bureau of the NAACP, has compiled from responsible southern sources a brief summary and comment on more than 100 of the laws, resolutions, ordinances, and State administrative policies being used to thwart the Court's decisions. To demonstrate the nature and seriousness of this problem, I ask unanimous consent that the compilation be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. These State actions should be carefully studied, for I believe they indicate the necessity for affirmative action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit No. 3.)

PROBLEM IS NATIONAL, NOT SECTIONAL

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it is not the Southern and border States alone that have desegregation problems. We in the North must frankly concede, as I have previously in the Senate, that while our education laws are rather uniformly in accord with the Constitution, some communities in our States also err. De facto segregation based on school districting and discrimination against Negro teachers are reported in many northern areas; and the transition to desegregation is not always orderly or peaceful there, either.

The problem is truly national in scope, although it is most severe in the South, where the Negro population is a greater proportion of the total and where old educational patterns are more deeply set. The Court has spoken to all sections of our Nation, including the States we represent.

REASONED, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WILL FOSTER COMPLIANCE AND LAW AND ORDER

The rate of the extension of desegregation has now perceptibly slowed. Although this is understandable as the areas of easier adjustment to the law complete their action, an embittered resistance can lead—and, indeed, already has led—to tragic outbreaks and lawlessness, unless wise, reasonable, and affirmative leadership is offered.

With the filing of new school suits to end racial segregation in Georgia, the New York Times southern correspondent, John N. Popham, reported 3 weeks ago:

> The immediate short-run impact is certain to be one of turbulence, new tensions, oratory, and proposals for new and more stringent resistance legislation.

The United States District Court which recently knocked out three laws aimed at the NAACP, referred to "the situation in Virginia, where the attitude of the public authorities openly encourages opposition to the law of the land, which may easily find expression in disturbances of public peace."

Those who have a deep regard for human justice, for law and order, and for our national strength therefore cannot remain passive in the face of these active threats to orderly government and to America's prestige abroad. While the forces of resistance are heating up, and also are seeking to stifle all opposition, it is no time for those who would maintain law and order to lapse into the inertia of a cooling off period.

There is surely a better way to approach the problems of desegregation than the way used last fall in Arkansas. A sensitive report of that situation, made by a Little Rock pastor, Rev. Robert S. Cartwright, as published in the Christian Century of October 9, 1957, points to some of the helpful lessons to be learned from their regrettable experience, as contrasted with the orderly transition in Louisville, where the community marshaled its resources with great care and foresight. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Century for October 9, 1957]

LESSON FROM LITTLE ROCK

(By Colbert S. Cartwright)

(NOTE CONCERNING AUTHOR.—Colbert S. Cartwright has been pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church in Little Rock, Ark., since 1954. Before that he served a 4-year pastorate in Lynchburg, Va. A son of Editor Lin D. Cartwright of the Christian Evangelist, he grew up in the South, graduated from Washington University and Yale University divinity school. Mr. Cartwright is president of the Arkansas council on human relations, a member of the board of the Southern Regional Council, and chairman of the social education and action committee of the Arkansas Christian Missionary Society.)

On the day that Arkansas National Guardsmen first formed a cordon around Little Rock's Central High School to block the entry of nine Negro students, a Lutheran pastor had occasion to make a sick call at a house across from the school. As he walked past a rocket launcher partially blocking the street, he asked one of the guardsmen if he thought such heavy weapons were necessary.

"If you'll pardon the expression, sir," was the reply, "I feel like a damned fool—protecting 2,000 white high-school students from 9 colored students."

There are many aspects of the Little Rock school crisis which can only be termed foolish—regardless of one's choice of theological modifiers. However, behind Gov. Orval E. Faubus' action lie facets of the Little Rock school problem which are in danger of being overlooked. It will be tragic if the Nation sees nothing more at Little Rock than a picture of Faubus' folly.

Others Share Responsibility

The Little Rock school board and Superintendent Virgil Blossom must share responsibility for the Little Rock debacle. Their whole approach to the task of making a transition from a dual to an integrated school system unwittingly invited the drastic action which Governor Faubus took on September 2 when he called out the National Guard.

It has been Faubus' contention that the Little Rock community "is not in the condition to have integration at the moment." This is a judgment impossible to prove or disprove. Many observers are convinced that the transition would have been made with a minimum of trouble if the Governor had not interfered. There are other persons of both races who have watched with growing alarm the school board's development of an approach to the problem which disregarded everything experience has taught about human nature.

The Arkansas Gazette summarized that approach accurately: "(1) The Little Rock plan of integration was voluntarily evolved by the Little Rock School Board over a period of 3 years. It was a legal design intended to accomplish the minimum integration over the longest period of time permissible under the Supreme Court ruling. (2) The plan was presented to the people of Little Rock in these terms and fully explained. School Superintendent Virgil Blossom himself made an estimated 200 speeches in this 3-year period setting forth the plan in detail to interested white and colored parent groups."

The general attitude of Dr. Blossom in explaining the plans for integration to white groups was that the prospect was as distasteful to him and the school board as to anyone else. His argument rested solely on the fact that the school board knew no way to get around the Supreme Court decision. He emphasized the wisdom of the school board's designing its own deliberate program to avoid having to take a faster route if a Federal district court should delineate a plan. The superintendent explained the plan to anyone who would listen. He asked help from no one.

The Louisville Approach

This approach to preparing the community for the mingling of the races in public schools revealed no awareness of the lessons taught by troublesome Clinton, Tenn., or peaceful Louisville, Ky. Superintendent Omer Carmichael, of Louisville, has said that one thing was plain to him from the beginning: Preparation for so radical a change has little hope of success unless it is a communitywide program. In the Louisville story he explains the manner in which he sought to involve the whole community in a discussion of desegregation. He solicited help from parent-teacher associations, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, churches and church-related groups, women's clubs, civic groups, and other organizations. He secured the cooperation of radio stations and disseminated literature on race relations. As the whole Louisville community became involved in thinking about race relations, the problem was seen not only from the legal but from the moral, social, and psychological points of view.

It is significant that the hindsight of the people of Clinton points to the wisdom of the Louisville approach. Looking backward, Mayor W. E. Lewallen said: "We thought we had done enough when we set up a sort of committee and talked the situation over with some of the civic clubs and leaders. We were wrong." He observed that events have scuttled the old southern maxim that the less said about race relations the better.

No Consultation on the Proposal

In relationship to the community, the Little Rock School Board has consistently taken an autocratic approach. Carefully avoiding consultation with either Negro or white patrons, the board on May 24, 1955, announced to the public a plan of gradual integration under which high-school-level grades would be desegregated probably in September 1957. If all went well, integration would follow in the other grades over a period of approximately 6 years. Since no one had been consulted, many persons questioned the plan. Many Negroes wanted a faster plan; many white persons wanted no plan at all. Interested citizens, both Negro and white, went to Dr. Blossom with questions. When any point of the plan was questioned there was only one reaction—a defensive bristling.

Five months after the plan was announced the Arkansas Council on Human Relations convened a meeting at Little Rock at which Dr. Blossom explained his plan. Irene Osborne, who had been working in Washington, D. C., to marshal community support for the school desegregation program there, spoke on the importance of community relations in making the transition. Dr. Blossom exhibited open hostility toward the approach she suggested.

Ministers' Help Not Sought

In December 1955, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Greater Little Rock, composed of Negro ministers, asked the school board to appoint an advisory committee, which would include Negroes, to work in the direction of racial integration in the schools. The board not only declined, but refused to suggest any alternate way in which the Little Rock community might help in paving the way to a smoother transition. At about the same time, Dr. Blossom presented the plan of gradual integration to the Greater Little Rock Ministerial Alliance, composed of white ministers. The plan was received with general enthusiasm. But when the alliance suggested that it endorse the plan officially and publicly, Dr. Blossom urged it not to do so. To the present time he has not sought the help of ministers of either race in preparing the community for the board's plan of integration.

During the 1955–56 school year professional educators in Little Rock became concerned because no preparation was being given high-school teachers for the new problems they would face when integration came. They suggested to Dr. Blossom that informal meetings of teachers be arranged to discuss such problems. He did not think well of the suggestion, and at no time has he sought to help teachers face their own prejudices or to provide them with guidance in dealing with problems of group dynamics.

At a luncheon meeting on October 12, 1956, Robert Snyder, for 3 years chairman of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, explained to a number of Little Rock civic leaders the way in which 85 organizations in his city worked to help the schools meet the problem of school desegregation. Dr. Blossom was present, but indicated no interest in gaining such support from Little Rock agencies. On March 11, 1957, he explained the school board's plan to the community council, a group made up of representatives from all metropolitan area organizations and agencies concerned for civil betterment. Although he did not emphasize the need for preparing the community for school integration, he did state for the first time publicly that he would call on the various groups to help prepare the community. He did not say when. To date their help has not been requested.

Increasing Uneasiness

During the past summer the Negro community grew uneasy as it saw the Little Rock School Board doing all within its power to discourage Negro pupils from entering the previously all-white high school. A group of concerned Negroes went to Dr. Blossom with a complaint. He admitted that screening had been taking place, but defended it as being in the best interests of all. The Negroes suggested that it might be well if some channel of communication could be established between him and the Negro community. He readily agreed that it would be a good idea to have a committee which could help interpret to the Negro community what the school board was trying to do, and said he would call on the group the next week to work out details. But he never called. Throughout the summer months persons of both races, deeply concerned for the problems of human relations, became increasingly disturbed as they realized that the social forces of Little Rock were not being marshaled to aid in a smooth transition to integration. No one knew what might happen. There might be trouble, for which no one was ready.

Had the school board developed adequate plans with law enforcement officials for every eventuality? Several prominent Little Rock citizens investigated the possibility of bringing to the city a law-enforcement official nationally known as an expert in the field of police-community relations to counsel quietly with local officials. When Dr. Blossom was approached on the possibility, he replied that he had adequately studied the problem and needed no outside help.

The Governor To the Rescue

Governor Faubus' decision on September 2 to call out the troops and to block integration was the natural outcome of every step the Little Rock School Board had taken. It had insisted all along that the only reason the schools were being integrated was that the Federal Government was forcing it to do so. It had consistently refused to seek the

help of the community in gaining moral support for its reluctant step. Then the Governor in shining armor came to the rescue. He said the school board did not need to integrate, that since the community was not prepared for integration there would be violence. He would call out the militia as the "preservator of the peace."

Dr. Blossom, the school board and Little Rock's leading citizens were stunned by Faubus' unprecedented actions. They did not want the Governor to interfere. Knowing that some racial mixing in the public schools is inevitable, they would prefer to have it come about peacefully and on their own terms. What they failed to consider was that their whole approach had played directly into the hands of the members of white citizens councils. Having sought to prepare the community solely upon a legalistic basis, they had no defense when the Governor, prompted by rabid segregationists in Little Rock, insisted he had found the needed loophole.

Three days after the Governor ordered his troops to prevent integration in the name of States rights, the school board found itself in the position of being on the Governor's side. It went to Federal court and petitioned the judge to suspend temporarily the plan of integration. This was exactly what the Governor and his white citizens council cohorts were pleading for. The school board's house of cards had fully collapsed. Citizens who had agreed to compliance if there was no other way out now took fresh hope in the Governor's action and the school board's acquiescence. Little Rock became sharply divided.

Arguments among Little Rock citizens will continue for years as to whether Governor Faubus got a square deal in Federal court. Few will question why the problem arose in the first place. Fewer still will be aware of the responsibility the school board must share for the ridiculous situation which arose.

The experiences of Washington, Louisville, and Clinton all point to the fact that transition, difficult at best, can come about only if all the resources of the community are marshaled to help. They have taught that the moral and social psychological aspects of the problem must be adequately considered. Little Rock tried a different path. On September 2 it was confronted with a "dead end" sign. It is still a question whether the school board can read the sign.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, we know that these outbreaks, whether in Illinois or Arkansas, in Pennsylvania or Alabama, are blazoned around the globe.

We can, perhaps, repair some of the damage done by them to our standing in the free world—and especially in the eyes of the uncommitted colored peoples of other continents—if we now move with wisdom, understanding, and assurance to foster equality of opportunity. That is the aim of this bill, and will be its effect, I believe, if and when it is enacted.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF BILL'S PROVISIONS

A. CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS FOR EQUAL TREATMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Through authority conferred upon the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the bill will furnish to the officials and private citizens of good will in all parts of the country the tools with which to accelerate in our public schools the growth of equal treatment for all of our citizens, without regard to race.

Title II

This title authorizes the Secretary to assist, through the compilation and distribution of data, the making of surveys, the arrangement of conferences, the appointment of advisory councils, the provision of specialists' services, and the development of community understanding for desegregation programs that are in harmony with the Constitution. Appropriations up to $2.5 million a year for 5 years are authorized for these purposes.

Title III

This title authorizes the Secretary to make grants for school facilities in areas where the chief problem preventing or hindering effective compliance is the lack of adequate buildings or other physical equipment.

It also authorizes grants for employing additional teachers, in-service teacher training, employment of specialists, short-term training courses, and other additional educational measures undertaken to eliminate segregation, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered.

Funds would also be available to local communities that wish to comply with the Court's decisions, but where, as in Georgia and Virginia, the State threatens to cut off funds or close the schools.

Appropriations of not more than $40 million a year for 5 years are authorized to cover the costs of the grant programs.

Title IV

The bill further provides in title IV that when other methods fail, the executive branch of Government, acting through the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall assume responsibility for initiating the development of desegregation plans to accomplish the objectives of the Court's decisions. In the development of both the tentative and approved plans, however, there are express provisions for the fullest possible local consultation and participation.

The responsibility to go forward in a situation in which officials are hostile is now almost entirely in the hands of private individuals and organizations. Experience has shown that this problem will not become any less troublesome if we countenance the resulting delay.

B. FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN LEGAL REMEDIES, TITLES V AND VI

The bill also provides for Federal assistance in legal remedies under titles V and VI.

In the history of America's advance toward equal justice, court proceedings have been the means of making many of our greatest forward steps. They are still an indispensable part of our protections against racial discriminations.

A growing group of States, however, have passed so-called antibarratry laws which make it much more difficult for civil-rights groups or others to assist persons in bringing or maintaining lawsuits for the vindication of their civil rights. Other forms of pressure—such as organized boycotts, threats, and intimidation—have also been used to deter such legal actions.

Since the persons who are denied their rights to equal protection are more often than not poor persons, unable alone to sustain the heavy costs of litigation, and more subject than others to hostile pressures, these laws and pressures will increasingly padlock out of court the Negroes and also the Spanish-speaking Americans of the Southwest in their efforts to maintain suits to carry out the law of the land.

To meet this situation, the proposed legislation would authorize the Attorney General of the United States to start civil actions for preventive relief against those who deprive persons of their rights to equal protection of the laws, on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

This authority is much like that provided in part III of last year's bill H. R. 6127, and in the 1956 measure, H. R. 627. As I have said, on two occasions it was overwhelmingly approved by the House. The authority is more explicitly and clearly set forth here, however, in titles V and VI.

Title V confers the power to file compliance actions in school cases in connection with approved desegregation plans, when the Secretary certifies that all efforts to secure compliance by con-

ciliation, assistance, and otherwise have failed.

Title VI first authorizes preventive action against those State and local officials and others acting under color of State law in cases involving denial of equal protection generally, including school cases, by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin; but it provides that the Attorney General may sue only upon a signed complaint, and when, in his judgment, the person aggrieved is unable to seek effective legal protection for himself—section 601.

Suits are also authorized by the Attorney General against those who attempt to prevent local officials from according persons equal protection of the laws, or who act to hinder the execution of court orders for equal protection—section 602. Action to deprive persons of their rights under the 14th amendment because such persons are opposing denial of the rights of others, is also made a basis for legal action by the Attorney General—section 603. In addition, the Attorney General is explicitly authorized to intervene in cases brought by others for relief against the denial of equal protection of the laws, because of race, color, religion, or national origin—section 604.

Thus, in the field of legal remedies, also, this measure would extend a significant helping hand of the National Government to the safeguarding of constitutional rights.

FURTHER LEGISLATION IS ESSENTIAL

Mr. President, in 1957, Congress ended a stalemate of over 80 years, and passed a civil-rights bill primarily designed to protect the right to vote. This is a substantial advance, and can lead to others, as citizens previously barred exercise this basic right to choose their representatives and officials in Government.

Some urge this as a reason for delaying the proposal or consideration of additional legislation now.

But the indignities of racial segregation and discrimination still continue and cannot be ignored. We know that in schools, on buses, in public recreation areas, and in many other places, our Negro and Spanish-speaking citizens find themselves barred from equal opportunity.

We know that these incidents in our schools are not only personal affronts and tragedies for those excluded, checking their full individual development and handicapping them in the race of life. We know that the exclusions also deprive the Nation of their full contribution to society, at a time when we are belatedly discovering that maximum educational effort is essential to national security.

We know too that these failures gravely damage our moral position before the world.

In a situation where such basic human rights are involved and in a world contest in which freedom itself is at stake, we cannot afford the luxury of indifference or inaction. To drift in the uncertain currents of skillfully promoted resistance to the lawful decisions of the highest court in the land, is to run the risk of defeat of all we hold dear.

Without self-righteousness, men of good will in communities across the country and in Congress are called to resume the forward march begun last year. By doing so, we shall add moral authority to material strength. We shall better pass the inspection of our own consciences and of the watching eyes of a world of men determined to have and to enjoy freedom and equality of opportunity. We are mindful of the problems which we face, and no one should underestimate them, but they are less than those created by our failure to act.

These are some of the reasons why the sponsors of this legislation urge that it be given careful study, prompt hearings and early approval by Congress.

The period of time for which appropriations are authorized for the new powers given to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in this bill is 5 years. Within that time will occur the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. If we can set in motion now the procedures that will take this country far along the road to equal justice for all its citizens, that centennial can mark another historic milestone in the progress of freedom.

TEXT OF THE BILL (S. 3257)

The bill (S. 3257) to effectuate and enforce the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DOUGLAS (for himself and other Senators) is as follows:

EXHIBIT 1

Be it enacted, etc.,

Title I. Short Title and Findings

SECTION 101. This act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1958".

SEC. 102. (a) The Congress hereby finds that:

(1) recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States holding racial segregation unlawful in public education, public transportation, and public recreational facilities (hereinafter referred to as the antisegregation decisions) as a denial of the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws express the moral ideals of the Nation and the world and point the way to a Nation enhanced in strength and dignity at home and enhanced in honor and prestige throughout the world,

(2) these antisegregation decisions are being resisted in many areas of the Nation most directly affected by them and indirectly evaded in other areas, thereby denying to millions of Americans within our borders the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws,

(3) many States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units have failed to make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions in the field of public education despite the substantial time which has already elapsed since the promulgation of those decisions in 1954 and 1955,

(4) the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws is being denied to many persons because of race, color, religion, or national origin in fields other than education, transportation, and recreation,

(5) these denials of the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws restrict millions of Americans to second-class citizenship and deprive the Nation of the maximum development and maximum benefits that can be contributed by such persons, and

(6) legislative and executive action (A) is necessary to safeguard and guarantee to all Americans the constitutional right to equal protection of the laws and (B) will aid in expediting universal compliance with the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court.

(b) The Congress further finds that the rights protected by the Constitution, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, will be more widely accepted and more fully enjoyed in all areas of the Nation, and particularly in those areas of the Nation most directly affected by the decisions, when it is generally recognized and understood that—

(1) the Constitution, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, is the supreme law of the land,

(2) all Federal and State officials are bound by their oaths or affirmations to support the Constitution, and

(3) the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government are acting and will continue to act, with such Federal authority as is found necessary, to protect the constitutional rights upheld by those decisions of the judicial branch of the Government.

(c) The Congress further finds that:

(1) The present system whereby individual plaintiffs in the Federal courts bear the burden of protecting constitutional rights, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, is neither the exclusive nor the most effective means of protecting those constitutional rights and the public interest in safeguarding those constitutional rights, and has resulted in local restrictive and punitive measures against the individuals and organizations engaging in, and supporting, efforts in the courts to assert those contitutional rights; and

(2) Specific authorization to the executive branch of the Federal Government to act in support of the constitutional rights upheld by the antisegregation decisions (A) will provide a more rational, uniform, just, and effective system of protecting constitutional rights than the present procedure under which the safeguarding of constitutional rights is determined by the varying resources and courage of individuals and organizations

and by the varying State statutory restrictions placed upon them, and (B) will render less effective, and hence tend to reduce, hostile community pressures upon individuals and organizations seeking to safeguard constitutional rights.

(d) The Congress hereby recognizes it to be the initial responsibility of all States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to safeguard the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws as declared by the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court and to administer their systems of public education, public transportation, and public recreational facilities in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, but the Federal Government, to maintain a more perfect union, to extend justice, to promote the common defense, and to secure the blessings of liberty to all persons, has a coordinate responsibility to guarantee the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, to prevent denials of the right when State or local authorities cannot or will not do so, and thus to enhance the Nation's internal strength and its position throughout the world.

(e) Recognizing its authority and responsibility under the 5th section of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States and its obligation to uphold the coordinate authority and responsibility of the judicial branch of the Government, the Congress hereby declares its intention that the right to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution against deprivation by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and affirmed by the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court, shall be protected by all due and reasonable means, and to that end enacts the following provisions of this act.

Title II. Technical Assistance by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

SEC. 201. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereafter in this act referred to as the "Secretary") is hereby authorized to render technical assistance to States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to eliminate denials of constitutional rights in the field of public education by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and to come into compliance with the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of public education by—

(a) assembling, publishing, and distributing information which, in his judgment, will prove helpful in obtaining public understanding of, and compliance with, the Constitution and decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of public education;

(b) surveying the progress made in eliminating segregation in public education in various parts of the country and making available to public agencies, private organizations, private individuals, and the general public the results of such surveys, including wherever possible successful case histories of desegregation and the ways and means utilized to bring about desegregation in such instances;

(c) planning, calling, and holding local, State, regional, and national conferences attended by State and local officials, representatives of private organizations, and private citizens, to discuss ways and means of eliminating segregation in public education generally or in any particular State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit;

(d) appointing local, State, regional and national advisory councils to assist the Secretary in carrying out his duties under this act and to offer their assistance to any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit to come into compliance with the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of public education;

(e) reporting to the Congress, at least semiannually, concerning the progress being made in eliminating segregation in public education in various parts of the country; and

(f) assisting, by such other related means as he deems appropriate, States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to eliminate segregation in public education.

SEC. 202. The Secretary shall recruit, employ, and train specialists in preparing, putting into effect, and carrying out plans for eliminating segregation in public education and shall offer the services of the specialists to States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units. Upon request of any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, the Secretary shall make available to the requesting governmental unit the services of one or more specialists for such periods of time and in such numbers as the Secretary deems necessary and appropriate in the light of the particular needs of the requesting governmental unit.

SEC. 203. (a) The Secretary is authorized to reimburse any State or local official, representative of a private organization, or private citizen who is invited by him to attend any local, State, regional, or national conference held under the authority of section 201 (c), and any member of an advisory council appointed under the authority of section 201 (d) who is carrying out authorized functions, for travel expenses incurred, and to pay to any such person per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same amounts as authorized by law (5 U. S. C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service serving without compensation.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to reimburse any State or local official who, with the approval of the Secretary, is invited to confer with one or more specialists employed by the Secretary under section 202 for travel expenses incurred in attending such conference, and to pay to any such official per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same amounts as authorized by law (5 U. S. C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service serving without compensation.

SEC. 204. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1958, and for each of the 4 suceeding fiscal years, such amounts not to exceed $2,500,000 in any fiscal year as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this title.

Title III. Grants to Areas Where Desegregation in Public Education Is Being Carried Out

SEC. 301. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units which maintained racial segregation in their public schools on May 17, 1954, and which make application for such grants, to assist in meeting the costs of additional educational measures undertaken or to be undertaken to further the process of eliminating segregation in the public schools of the applicant State, municipality, school district, or local governmental unit, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered.

(b) Grants may be made under this section for—

(1) the cost of employing additional schoolteacher;

(2) the cost of giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation;

(3) the cost of employing specialists in problems incident to desegregation and of providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, schoolchildren, and the general public of plans and efforts for eliminating segregation in the schools in order to reduce the possibility of community hostility or unlawful resistance to such plans and efforts; and

(4) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation in public schools, including the replacement of State payments to a school district or other political subdivision withdrawn because the applicant district or subdivision is eliminating, or is starting to eliminate, segregation.

(c) Grants may also be made under this section for the construction, enlargement, or alteration of school facilities when the Secretary finds that lack or inadequacy of existing facilities makes the carrying out of any reasonable plan for desegregation without lowering existing educational standards impracticable or materially more difficult.

(d) Each application made for a grant under this section shall provide such detailed breakdown of the additional educational measures for which financial assistance is sought as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe.

(e) Each grant under this section shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe, which may include a condition that the applicant expend funds in specified amounts for the purpose for which the grant is made. In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Secretary shall take into consideration—

(1) the amount available for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him;

(2) the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it;

(3) the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation;

(4) whether the additional educational measures undertaken or to be undertaken are reasonably and effectively designed to further the process of eliminating racial segregation, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered; and

(5) such other factors as he finds relevant.

SEC. 302. The Secretary is further authorized to make grants to public or other nonprofit educational institutions of higher learning to meet or assist in meeting the cost of short-term training courses or institutes, not to exceed 4 weeks in duration, for personnel of public schools or of educational agencies engaged in or about to undertake desegregation, designed to enable such personnel to deal more effectively with problems incident to desegregation. Such grants may also be used by such institutions to establish and maintain fellowships for such training courses or institutes, covering tuition, fees, and such stipends and allowances (including travel and subsistence expenses) as may be determined by the Secretary.

SEC. 303. Payments of grants under sections 301 and 302 may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals and on such conditions as the Secretary may determine.

SEC. 304. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1958, and for each of the 4 suceeding fiscal years, such sums, not exceeding $40 million for any fiscal year, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

(b) In making grants from funds appropriated for any fiscal year for the purposes specified in section 301 (b), the Secretary may disregard applications received after August 31 in that fiscal year, or may sub-

ordinate such applications to applications received before that date. In the event that he receives, either before or after that date, applications which he considers would materially contribute to carrying out the purposes of this title, but which he cannot grant because of lack or inadequacy of available funds, he shall forthwith report this fact to the Congress and to the President, together with his recommendation with respect to the appropriation of additional funds.

(c) In the event that the Secretary receives applications for grants for the purpose specified in section 301 (c) which he considers would materially contribute to carrying out the purposes of this title, but which he cannot grant because of lack or inadequacy of available funds, he shall forthwith resport this fact to the Congress and to the President, together with his recommendation with respect to the appropriation of additional funds.

Title IV. Administrative Action Directed Toward Eliminating Segregation in Public Education

SEC. 401. The Secretary shall make every effort to persuade States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to make a start toward eliminating segregation in public education and to carry out in full such programs as they may start, and to this end he shall utilize the authority provided in titles II and III.

SEC. 402. Whenever the Secretary shall find that all efforts under titles II and III and under section 401 of this title have failed, and continue to fail, in bringing about a start toward the elimination of segregation in public education in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, the Secretary is authorized to prepare a tentative plan for the elimination of segregation in public education in such State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit. In preparing such a tentative plan, the Secretary shall seek the advice and assistance of public officials, private organizations, and private citizens in the area and of any local, State, regional, or national advisory council appointed pursuant to section 201 (d) and he shall carefully consider such advice and assistance wherever available. Tentative plans prepared by the Secretary under the authority of this section shall take into account the need of the particular area for time to make an orderly adjustment and transition from segregated to desegregated schools.

SEC. 403. (a) Whenever the Secretary has prepared a tentative plan for the elimination of segregation in public education in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, he shall forward the plan to the governor, mayor, or other appropriate official, as the case may be. If the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit agrees to put into effect the tentative plan as proposed by the Secretary or as modified by the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit with the consent of the Secretary, the Secretary shall utilize the authority granted in titles II and III to assist the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit in putting into effect the tentative plan.

(b) If the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit (1) does not agree to put into effect the tentative plan as proposed by the Secretary or as modified with his consent, or (2) after agreeing to the tentative plan as so proposed or modified, does not, in the judgment of the Secretary, carry out such tentative plan, the Secretary shall hold a public hearing upon the tentative plan. Notice of such hearing shall be given to the local authorities concerned by registered mail and notice shall be given to private organizations and private citizens within the area by publication in one or more newspapers. Local authorities, private organizations, and private citizens shall be permitted to participate in the hearing and present evidence and argument in favor of the tentative plan, in favor of amendments to the tentative plan, or in opposition to the plan or to any plan, but cumulative evidence may be excluded in the discretion of the Secretary. Anyone shall be permitted to file a written statement with the Secretary in addition to, or in lieu of, personal appearance at the public hearing.

(c) After the hearing provided in subsection (b) has been concluded, the Secretary shall prepare and issue an approved plan for eliminating segregation in public education in the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit. He shall publish the approved plan in the Federal Register and in one or more newspapers in the area affected thereby and shall transmit a certified copy thereof to the appropriate official of the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit involved.

(d) In order that the proceedings under this title shall expedite the elimination of segregation in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, the Secretary shall handle all proceedings under this title as expeditiously as possible. The Secretary shall complete any proceedings hereunder within 1 year from the time that a tentative plan is forwarded to the governor, mayor, or other appropriate official under section 403 (a), or, in case a State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit agrees to a tentative plan but does not carry it out, within 6 months from the time that the Secretary determines that such State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit is not carrying out such tentative plan.

SEC. 404. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1958, and for each of the 4 succeeding fiscal years, such amounts as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this title.

SEC. 405. The Secretary is authorized to carry out his responsibilities and exercise his authority under this title and under titles II and III through designated personnel in his own office or through any existing bureau, division, or agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or through a new office created by him for the special purpose of exercising the Secretary's responsibilities hereunder, except that the Secretary shall personally review and sign any approved plan issued under section 403 (c).

Title V. Authorization to the Attorney General in the Field of Public Education

SEC. 501. (a) Whenever (1) the Secretary has published in the Federal Register an approved plan for the elimination of segregation in public education in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit pursuant to section 403 (c), (2) the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit has rejected the plan or has refused or failed to act in accordance therewith, and (3) the Secretary has certified to the Attorney General that all efforts to secure compliance with the Constitution and the Supreme Court's decisions by conciliation, persuasion, education, and assistance under titles II, III, and IV have failed, the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction or other order, against the appropriate officials of the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit and any individual or individuals acting in concert with such officials to enforce compliance with the approved plan.

(b) The Attorney General is authorized to move to dismiss or discontinue any action brought under subsection (a), or to propose or to agree to a decree adopting a plan for elimination of segregation in public education which is different from the approved plan, whenever he determines that the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit is making, or is prepared to make, a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the Constitution and the Supreme Court's decisions in the field of education and to work toward full compliance with all deliberate speed.

(c) Any interested party may, with the leave of the court, intervene in any action brought under subsection (a), and the court shall consider any proposals by the intervenors, as well as by the defendant or defendants, in determining its final decree.

Title VI. Other Authorizations to the Attorney General

SEC. 601. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a signed complaint that any person or group of persons is being deprived of, or is being threatened with the loss of, the right to the equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and whenever the Attorney General certifies that, in his judgment, such person or group of persons is unable for any reason to seek effective legal protection for the right to the equal protection of the laws, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction or other order, against any individual or individuals who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or subdivision or instrumentality thereof, deprives or threatens to deprive such person or group of persons of the right to equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and against any individual or individuals acting in concert with them.

(b) A person or group of persons shall be deemed unable to seek effective legal protection for the right to the equal protection of the laws within the meaning of subsection (a) not only when such person or group of persons is financially unable to bear the expenses of the litigation, but also when there is reason to believe that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the employment or other economic activity of, or might result in physical harm or economic damage to, such person or group of persons or their families.

(c) Nothing contained in titles IV and V shall limit the authority of the Attorney General to institute and maintain an action under subsection (a).

SEC. 602. The Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proceeding, for preventive relief, including an application for injunction or other order, (1) against any person or persons preventing or hindering, or threatening to prevent or hinder, or conspiring to prevent or hinder, any Federal, State, or local official from according any person or group of persons the right to the equal protection of the laws without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin, or (2) against any person or persons preventing or hindering, or threatening to prevent or hinder, or conspiring to prevent or hinder the execution of any court order protecting the right to the equal pro-

tection of the laws without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

SEC. 603. The Attorney General is authorized, upon receipt of a signed complaint, to institute for or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for injunction or other order, against any individual or individuals who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or subdivision or instrumentality thereof, deprives or threatens to deprive any person or group of persons or associations of persons of any right guaranteed by the 14th amendment of the Constitution, because such person or group of persons or association of persons has opposed or opposes the denial of the equal protection of the laws to others because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

SEC. 604. Whenever a suit is brought in any district court of the United States seeking relief from the deprivation of the right of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, or national origin, the Attorney General is authorized to intervene in such action with all the rights of a party thereto and to seek compliance with any lawful order issued by such district court.

Title VII. Miscellaneous Provisions

SEC. 701. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted under sections 501, 601, 602, and 603 of this act and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law shall have been exhausted and, in the case of proceedings instituted under sections 601 and 602, without regard to whether any administrative proceeding is pending or contemplated under tilte IV, it being the purpose of title IV to expedite not delay the elimination of segregation in public education throughout the Nation. In any proceeding hereunder, the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

SEC. 702. Nothing in this act or in any administrative proceeding hereunder shall be construed to impair any right guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or any remedies already existing for their protection or enforcement, nor to prevent any private individual or organization from acting to enforce or safeguard any constitutional right in any manner now permitted by law.

SEC. 703. If any provision of this act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this act or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Christian Century of February 5, 1958]

PROTESTANTISM SPEAKS ON JUSTICE AND INTEGRATION

(In anticipation of the churches' observance on February 9 of Race Relations Sunday, we present a compilation made by the National Council of Churches at our request of the latest official statements on racial justice and good will issued by Protestant denominations and responsible organizations. These statements prove that evangelical Christianity in America is deeply cognizant of its obligation to offer to the Nation Christian answers to its major problem in human relations. They show that the churches, working independently, have been led to achieve a remarkable unanimity since the Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, handed down its historic decision calling for an end to racial segregation in the Nation's public schools.—The Editors.)

[We] commend the Supreme Court for this far-reaching decision, and urge the support and cooperation of our entire constituency in its implementation. (African Methodist Episcopal Connectional Council, June 1954.)

Thanking God for the Supreme Court decision and reaffirming our confidence in the inevitable fulfillment of American democracy under the Constitution; recommending to our farflung constituency * * * active cooperation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders, and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American life * * * we authorize, empower, and urge our secondary schools and junior colleges to amend their charters and/or their rules and regulations, if necessary, so as to provide for integrated faculties and student bodies. (African Methodist Episcopal Zion Board of Christian Education—School and College, August 1954.)

We recognize that during the past 10 years great strides have been made in race relations in America and that it was a logical next step for the Supreme Court to declare * * * that our public schools must be integrated to assure equality of educational opportunity. We fully support the Supreme Court decision and deplore the resistance to this decision in certain states where integration of public education has met organized opposition (American Baptist Convention, 1956).

Wherever and whenever the churches help to foster race or class distinctions between people, and wherever and whenever they support attitudes of superiority or inferiority between persons, groups or classes, they violate God's pattern. * * * Christian churches unfailingly, therefore, must condemn segregation and stratification as the evil fruit of natural man's pride and his arrogant assumption of superiority over those who appear to be different from him. (American Lutheran Church, 1954).

We urge our members to use their influence in the securing of full rights of citizenship for all, and in discouraging any activity in their communities which would seek to circumvent orderly judicial procedure in the implementation of the Supreme Court decision on segregation (Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, June 1956).

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court * * * that racial segregation in public education in our country violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution marks a new historic milestone in the progress of our Nation toward the goal of full and true democracy (Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, 1955).

We note with appreciation all recent steps made in the direction of elimination of segregation, including the decision of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution as opposing segregation in the public schools. We appeal to our brethren to lead out in effecting these social changes in every area of life * * * [and] to consider appearing at local and State hearings on the issue of integrating the public schools and to give testimony in support of the Supreme Court decision (Church of the Brethren, 1954).

We call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision, and [ask] that our department of race relations and the Council for Social Action carry forward such activities as will develop public support for the Supreme Court decision (Congregational Christian General Council, June 1954).

We urge Christians to practice and seek to spread equality of opportunity for all people; equal pay for equal work; equal protection by law; equality of suffrage; equal recognition of persons as persons without respect to religion, class or race. (Cumberland Presbyterian Church, June 1955).

We approve and commend the decision of the supreme court concerning segregation in the public schools, and * * * call upon our churches, our agencies and our institutions to re-examine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel, and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies, (International Convention of Disciples of Christ, 1954).

We must say plainly that to attempt to evade integration in the public schools by actions which would weaken or undermine the public schools is wrong. No doubt, integration in public schools will proceed at different rates. There are situations in which wisdom and discretion are needed as well as situations in which the complacent need to be stirred to effective and constructive action. The decision of the Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the schools provides the occasion for the members of Christian congregations to bear witness to the truth in love and to the love of truth; to support with their sympathy and prayers those who are devoted to constructive efforts toward a greater degree of justice; and to encourage consultation between white and colored persons in the local community in the interest of common understanding and planning. (Evangelical and Reformed General Synod, 1956).

We express our gratitude for the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. We urge our church members to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for implementing the Supreme Court's decision. * * * We call upon our local churches, annual conferences, colleges and theological seminaries, boards and institutions to implement this decision so that men everywhere may be lifted to new levels of social responsibility and new dimensions of human brotherhood, (Evangelical United Brethren Church, November, 1954).

The decisions of the Supreme Court * * * relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult readjustments throughout the Nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands (Methodist General Conference, 1956).

According to Christ and Paul there can be no question of race relations, because there is only one race, the human race. Man himself has divided the race on the basis of color. If man would only stop worrying about petty differences and concentrate on likenesses, there would be no race problem. The problem is not really race relations, but human relations. Segregation in the Church of God is the ugliest thing in the religious world, and a disgrace to a Christian nation (National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., 1954).

The assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim (Presbyterian, United States, General Assembly, 1954).

We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court * * * with humility because action

by our highest Court was necessary to make effective that for which our church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity. We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court decision. We call upon the members of our churches to cooperate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public school system (Presbyterian, United States of America, General Assembly, 1954).

The 58th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America now commends to all the clergy and people of this church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court, and that by opening channels of Christian conference and communication between the races concerned in each diocese and community, they anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land (Protestant Episcopal General Convention, 1955).

We recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men. We urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; [let us] exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship. We express our belief in the public school system of our nation as one of the greatest factors in American history for the maintenance of democracy and our common culture, and we express the hope that in the working out of necessary adjustments, its place in our educational program shall not be impaired (Southern Baptist Convention, June 1954).

We believe that Christians have special responsibilities to keep open the channels of communication and understanding among the different groups in this controversy. Our congregations are encouraged to contribute to the solution of the problem by demonstrating in their own corporate lives the possibility of integration (United Lutheran Church in America, 1956).

We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm our first principles: That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth; that He is no respecter of persons; that men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege. In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education (United Presbyterian Church of North America, June 1956).

Be it resolved, That * * * the Florida Council of Churches go on record as favoring this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which provides equity and justice to all the citizens of this great Nation regardless of color. Urging the people of this State of Florida to remember their obligations as a people under God and to act in charity, tolerance, and wisdom in bringing this State into conformity with the will of the conscience of the Nation as expressed through the supreme judicial body of the United States. Calling all the people represented by the member bodies of this council of churches to prayer and prayerful study of the problem that Christian principles and not worldly prejudices may prevail in the solution of this difficult social problem now confronting the people of the State of Florida (Florida Council of Churches, October 1954).

We approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and * * * we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions to reexamine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies (Kentucky Council of Churches, April 1955).

We believe that this decision is consistent with the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, and we further affirm that this decision is in keeping with what has been through many years the official position of the Christian church, as it has understood the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ. * * * We call upon the members of our State Legislature to find just ways of implementing in our State the decision of the United States Supreme Court. We ask that in every circumstance they exercise clear and calm judgment and Christian good will in all their attitudes and actions concerning this vital matter in accordance with the ideals of our Christian faith (New Orleans Council of Churches, July 1954).

Now that the Supreme Court has spoken * * * we urge that the churches as represented in the council accept the decision of the Court as the law of the land and endeavor as fully as possible, in the spirit of Christ, to realize an integrated public school system (North Carolina Council of Churches, January 1956).

We call upon the churches of Virginia and their people to face with resolution the enormous task of helping the citizens of this commonwealth to make the necessary adjustments to the Supreme Court's decision which is in accord with Christian principles. We urge all Christians to move with Christian patience and hope upon a course of good faith and wisdom in order that they may not become the victims of despair (Virginia Council of Churches, January 1956).

We firmly believe that the Supreme Court of the United States has acted in keeping with the basic principles of our American democracy and in keeping with the teachings of the Christian church when it declared segregation in the schools unconstitutional (Washington, D. C., Federation of Churches, October 1954).

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-reaching effects in the whole Nation and the world. * * * In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love they neighbor as thyself." The second part of the great commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood (National Council of Churches General Board, May 1954).

EXHIBIT 3

COMPILATION OF RECENT STATE AND LOCAL LAWS, RESOLUTIONS, ORDINANCES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

With Comments by Mr. J. Francis Polhaus, Counsel, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Alabama

Alabama, in an attempt to evade the Supreme Court's school decisions, has adopted a pupil placement law.

This plan gives local boards of education "full and final authority and responsibility for the assignment, transfer, and continuance of all pupils." It provides that there shall be no reallocation of pupils "according to any rigid rule of proximity of residence." The board of education shall consider, among other factors, "the psychological qualification of the pupil"; "the psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school"; "the possibility or threat of friction, or disorder among pupils or others"; the possibility of breaches of the peace or ill-will or economic retaliation within the community" (Act No. 201, regular session, Alabama, 1955: I Race Relations Law Reporter [1] 235).

In this act the legislature is authorizing the local boards to, in effect, surrender their authority to those persons in the community who will promote mob action.

In an attempt to make school officials immune from legal action to enforce constitutional rights, Alabama has amended its constitution to allow the legislature to designate as judicial officers members of State school boards, State boards of education, county school boards, city school boards or commissions, and all superintendents of schools, school officials and employees (Act No. 82, Alabama, first special session, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 417).

In defiance of the Supreme Court, the legislature adopted an interposition resolution declaring the Court's segregation decision "null, void, and of no effect" (Southern School News,[2] vol. II, No. 8, p. 6, Act No. 42, Alabama, first special session, 1956).

Alabama reaffirmed its unconstitutional school policy of segregation by adopting an amendment to its school laws providing for school boards to conduct "separate schools for white and colored children whose parents * * * voluntarily elect that such children attend schools with members of their own race" (Act No. 117, Alabama, second special session, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 717).

In a series of amendments to its constitution, Alabama granted to the legislature authority to close, withdraw State aid from, or even dispose of, public schools threatened with integration, and to donate funds and property to private schools (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 3, page 3; Act No. 82, Alabama, first special session, 1956).

Also authorized is a so-called private school plan whereby a local school board, on petition of a majority of school patrons, may close a school and lease the property for "private, nonprofit, educational purposes" and use public funds to pay pupils' tuition in private schools. Teachers transferred to these private schools would continue to be eligible for State benefits (S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 3, p. 5).

In addition to the above noted legislation of a statewide effect, both the State legislature and local governing bodies have passed

[1] Hereinafter referred to as R. R. L. R.
[2] Hereinafter referred to as S. S. N.

legislation to thwart the enjoyment of civil rights.

The legislature passed two bills, applying to Macon and Marengo Counties, which would allow the county school boards to discharge any teacher "at any time such action is deemed necessary to promote the best interest of the schools" (Acts No. 40 and 41, first special session, Alabama, 1956).

A local act applicable to Wilcox County requires any organization soliciting membership or funds in the county to pay a $200 license fee, a $50 fee for each solicitor and $5 for each member signed up (Act No. 238, regular session, Alabama, 1955).

This act would, of course, apply to organizations other than those advocating integration. Labor unions would, for instance, be similarly affected. It is doubtful, however, that it will be invoked against segregation organizations or other groups seeking to stifle civil rights and civil liberties.

The city of Huntsville, Ala., in an attempt to perpetuate the separate but equal doctrine, has adopted a resolution making the local golf courses available 1 day a week to Negro patrons (I R. R. L. R. 589).

The city of Montgomery has made it a misdemeanor for white and colored to engage in athletic contests together, or for any owner or operator of a public establishment to allow interracial athletic contests (Montgomery Ordinance No. 15–57, March 19, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 714).

On November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court in the case of *Gayle* v. *Browder* (77 Sup. Ct. 165), affirmed a district court decision that enforcement of State and city laws requiring segregation on public carriers was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, on March 12, 1957, the Birmingham City Commission reaffirmed its policy of segregation on public buses, adopting an ordinance which reaffirmed, reenacted, and continued in full force and effect its existing law requiring segregation in the transit system (Ordinance No. 1342–F, II R. R. L. R. 457).

Because of the growing importance of the vote of colored citizens in the town of Tuskegee, the State legislature enacted a statute redefining the city limits of the town, removing from the municipality almost all colored voters (Act No. 140, Alabama, 1957 sess.; II R. R. L. R. 856).

Not content with this attempt to deny Negro citizens a voice in their government, the legislature went a step beyond and passed an amendment to the State constitution authorizing the legislature to abolish Macon County, the county in which Tuskegee is located. The purpose of this is to dilute the potential high percentage of colored voters (Macon County's colored population is 85 percent) by dividing these voters among neighboring counties. This amendment was approved on December 17, 1957 (Washington Post, December 18, 1957, p. 1).

The background of this amazing perversion of the democratic process is set out in a press conference of officers of the Tuskegee Civic Association, participated in by Senator DOUGLAS and other Senators, on July 30, 1957. A transcript of the testimony of this conference appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 8, 1957.

Arkansas

On November 6, 1956, the voters of Arkansas voted on and approved three measures designed to maintain segregation in the public-school system. All three measures were to become effective on December 6, 1957.

The first of these measures was an amendment to the constitution of Arkansas designed to nullify the United States Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases. This amendment directed the general assembly to "take appropriate action and pass laws opposing in every constitutional manner the unconstitutional desegregation decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, of the United States Supreme Court, including interposing the sovereignty of the State of Arkansas to the end of nullification of these" (amendment No. 47, Arkansas constitution; I. R. R. L. R., 1117).

An initiated petition of interposition was also approved which reads, in part:

"The people of Arkansas assert that the power to operate public schools in the State on a racially separate but substantially equal basis was granted by the people of Arkansas; any and all decisions of the Federal courts or any other department of the Federal Government to the contrary notwithstanding" (I. R. R. L. R. 591).

The third of the measures adopted at this time was a school assignment plan, intended to evade the Supreme Court's decisions on school segregation. The chief means to be used in this evasion is apparently a provision that one of the factors to be considered is the "possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others" (I. R. R. L. R. 579); Arkansas Stat., 80–1519 et seq.).

This provision is obviously an invitation to mob action of the Little Rock type.

State Commissioner of Education Ford said the law would help districts which want to keep their segregated schools (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 6, p. 8).

Arkansas' compulsory school attendance law has been amended so that students are relieved of the necessity of attending school if classes are racially mixed (Act No. 84, Arkansas Legislature, 1957 session, II R. R. L. R. 453).

The legislature has created a State agency to assist in preserving segregation. This State Sovereignty Commission has been granted the right to examine "all records, books, documents, and other papers touching upon or concerning the matters and things about which the commission is authorized to conduct an investigation." Subpena power is granted to the commission with punishment for refusal to obey or a fine up to $1,000 and 6 months' imprisonment (Act No. 83, Arkansas Legislature, 1957 session, II R. R. L. R. 491).

In an attempt to intimidate those seeking to promote desegregation, Arkansas has enacted legislation requiring "persons and organizations promoting school desegregation by legislation or litigation" to register and submit reports to the State Sovereignty Commission (Act No. 85, Arkansas Legislature, 1957 session, II R. R. L. R. 495).

Upon the recommendation of State Attorney General Bruce Bennett, Little Rock and 11 other communities in the State have adopted local ordinances requiring any organization, upon request of local authorities, to file specified information about finances, officers, and members within a city. These ordinances are under legal attack by the NAACP (S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 6, p. 3).

In the meantime, these statutes are being used to harass the NAACP. Mrs. Daisy Bates, State president of the NAACP, and Rev. J. B. Crenshaw, president of the Little Rock branch, have been arrested and fined for failing to reveal the membership list of the Little Rock branch.

Florida

Florida has also enacted a pupil placement bill. Its author, Senator Johne, says of it: "Counties that want to keep segregated schools can do so under this bill" (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 1, p. 5).

This act sets up the county board of education as the authority to assign children to the school "as shall be determined by the board to be best adapted or qualified to serve the best interests of the child and of the public school system." The authority of the board is "full and complete and its decision as to the enrollment of any pupil in any such school shall be final" (ch. 29746, Laws, Florida, 1955; I R. R. L. R. 237).

Further legislation on the assignment of pupils established vague criteria for assignment, such as the "psychological, moral, ethical, and cultural backgrounds of the pupil." The board is directed to take into account "sociological, psychological, and like intangible social scientific factors as will prevent, as nearly as practicable, any condition of socioeconomic class consciousness among pupils attending any given school." There is no provision requiring members of the boards to have any specific training in any of the social sciences (ch. 31380 Laws, Florida, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 924).

At the same time, school authorities were authorized to ignore continuing contracts and tenure in assigning teachers. Chapter 31391, Laws, Florida 1956. "This is designed to permit the dropping of Negro teachers, regardless of their qualifications." (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 2, p. 10). It would, of course, also subject white teachers to lack of job security and make them subject to pressures from local boards.

Florida, as other States refusing to comply with the Supreme Court's decision, has passed a resolution of nullification and interposition denouncing "the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States" (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 17–XX, 1956 special session; I R. R. L. R. 948).

The Governor of the State has been granted what amounts to dictatorial powers under the guise of emergency authority to quell violence. The statute granted such authority reads in part:

"In all such cases when the Governor of the State of Florida shall issue his proclamation (of emergency) as herein provided he shall be and is hereby further authorized and empowered, to cope with said threats and danger, to order and direct any individual person, corporation, association or group of persons to do any act which would in his opinion prevent danger to life, limb or property, prevent a breach of peace or * * * to refrain from doing any act or thing * * * and shall have full power by appropriate means to enforce such order or proclamation" (ch. 31390, Laws, Florida, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 955).

The only limitation on the Governor's use of this grant of power is that is shall be used "when, in his opinion, the facts warrant."

In an effort to harass those supporting the Federal Constitution, the legislature set up a committee to investigate the NAACP. The committee was granted a $50,000 appropriation and given broad subpena powers (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 3, p. 13).

In addition to State action, the battle against integration has been carried on on a local level.

The legislature passed a bill for Jefferson County, forbidding teachers of one race to instruct pupils of another, and forbidding pupils to engage in or attend athletic contests or use school cafeterias with children of another race (S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 3, p. 2).

Not only the school-segregation cases, but decisions of the Federal court relating to public beaches have been the objects of defiance by local authorities.

The city of Delray Beach has passed an ordinance providing: "No member of the Negro race shall go upon the Delray Beach Municipal Beach or the Delray Beach municipal pool" (Emergency Ordinance No. 236, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 733).

The city of Sarasota has likewise attempted by statute to deny colored citizens the right to use the public beaches. It adopted an ordinance requiring the clearing of public beaches whenever persons of different races shall enter on the beach at the same time (Ordinance No. 913, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 945).

Of recent enactment by the State legislature is a bill (H. B. 794, 1957) calling for "automatic closing and suspension of operation of any public school in this State upon the employ of Federal troops in the vicinity of said school for certain purposes." The Governor signed this into law in October 1957.

Georgia

Georgia has reacted strongly to the Supreme Court's decisions protecting the rights of minority citizens. The legislative reaction has taken various forms, among them a resolution of interposition and nullification, a call for impeachment of Supreme Court Justices, a memorial to declare the 14th and 15th amendments invalid, and a statute requiring State officers, under penalty of loss of pension rights, to continue enforcing unconstitutional State laws.

The nullification resolution declares:

"That said decisions and orders of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to separation of the races in the public institutions of a State as announced and promulgated by said Court on May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, are null, void, and of no force or effect" (H. Res. 185, 1956 sess.; I R. R. L. R. 438).

The legislature adopted a resolution on February 27, 1957, calling on the United States Representatives from Georgia to introduce a resolution of impeachment against Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, Reed, Frankfurter, and Clark because of certain decisions in which they participated (H. Res. 174, 1957 sess.; II R. R. L. R. 485).

As yet, no Georgia Congressman has introduced such a resolution.

On March 8, 1957, the legislature passed a resolution memorializing the United States Congress to declare the 14th and 15th amendments "null and void and of no effect" (S. Res. 39, 1957 sess.; II R. R. L. R. 483).

The statute relating to enforcement of segregation laws provides:

"Any peace officer * * * who knowingly refuses or fails to attempt to enforce any law of this State requiring segregation or separation of the white and colored races in any manner or activity * * * shall forfeit all retirement benefits, all disability benefits, and all death benefits" (Act No. 197, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 450).

Even before the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases, Georgia had begun its plan to avoid the possible consequences of such a decision.

In 1954, a constitutional amendment was ratified to allow the legislature to provide for grants of public funds to citizens for educational purposes (art. VIII, sec. XIII, Georgia Constitution).

Following the Court's ruling in the segregation cases, the State adopted a battery of laws intended to evade compliance with the Constitution as applied by the Court.

A group of laws approved February 6, 1956, laid the groundwork for the closing of public schools and the operation of a State-sponsored private school system.

The first of these provides for the closing of public schools by the Governor whenever a school becomes ineligible for State funds (i. e., when integrated). The students of such a closed school become eligible for an "education grant" from public funds (Act No. 11, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 418).

Acts No. 13 and 14 of the 1956 session of the legislature authorize the State and local boards of education to lease and sublease public school property for "private school purposes" (I R. R. L. R. 420).

Supplementing the above acts is a law to bring within the State teachers' retirement system teachers who would teach in these "private" schools (Act No. 15, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 424).

The Governor has been granted authority to suspend the compulsory school laws throughout the State or in any part of the State (Act No. 139, Georgia Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 453).

In order to insure conformity by the teachers of the State, the State Board of Education has adopted a resolution to revoke "forever" the license of any teacher who "supports, encourages, condones, or agrees to teach mixed classes" (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 2, p. 4).[3]

In a further effort to block any possible integration, the legislature has dried up any funds to support a possibly integrated school.

It has been made a felony, punishable by 2 years' imprisonment, for any school official of the State or municipal or county system to spend tax money for public schools in which the races are mixed (Act No. 82, Georgia Laws, 1955).

The appropriations act of 1957 contains a provision that prohibits funds to be used for any public educational facility in which white and Negro races are not separated (House Resolution 243, Georgia, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 421).

Following an attack on the segregated system of the University of Georgia, School of Law (*Ward* v. *Regents* (II R. R. L. R. 369, 599)) the State board of regents announced it would enforce admission requirements that would make it a practical impossibility for a colored person to apply, because of the social and political pressures on those sponsoring him.

These requirements would be: (1) Signature of two alumni that the applicant is of good character, (2) a testimonial from the ordinary or clerk of superior court of the applicant's county that he "bears a good reputation in the community," (3) a recommendation that he is a "fit and suitable person" for admission from the judge of the superior court in his county of residence (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 11, p. 6).

In areas other than public-school segregation, Georgia has also acted to render ineffective decisions of the Federal courts.

In the field of public transportation, the State has adopted a law requiring segregation of intrastate passengers in waiting rooms of public carriers. Any carrier failing to comply is subject to penalty for a misdemeanor for each day it so fails (Act No. 413, Georgia Laws, 1956; I. R. R. L. R. 428).

Also passengers who fail to use the waiting rooms designated for their race under the above noted statute are subject to criminal prosecution; officers who enforce this law are exempted from suit for false arrest, false imprisonment or other legal action (Act No. 405, Georgia Laws, 1956).

To avoid allowing colored citizens to exercise their constitutional right to use public parks and other places of public recreation, Georgia has authorized the State or its political subdivisions to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such property (Act No. 20, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 427).

Pursuant to this authority nine State parks were leased to private operators. Average rental of these leases was $2,000 for 12 months. Most of the parks were leased to former park superintendents (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 11, p. 9).

Under the guise of emergency powers, and in a bill practically identical with Florida's on the same subject, the Governor is granted the same absolute power referred to in the above discussion of Florida's emergency statute. This includes the authority to order anyone "to do any act" or "refrain from doing any act" (Act No. 60, Georgia Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 505).

Also, the State Patrol and Bureau of Investigation has been charged with the duty of entering any county or municipality "for the purpose of making arrests and otherwise enforcing any law of this State requiring segregation or separation of the white and colored races in any manner or activity" Act No. 384, Georgia Laws, 1956).

Louisiana

Shortly after the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases, Louisiana amended its constitution to continue segregation under its police power. The amendment provided:

"All public elementary and secondary schools in the State of Louisiana shall be operated separately for white and colored children. This provision is made in the exercise of the State police power" (Act No. 752, Louisiana, 1954, I R. R. L. R. 239).

Supplementing this amendment, the legislature passed a law providing: (1) segregation in all elementary and secondary public schools; (2) withdrawal of State certification for any noncomplying school; (3) withdrawal of State support, including funds for free books and school lunch program from any noncomplying school; (4) criminal penalties ($500 to $1,000 fine or 90 days to 6 months imprisonment) for any violating the provisions of the law (Act No. 555, Louisiana, 1954, I R. R. L. R. 239).

It also enacted a pupil placement plan which gave each parish superintendent of schools authority to assign students. No criteria were provided for making such assignments (Act No. 556, Louisiana, 1954).

As soon as these legislative provisions were legally attacked, they were declared unconstitutional. *Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board* (138 F. Supp. 336 (1956).

In the field of higher education, Louisiana had for several years admitted colored students to its State supported colleges. This was done pursuant to court cases predating the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

Following the decision of May 17, the State not only attempted to thwart that decision, but to reverse its policy with respect to higher education as well.

It did this by adopting a law requiring all students and applicants at tax supported colleges to have a certificate of good character signed by their high school principals and district superintendents (Act No. 15, Louisiana, 1956).

At the same time it passed an act making it a grounds for dismissal from employment for any teacher to perform "any act toward bringing about the integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning" (Act No. 249, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 941).

Taken together, these laws made it impossible for colored students to obtain the required certification. It was so recognized by the Federal Court and the scheme was declared unconstitutional. *Ludley* v. *Board of Supervisors of L. S. U.* (150 F. Supp 900).

Act 249, referred to above, also provided for dismissal of teachers for advocating racial integration or for belonging to or contributing to an organization enjoined from operating in Louisiana. At the time, the NAACP was under injunction prohibiting it from doing business in that State.

Similar restrictive legislation was applied to public school bus operators, teachers and employees of the Orleans parish public school system (Acts 248, 250 and 252, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 943, et seq.).

An act affecting the city of New Orleans provides "Those public schools being utilized in the education of children of the Negro race through the twelfth grade of school shall * * * be utilized solely and exclusively in the education of children of the Negro race

[3] Later rescinded on the advice of the State attorney general as unnecessary. The teachers' oath to uphold the laws of the State was sufficient to prevent membership in the NAACP, he added.

unless otherwise classified by the legislature."

A similar provision was made with respect to "white" schools and a provision was likewise made that all new schools would be designated "white" or "Negro."

The law also requires that white and colored students will be taught only by teachers of their own race.

It further attempts to deny legal attack on the law by providing that the act may be contested only with the consent of the legislature (Act No. 319, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 927).

The State has suspended its compulsory school attendance laws in any school system which is ordered integrated (Act No. 28, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 728. This has been interpreted as applying to the parochial school system (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 12, p. 3).

In attempting to prevent lawsuits from being brought against segregation in the school and park systems, Louisiana has amended its constitution and designated the governing boards of these institutions special agencies of the State. It has withdrawn permission for suits to be brought against special agencies except with the consent of the legislature (Act No. 613, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 776).

Louisiana has, of course, adopted a resolution of interposition. Therein it declares the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court and any similar decision to be in violation of the United States Constitution "insofar as such decisions may affect or apply to the sovereign State of Louisiana" (House Concurrent Resolution No. 10, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 753).

The attack on desegregation has not been confined to the public-school system.

A particular retreat into reaction was taken when the State outlawed interracial athletic events and established forced segregated seating at all athletic events (Act No. 579, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 953).

Prior to the enactment of this legislation, colored athletes had been participating before unsegregated audiences for several years. Shreveport was represented in baseball in the Texas League, where colored players were active. The United States Naval Academy and the University of Pittsburgh had participated in the Sugar Bowl football game on an unsegregated basis. Because of this reversal of State policy, the United States Military Academy was forced to transfer its 1957 football game with Tulane, scheduled for New Orleans, to West Point, in order to comply with the policy of the National Government. Again in defiance of a Supreme Court ruling, Louisiana has enacted a law requiring racially segregated waiting rooms for intrastate passengers of public carriers, with criminal penalties of $100 to $300 fine and 30 days to 6 months imprisonment for any violation (Act No. 27, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 741).

Employers are required, under criminal penalty, to provide separate sanitary facilities, eating places and drinking facilities Act 395, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 947).

This last requirement appears to contravene Executive Order No. 10479 which prohibits discrimination by employers holding Government contracts. Logically, it would bar the issuance of Government contracts to any Louisiana industry.

Mississippi

In Mississippi, the State has thrown its full power into the effort to render null and void the school segregation decisions of the Supreme Court.

In a resolution of interposition and nullification, Mississippi's legislature has declared:

"the decisions and order of the Supreme Court of the United States of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, to be a usurpation of power reserved to the several States and do declare, as a matter of right, that said decisions are in violation of the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Mississippi, and therefore, are considered unconstitutional, invalid and of no effect within the confines of the State of Mississippi." (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 125, Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 442).

Implementing this resolution is an act which directs all officers of the executive branch of the State government to prohibit "the implementation of or the compliance with, the Integration Decisions of the United States Supreme Court," and to prohibit the "mixing or integration of the white and Negro races in public schools, public parks, public waiting rooms, public places of amusement, recreation or assembly."

Any law officers acting in compliance with this act is granted "a full and complete defense to any suit" brought against him by "any person * * * or by the Federal Government of the United States" (ch. 254, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; II R. R. L. R. 480).

As a further means of resisting the 14th amendment to the Constitution, the State set up a "legal educational advisory committee." This committee was granted authority to command the appearance of witnesses. The testimony of such witness "would be used in support of the State using its police power to maintain segregation for 'peace and order'" (S. S. N., vol. I, No. 6, p. 9).

At about the same time the Governor appointed 1,100 lawyers as special assistant attorneys general to act in defense of school officials against whom suits might be brought (S. S. N., vol. I, No. 6, p. 9).

Later the State created a "State sovereignty commission" with the duty "to do and perform any and all acts necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi, and her sister States, from encroachment thereon by the Federal Government."

The commission was granted subpena power to require examination of witnesses and production of books, records, etc. Failure to respond to the subpena of the commission was made punishable by "fine or imprisonment in the discretion of the commission" (ch. 365, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 592).

The legislature appropriated $250,000 to finance the activities of the Sovereignty Commission. Out of these funds, the commission decided to employ secret investigators and informants (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 12, p. 5).

In the field of public school education, Mississippi acted early to attempt to frustrate the Supreme Court's decisions

In December 1954, it adopted an amendment to its constitution which would authorize the legislature to abolish public schools through the State and allow the legislature to authorize counties or separate school districts to abolish their schools (ch. 132, General Laws of Mississippi, 1955).

Also there was enacted a statute prohibiting "persons of the white or Caucasian race from attending schools of high school level and lower, wholly or partially supported with State funds, which are also attended by a member or members of the colored or Negro race." Violations of this law are made punishable by a fine up to $25 or 6 months imprisonment (ch. 43, General Laws of Mississippi, 1955).

The State has also abolished its compulsory school attendance law in order to avoid possible integration (ch. 288, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 422).

In a series of bills to preserve segregated travel, Mississippi requires public carriers to provide and designate racially separate waiting rooms and toilet facilities for intrastate travelers. Failure to use such facilities as designated is made punishable by penalties up to $1,000 in fine and 1 year imprisonment (chs. 258, 259, and 260, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 430 et seq.).

As a means of insuring these and all other of its illegal and unconstitutional laws are obeyed, Mississippi has made it a criminal offense to conspire to violate the State's segregation laws by force, violence, threats, intimidation or "otherwise" (ch. 20, General Laws of Mississippi, 1954).

Realizing that the structure of enforced segregation is built on the denial of the franchise, Mississippi amended its constitution in order to further restrict the voting rights of its colored citizens. By this means, colored voters were reduced from 22,000 in 1954 to 7,000 in 1955, according to testimony given by Governor Coleman to the House Judiciary Committee. This 7,000 voters is out of a colored population in the State of 900,000 (House hearings, H. R. 140 et al., 85th Congress, 1st sess., p. 730).

North Carolina

North Carolina is another State which has constructed an elaborate scheme to deny colored children their right to attend public schools without racial discrimination.

One measure in this scheme is the transfer of authority from enrollment and assignment of pupils from the State Board of Education to local city and county boards (ch. 1372, session Laws of North Carolina, 1955).

The purpose of this transfer, as explained by its segregationist proponents, was to require that each of the 172 school administrative units must be sued in any complete legal attack on segregation on a statewide basis (S. S. N., vol. I, No. 9, p. 10).

Another, and perhaps the principal, measure devised to block integration is a school-placement plan. This plan, as amended and in effect, grants to each local board of education "full and complete" authority to assign and reassign students to the public schools. In making assignments, the boards are "to provide for the orderly and efficient administration of the public schools, and provide for the effective instruction, health, safety, and general welfare of the pupils." Each board of education is authorized to adopt "reasonable rules and regulations as in the opinion of the board are necessary in the administration of this article" (ch. 7, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 939).

Other parts of this scheme of evasion are:

An amendment to the State constitution to authorize expenditure of public funds for tuition grants "for the private education of any child for whom no public school is available or for the private education of a child who is assigned against the wishes of his parent * * * to a public school attended by a child of another race." This amendment also authorizes the legislature to provide "local option" whereby local educational units may be allowed to close their public schools (ch. 1, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 928).

An act, adopted pursuant to the authority granted in the amendment noted above, which provides tuition grants as authorized in the amendment, for use for education in private, nonsectarian schools, (ch. 3, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 930).

An act, adopted pursuant to the authority granted in the amendment note above, authorizing each local education unit "to suspend the operation of one or more or all of the public schools under its jurisdiction." It provides the machinery for such suspension and for the reopening of any closed school (ch. 4, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 934).

An act providing for the suspension of the compulsory school attendance law where

public schools are integrated and it is "not practicable for such child to attend a private nonsectarian school" (ch. 5, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 938).

South Carolina

South Carolina began its drive to avoid the effects of the Supreme Court school decision before the decision was handed down by the Court.

It repealed that provision of its constitution requiring the State to provide a system of free public schools (Act (47) 2223, South Carolina, 1952, and Act (48) 1695, 1954). Later it provided that State funds shall cease "for any school from which, and for any school to which, any pupil may transfer pursuant to, or in consequence of, an order of any court" (Act (49) 329, South Carolina, 1955; I R. R. L. R. 241).

Another series of laws was enacted to avoid integration, if necessary by the elimination of the public school system. Among these were the repeal of the compulsory school attendance law (Act (49) 85, South Carolina, 1955); increased administrative grants of authority, including assignment of students, to local school authorities and the granting of authority to local school boards to operate or close public schools (Code, title 21, section 230); authorization for the sale or lease of public school property (Code, title 21, section 238).

School officials have been granted the authority to have children removed from a school and transferred to another by the sheriff or other law-enforcement officer where the enrollment of such children may threaten to result in riot, civil commotion or may in any way disturb the peace of the citizens of the community (Act No. 712, South Carolina, 1956).

Higher education has likewise come under attack in South Carolina. In its general appropriations act of 1956, the State provided that all appropriations for colleges and institutions of higher learning were made on the basis of racial segregation. The colleges given State aid are to be closed upon any pupil being ordered admitted immediately to it by the order of any court. In such an event, the South Carolina State College shall be closed also (Act No. 813, South Carolina, 1956). South Carolina State College is the institution serving colored college students in the State.

A similar appropriation bill provision granted funds for racially separate schools and parks and directed school authorities to close any institution to which a student is ordered admitted by court order (Act No. 49 (329) South Carolina, 1955).

South Carolina has joined those States voicing defiance of the Supreme Court by resolutions of nullification and interposition. Its resolution reads in part:

"The State of South Carolina * * * will exercise the powers reserved to it under the Constitution to judge for itself of the infractions and to take such other legal measures as it may deem appropriate to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people" (Act No. 914, South Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 443).

South Carolina, realizing the importance of the NAACP in the fight against its unlawful and unconstitutional legislation, has attempted to coerce the association by legislation aimed specifically at it.

It set up a special committee to investigate the activiites of the NAACP at South Carolina State College to "determine what individuals at the college are members and sympathizers with" the association and to "further determine the extent of participation of the faculty and students in the activities of the association" (Act No. 920, South Carolina, 1956).

In order to further embarrass the NAACP, South Carolina enacted legislation prohibiting public employment of members of the association. It was made "unlawful for any member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to be employed by the State, school district, county, or any municipality thereof."

The authorities of any school were authorized to demand an oath of "any teacher or other employee * * * who is suspected of being a member" of the association. Any person who refused to submit to such interrogation would be "summarily dismissed" (Act No. 741, South Carolina, 1956).

This act was repealed when it was attacked in the courts (*Bryan* v. *Austin* (354 U. S. 933)), in order to avoid a ruling on its constitutionality. It was replaced by a law requiring all applicants for employment with State or local governmental bodies to give "information as to active or honorary membership in or application with all membership associations and organizations" (Act No. 223, South Carolina, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 852).

South Carolina also used the "avoidance" method of having its law declared unconstitutional in connection with the operation of State recreational facilities.

While a suit was pending in Federal court involving racial exclusion at Edisto Beach State Park, the State closed the park under a legislative mandate (Act No. 917, South Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 590).

In order to continue racial segregation in other State parks, the "State commission of forestry is vested with the authority to operate and supervise only racially separate parks and to admit to the facilities of the State parks only persons having the express permission of the State to use such facilities." Permission was granted in the law to "citizens of the State to use the facilities at the parks for their own race." Persons not complying could be found guilty of trespass and sentenced to $5,000 fine or 2 years imprisonment (Act No. 813, South Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 738).

South Carolina has enacted an "emergency" law, almost identical in language with those of Florida and Georgia. The language of these bills compels a conclusion that they had a common origin. The Governor, as he is in Florida and Georgia, is granted authority to "order and direct any person to do any act which would in his opinion prevent or minimize danger" or "to refrain from doing any act" (Act No. 349, South Carolina, 1957; I R. R. L. R. 855).

The laws noted above are those enacted since May 17, 1954. South Carolina, of course, continues to enforce its segregation laws enacted previous to that date. Among these is section 1272 of the labor laws of South Carolina, which prohibits laborers of different races from working together in the same room in any textile shop.

This State-imposed policy of discrimination, if complied with by textile manufacturers, violates Executive Order No. 10479. Accordingly, Government agencies, if they abide by the Executive order, would not contract for textiles manufactured in South Carolina.

Tennessee

Tennessee's house of representatives, not content with 1 resolution of defiance of the Supreme Court, has passed 2 such resolutions, denouncing the Court's "tyrannical usurpation of power" and "illegal encroachments upon the powers reserved to the State of Tennessee" (House Resolutions 1 and 9, Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 228 and 481).

In order to implement its defiance of the Court, Tennessee has enacted a series of laws relating to its public-school system.

It has authorized boards of education to provide separate schools for white and Negro children whose parents or guardians voluntarily elect that such children attend school with children of their own race (ch. 11, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 215).

It has given local boards of education authority to assign students on the basis of a long list of intangible and unascertainable factors. Some of these are: "the effect of the enrollment on the welfare and best interests of such pupil and all other pupils"; "the psychological effect upon the pupil attendance at a particular school"; "the sociological, psychological, and like intangible social scientific factors as will prevent, as nearly as possible, a condition of socio-economic class consciousness among the pupils"; "the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others," etc. (ch. 13, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 215).

In order to avoid the possible effects of integration, transfer of students between school systems of different counties, cities, and school districts has been authorized (ch. 9, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 220).

Also authorized is the establishment and operation of joint schools by two or more boards of education (ch. 12, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 220). The law granting this authority is to permit "two counties, neither of which has a large enough Negro student population to make it economically feasible to maintain a separate Negro school, to operate a school or schools for students of both counties" (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 10, p. 12).

In order to impede the legal attack on segregation by the NAACP and other civil-rights organizations, Tennessee seeks to prohibit any person or organization from soliciting funds to "commence or prosecute further any litigation or other legal proceeding" unless the solicitor is a party or has a pecuniary right in the litigation. It also prohibits the expenditure of funds "from whatever source received" by one not a party until it (if a corporation) files a copy of its charter, bylaws, etc.; a list of members, directors, officers, etc.; a statement of its sources of membership fees, contributions, and other sources of revenue; a statement of all its financial transactions, etc. (ch. 152, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957).

The State seeks also to coerce organizations working in the field of interracial relations. In order "to promote interracial harmony and tranquility," it demands the registration of all persons and organizations "engaged in promoting or opposing legislation in behalf of or in opposition to a race or color" or those engaging "in raising or expending funds for the employment of counsel or payment of costs in connection with litigation in behalf of any race or color." It also requires the listing of membership, financial sources, etc., as does the previously mentioned statute on litigation (ch. No. 151, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 498).

Texas

Texas, in adopting a pupil placement law, has, as some other States seeking to avoid integration, encouraged coercion of local school boards by providing that among the criteria the boards shall use in assigning students shall be included "the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others; the possibility of breaches of the peace or ill-will or economic retaliation within the community."

Its placement law allows parents to withdraw students from racially integrated schools (ch. 287, Texas Session Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 693).

Texas seeks to prevent further integration by requiring that no school district shall abolish its dual (segregated) school system unless the voters of the school district have voted to do so. It seeks to abolish integrated systems now existing by allowing the voters of a school district to vote to return to a

segregated system (ch. 283, Texas Session Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 695).

The State has provided for the closing of schools where "violence or the danger thereof cannot be prevented except by resort to military force (Senate bill 1, Texas, special session, 1957; S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 6, p. 5).

Texas has joined those States adopting statutes labeled "anti-NAACP" laws. In an act allegedly aimed at the association, it requires "any organization that seeks to hinder or interfere with the operation of a public school to make public its roster of members on order of the county judge" (New York Times, December 8, 1957).

Virginia

Virginia's program of massive resistance to the implementation of the 14th amendment began with the adoption of a resolution of interposition directed against the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases. It pledged the State "to resist this illegal encroachment on our sovereign powers" (Senate Joint Resolution 3, Virginia, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 445).

In special session the legislature in 1956 adopted a series of laws designed to alter the operation of Virginia public schools in such a way that the State could continue to operate under its unconstitutional segregation policy. These laws, approved on September 29, extend from chapter 56 through chapter 71 of the acts of the 1956 extra session of the General Assembly (I R. R. L. R. 1091 et seq.).

The first of these laws would make available State funds to governmental subdivisions of the State to replace the funds which will be withheld if schools are integrated. These funds will be available "for grants to pupils attending nonsectarian private schools" (ch. 56).

Another statute authorizes local governments to levy a property tax to raise money for such "private" school grants (ch. 57).

Other parts of this legislative plan authorize local school boards to make grants for "private" education out of school funds (ch. 62); provide administrative procedures for the expenditure of such funds (ch. 58); amend the budget laws to provide for such grants (ch. 67); and allow teachers in "private" schools to be included in the teacher retirement system (ch. 64).

The compulsory school attendance law was amended to provide that "no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled" (ch. 59).

It is declared the public policy of the State that the efficient administration of the schools requires the segregation of white and colored students. Where such "efficient" school system cannot be maintained, local authorities are divested of control of the school and the school is closed. The Governor is given the authority and duty to take over the school and administer it in such a way as to prevent integration (ch. 68).

Where local authorities cannot operate an efficient public-school system, the State is authorized to take over and administer, through the governor, such efficient system. In such case the State shall operate its system in the unused school buildings and related facilities now or hereafter owned, constructed, and maintained by the school boards of the several counties, cities, and towns (ch. 69).

The keystone of the whole plan was the pupil placement plan which vested all power of enrollment or placement of pupils in a pupil-placement board. The board was to administer the law, taking into account in assigning students various factors, including the efficiency of the operation of the school. Inasmuch as an efficient school by definition is a segregated one, the board had no authority to place any student in an integrated situation (ch. 70).

The placement law has been declared unconstitutional on its face (*Adkins* v. *School Board of Newport News* (148 F. Supp. 430)).

On September 29, 1956, the legislature also passed a series of laws which have come to be known as the anti-NAACP laws. The purpose of this legislation is to close the courts to legal attacks on the constitutionality of Virginia's segregation policy. They attempt to impede the activities of the NAACP and other civil-rights organizations in the following manner:

Prohibiting the solicitation of funds for legal proceedings except by a party to a suit and requiring the filing of membership lists, financial statements, sources of dues, and contributions, etc., by any organization contributing funds for legal proceedings (ch. 31, Virginia Extra Session, 1956).

Requiring the registration of any person or organization "who or which engages as one of its principal functions or activities in the promoting or opposing in any manner the passage of legislation by the general assembly in behalf of any race or color, or who or which has as one of its principal functions or activities the advocating of racial integration or segregation * * * or who or which * * * engages in raising or expanding funds for the employment of counsel * * * in behalf of any race or color." In addition to registering an organization is required to list its members, contributors, financial information, etc. Such information shall be public records (ch. 32, Virginia extra session, 1956).

By making criminal the giving, receiving, solicitation, etc., of funds for any legal action against the State, its political subdivisions, or officials thereof, except by a party to such suit or one having a direct interest therein. Also made illegal is the advising or intigating of such suit (ch. 36, extra session, Virginia, 1956).

At the same time that the above legislation was enacted, the legislature created two legislative investigating committees, the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice and a committee to investigate organizations promoting "litigation relating to racial activities" (chs. 34 and 37, extra session, Virginia, 1956).

These committees have spent most of their time in harassing litigants and attorneys in civil-rights suits and other proponents of constitutional rights.

They have, in secret sessions, inquired into the political and religious beliefs of witnesses and have conducted their investigations in the style of the secret police.

On the local level in Virginia, the county of Halifax has taken upon itself the regulation of solicitation of memberships by organizations, unions, or societies. No such solicitation shall be allowed without a permit. In passing on the permit, the board of supervisors shall consider "the character of the applicant, the nature of the business of the organization * * * and its effect upon the general welfare of citizens of said county" (I R. R. L. R. 958).

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April 25, 1958

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Diggs:

Thank you for your letter of April 24, 1958; and your request for the Council's special report. We are mailing you two copies of this special report and two copies of the earlier pamphlet, "The Negro Voter in the South."

As you will note, the special report, "The Move To Disenfranchise the Negro Voter," is nothing more than an attempt to document the moves and statements of Southern officials whose aims are to raise barriers to Negro voting.

However, you may be interested in knowing that the Council plans an extensive follow-up to its earlier report, "The Negro Voter in the South." The plans for this study are already underway, and research on the project should begin at an early date.

Again, thank you for your interest and with very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

April 25, 1958

Miss Sheila S. Kelley
Room 311 Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Kelley:

Thank you for your letter of April 24, 1958; and your request for the Council's materials. We have enclosed two copies of a recent special report, "The Move To Disenfranchise the Negro Voter," and two copies of an earlier pamphlet, "The Negro Voter in the South."

As you will note, the special report is nothing more than an attempt to document some of the statements of Southern officials in the attempt to erect barriers to Negro voting.

However, you and your organization may be interested in knowing that the Council is now engaged in preparing an extensive follow-up to its earlier report, "The Negro Voter in the South." The plans for this study are already underway, and research on the project should begin at an early date.

Again, thank you for your interest and with very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

May 1, 1958

Mr. Howard C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 25th, with which was enclosed a copy of the article from the April 20th Birmingham News and the tables relating to Arkansas which were prepared by Jimmie Jones.

Inadvertently, I gather, the report or compilation of various press reports which you intended to enclose did not come with these other materials. We would be very grateful if you could send that on at your early convenience.

Sent 5/5/58

MF to send per PA

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Frank W. McCulloch

Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas

FWM/es

We have had uniformly friendly replies to our letters on the bill — and quite a few indicating a willingness to appear. We have not yet written to all on the list.

P.

April 25, 1958

Mr. Frank W. McCulloch
Administrative Assistant to
Senator Paul H. Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McCulloch:

Going back to an earlier battle, I thought you might be interested in a few current items on the status of Negro registration.

You may have noticed in the Washington Post some mention of this Council's special report on the deep South trend toward disfranchisement of Negroes. All we undertook to do was to pull together some scattered press reports of public statements by officials and others signifying their intent to impose new barriers to Negro suffrage.

The other two items give county-by-county tabulations for Arkansas and Alabama. The newspaper report on Alabama was compiled by the state's leading political reporter and so should be reasonably reliable. Considering how heavily our 1956 Alabama figures were attacked, it is interesting to observe that the Birmingham News speaks of a large increase in the last two years and still reports an aggregate total smaller than our 1956 estimated total. It would seem that, far from mis-representing Alabama to its disadvantage,

our report was much too generous!

I might mention that the Southern Regional Council has just received a grant of $10,000 to enable us to follow-up, in a modest way, the 1956 voter survey. Our hope is that this ongoing assessment will provide useful background for the continuing national concern for full and free exercise of the ballot by all citizens.

With kindest regards to you and to Senator Douglas,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 1 ("Eligible Voter List..." Birmingham News, April 20, 1958; Poll Tax Tabulation, Jimmie Jones - Little Rock, Ark.)

Sent 5/5/58 "The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter."

May 15, 1958

Honorable Paul Douglas
U. S. Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Douglas:

Your letter of May 1, for some reason, was delayed in reaching Atlanta.

I would most certainly like to testify, if I were invited, before Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Sub-Committee, but it is just impossible.

I think the Southern Regional Council has given you names of some who may be available.

I appreciate your request and really feel honored by it. Thank you very much for a copy of your bill S3257. I hope you will get it through. It would help our Southern situation.

I have hopes that some day, not too far off, our country will recognize all people as citizens.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lcc

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

May 1, 1958

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In case you have not already seen it, I am enclosing a copy of the new civil rights bill which I introduced in the Senate two months ago in behalf of myself and fifteen other Senators.

As you will see from the copy of my remarks in the Senate at that time, which is also enclosed, we hope to lay special emphasis upon the constructive assistance that the federal government may give to the desegregation of our public schools in line with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

We expect that hearings on this bill will be scheduled for mid- or late May, and we are anxious to have thoughtful testimony from those who are aware of the complexity of these problems but are themselves deeply concerned about finding a means of making progress. By virtue of your long experience and demonstrated concern, you would rank high on the list of desirable witnesses.

I am writing now to inquire informally as to whether you might find it possible to accept if you were invited to testify by the Chairman of the Subcommittee, Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri.

Those of us who are the proponents naturally hope that we can give a new boost to the idea that other branches of the federal government besides the Supreme Court should assume some responsibility for action to carry out the provisions of the Constitution.

It would greatly help us in our planning if you could send me a telegram, collect, indicating whether you might be in a position to respond affirmatively to such an invitation. It would also help in planning the allocation of time between proponents and others if we knew in a general way what your attitude toward the bill's major proposals is.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/fwm/es
enc.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

June 30, 1958

Dear friend:

I thought you might be interested in my testimony on the Civil Rights Act of 1958 before the House Judiciary Committee June 25.

With kindest regards,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

Enclosure

From the Office of

Senator Paul H. Douglas
(D. Ill.)
Room 109, Senate Office
Building, Washington, D.C.

Statement of Senator Paul H. Douglas
Before The
House Judiciary Committee
in Support of
The Civil Rights Act of 1958
June 25, 1958

Mr. Chairman,

I appear today in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1958, a bill to put our moral house in order by implementing the constitutional right of American children to equal opportunity in desegregated schooling, and by giving to every American a greater assurance of the equal protection of the laws.

This bill, sponsored by you, Mr. Chairman, and by 12 other Representatives in the House and by myself and 15 of my Democratic and Republican colleagues in the Senate, is carefully designed to do the job of securing to our school children, white and black, the desegregated public schooling which is their constitutional right.

This bill is a positive acceptance by the Federal government of the legal and moral responsibility for the enforcement of the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws. It assigns to executive departments under the President the responsibility to see that the supreme law of the land is faithfully observed. It declares in unmistakable terms the determination of Congress to give effect to the guaranties of equal protection in the Fourteenth Amendment, and it provides the tools to do the job.

With the evidence from last week's Little Rock decision to remind us that courts may also backslide in the face of hostile pressures, the need is all the greater for executive and legislative action such as this measure would provide to support the constitutional rights at stake. We should not expect the courts to do it all.

This bill is a new departure in meeting the school desegregation crisis in that it provides vitally-needed Federal technical and financial assistance and Federal leadership to States and local communities still segregated.

And where necessary, it makes available the legal resources of the Federal government itself - as the House of Representatives has twice previously, in 1956 and 1957, voted to do - for achievement of the great moral promise of equality which finds its expression in the Fourteenth Amendment.

Before describing how the pending legislation will work, Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my deep conviction that nothing pending in this Congress more urgently demands its attention than this legislation and to give the basis for this conviction.

I.

URGENT AND COMPELLING NEED FOR LEGISLATION

Four years have passed since the Supreme Court of the United States declared that segregated public schooling is a denial of the equal protection of the laws which all school children, regardless of color or race, are guaranteed by the Constitution. Three years have passed since the Supreme Court ruled that all communities whose schools are segregated must begin to take measures with all deliberate speed towards the elimination of this demeaning racial practice, which denies American children their constitutional rights, which weakens the moral fibre of this great democracy, and which debases our standing and reputation throughout the free world.

How have we, in this four-year period, summoned our moral, political and legal resources to achieve the elimination of the unconstitutional system of segregated public schooling?

The Progress Up to Now

On the plus side, it should be noted that 1,952,761 white pupils and 377,286 Negro school children attending segregated schools in 1954 are in districts which have at least begun desegregation. I have been especially stirred by the reports of the achievement in Louisville, Kentucky, which mustered the energies of its fine citizens to accomplish desegregation smoothly, efficiently and with a minimum of disturbance and dislocation.

Louisville, Kentucky, of course, is only one of the many examples which come to mind. From large communities like the District of Columbia to small townships in Texas, thousands of high-minded Americans have lived up to their constitutional obligations and have accomplished desegregation without delay or disruption.

Public colleges and universities even more widely than elementary and high schools have dropped their racial bars; 112 out of 202 tax-supported colleges and universities, formerly all white, will now accept Negroes. The total number of Negroes enrolled in these schools is estimated around 2,000.

Too often history records human failure, while the memory of the good that men achieve fails to survive the conscience of their contemporaries. I hope that when this nation is judged in its effort to achieve for its children

the equality guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, Louisville, Kentucky, and all those other Louisvilles, large and small, which set about promptly, honestly and courageously to accomplish desegregation, will not be forgotten.

The Unfinished Job Ahead

But on the minus side the picture is grim and sad.

I want first to note that this problem is not confined to the South, although it is obviously most acute there. While our school laws in the Northern States are usually in line with the Constitution, some of our school practices are not. De facto segregation based on school districting, discriminations against Negro teachers and disorderly resistance to desegregation have been reported. The discriminations may be more subtle, but they are nevertheless real. The problem is thus national in its scope.

I am not informed of any comprehensive tabulation or summary of developments in the Northern States. But I believe your Committee should keep in mind the findings of Dr. Benjamin Fine, the able education analyst, who described the situation in the Northern States in an article in the New York Times for August 26, 1957, under the heading "North Moves to Eliminate Color Line in Its Schools."

I would request, Mr. Chairman, that this article be made a part of the hearing record at this point in my remarks. (Insert Dr. Fine's report.)

Despite the rapid progress in the border States and the substantial gains in some Southern States, it is disheartening to note that as of today, four years after the legal decision outlawing segregation, there remain more than 2,100 segregated school districts in 17 Southern and border States.

In seven - Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia - there has been absolutely no desegregation whatever, except that in two of them - Louisiana and Virginia - some State colleges were desegregated.

In two more States, North Carolina and Tennessee, only the barest handful of Negro school children have been admitted to desegregated schools.

Mr. Chairman, in those 17 States more than ten million American school children, 7½ million whites and 2½ million Negroes, plus the uncounted children in de facto segregated situations in the North and Southwest, are today denied the equal protection of the laws in that they are denied the opportunity to attend desegregated public schools. Here are ten million school children being taught according to the ways of segregation and discrimination in a land where segregation and discrimination are unlawful. This is a sobering, wholesale denial of constitutional rights.

Mr. Chairman, the most careful and complete analysis of the facts in the 17 Southern and border States has been prepared by the Southern School News of Nashville, Tennessee, directed by leading educators and newsmen of that area. The figures I have cited are from its studies. The map published in their May issue gives the best graphic presentation of those facts that I have seen. I would request that there be printed in the record at this point the over-all summary, State-by-State summaries, and the segregation-desegregation status map from the May issue of the Southern School News. (Insert May, 1958, Southern School News material.)

In addition, I believe the Statistical Summary published by this same group on February 1, 1958, is of such value on specific facts concerning the schools, the court cases, legislation, etc., that I submit it for the Committee's information. If the Chairman and members of the Committee do not consider it too long, I would be glad to have it printed as an appendix to my statement.

May I repeat, Mr. Chairman, that in my opinion the 7½ million white children who are denied desegregated public schooling are being denied their constitutional rights no less than the 2½ million segregated Negro children.

The Supreme Court in its historic decision spoke eloquently of the heavy burden of psychic inferiority inflicted upon Negro school children denied the opportunity of going to school with white children. In my opinion, not enough attention has been paid to the burden of the false sense of superiority which is fostered in white school children by our segregated public schools.

The worth of every citizen, the dignity of man, the equality of each before the law, unaffected by his race, creed or national origin, are proclaimed in our religious teachings and in the great documents that reflect our prevailing national convictions - the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, court decisions, etc. They are foundation stones of our freedom and of democratic society. They are an important part of the "American way" which has such world-wide appeal. But a segregated school system tends to undermine these basic tenets.

A Southern leader, Mr. Marion Wright, President of the Southern Regional Council, in a speech in Columbia, South Carolina, recently summarized this clearly when he pointed out that the segregation system is applied to buses, schools, theaters, golf courses, libraries, restaurants, churches, etc., but not to the much more personal situations where Negroes serve as cooks, maids, washwomen, gardeners and chauffeurs, under a master and servant relation. "Why the difference?" he asked. "There is but one answer: The master and servant relation-

ship is consistent with the idea of superiority of the whites; the condemned relationships are consistent with the idea of equality of members of the two races."

And Mr. Wright reminds us, "Such assumptions of superiority have through the centuries produced not only the short, sharp agony of war, but the prolonged and subtle and refined torment of spirit which follows discrimination."

The false sense of superiority which segregated schooling inculcates in 7½ million white public school children, therefore, must be added to the harm inflicted on the 2½ million Negro children when we take toll of the injury we are inflicting on our school children while we allow their constitutional rights to go by default.

That ten million Americans continue to be deprived of their constitutional right four years after the Supreme Court's decision is bad enough. What is worse is that there is no relief in sight for most of these millions because the public officials of these States have largely lent their energies to efforts to nullify the law of the land; that desegregation has been achieved in some areas only at the awful price of personal and public tragedy, and then new setbacks, as in Little Rock; and that, in the face of these stark realities, Congress and the Executive Branch of the Federal government have shirked their constitutional responsibilities.

Another September will soon be here, and with it the start of a new school year. But where are the signs that any substantial new progress will then be made? No one who believes in brotherhood and who loves his fellow man can deny the urgent and compelling need for action to bring every American his right to the equal protection of the laws.

Deliberate Nullification of the Constitution

The welter of State legislation, resolutions, ordinances and administrative actions deliberately obstructing the Supreme Court's decisions - at last count (by the Southern School News) more than 145 State legislative measures seeking to render the Supreme Court's decisions ineffective have been passed - have recently been gathered by Mr. J. Francis Polhaus, formerly with the Department of Justice and now counsel to the Washington chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Many of these restrictive statutes cover other fields besides education.

I ask that his study be inserted in the record at this point in my testimony to demonstrate the seriousness of the situation. (Insert Mr. Polhaus' study.)

I am saddened by the ingenuity and imagination displayed by some of our Southern State legislatures in their efforts to render ineffective the law of the land. Most of these legislatures, which began with blunt interposition resolutions, have gone on now to enact subtle and complicated schemes for the prevention of desegregation. They have enacted pupil assignment plans to prevent it. They have passed bills to cut off State funds to non-segregated schools. They have required pupil applicants to have "certificates of good character." They have even provided for the closing of desegregated schools, criminal penalties for those who spend tax monies on such schools, suspension of compulsory attendance laws and for loss of retirement benefits by State officials who do not fully enforce State segregation laws.

In an increasing number of States, so-called anti-barratry laws have been passed. Under the guise of preventing the improper incitement of litigation, these laws make it a penal offense for anyone to offer money or legal assistance for court actions to interested parties suing to protect their constitutional rights. By these and other means some States seek to bar the doors of the courts to suits by persons deprived of their constitutional rights who could not, without outside help like that offered by the N.A.A.C.P., maintain such suits.

The Supreme Court had recognized the need for time to enable the States where segregation prevailed to make the difficult transition to compliance with its decrees. It is a great tragedy that this time has been utilized in so many places to block, rather than ease, this transition.

But what is of even greater concern than these direct, legislative attacks upon school desegregation is the growing effort in some Southern States to frighten and repress those who seek to assert their constitutional rights and to silence the friends and sympathizers of desegregation - those who want to be law-abiding and to achieve equal treatment for Negroes in their own communities. Those who have spoken up have had to pay the price. Teachers have been dismissed from their jobs. Businessmen have been boycotted. Public officials have been fired for their public or private expressions in favor of the law of the land. Almost fifty bombings have added to the atmosphere of repression since January 1, 1957.

I am also concerned with one of the growing means of intimidation and nullification being used by those who would obstruct the Court's decisions - the State investigating committee. Private citizens are being called by these "legislative" committees under penalty of contempt in an atmosphere of hostility

and hatred, to defend their actions, their expressions and even their thoughts in favor of desegregation.

Just recently, for instance, the papers have reported a series of hearings in Louisiana by a ten-man legislative committee attempting to determine whether anyone at the Louisiana State University supports the law of the land on the subject of school desegregation. As reported in the Washington Post for Thursday, June 12th, the Committee plans to question in public each of fifty-nine Louisiana State University teachers reported to have signed a petition against proposed laws which would continue racial segregation in defiance of the Constitution.

Indeed, there is pending at this moment in the Supreme Court the case of N.A.A.C.P. vs. Alabama, wherein Alabama has attempted to drive the N.A.A.C.P. out of business by demands for its lists of members and by unconscionable fines for refusal to comply with those unconstitutional demands. Another similar case pending in the Supreme Court is Scull vs. Commonwealth of Virginia, where a Virginia legislative committee has demanded information concerning a private citizen's associations with the N.A.A.C.P., in the words of the committee chairman, in order to "keep the N.A.A.C.P. out of litigation," and "bust that organization wide open." This unfortunate misuse of compulsory process is part and parcel of the counter-attack against the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, which the Southern School News has characterized in Virginia as "massive resistance."

Mr. Chairman, only by a firm and positive acceptance of responsibility by the Federal government to see that the supreme law of the land is obeyed, in my opinion, can we halt this tide of obstruction and counter-attack.

The foremost objective of the pending measure is to provide the leadership and responsibility which is the only way out of our present tragic course. The enactment of this bill will be an announcement to every American that defiance of the Court and nullification of the Constitution are bound to fail because the Federal government has irrevocably committed itself to enforcing the constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws; it will be an encouragement to those who deeply care for our democratic values of constitutional rights and law and order; it will offer assistance to the courageous persons of good will often silenced by extremists; it will sound the call for the elimination and the end of segregation in America.

Disorder and Violence

Perhaps even more serious, Mr. Chairman, than our failure to achieve compliance with the Constitution or to halt the counter-attack upon it, is the

awful personal price which innocent participants, and even innocent bystanders, have had to pay in the course of achieving desegregation. For not only have the public officials of many States set themselves against the law of the land, but they have emboldened the most reckless elements in our society to defy the authority of the courts.

No one can repair, no one can even count, the devastating and irreparable personal suffering at Little Rock, Arkansas. Negro children were kept from public schools by bayonets. White children marched to school through a lane of bayonets. Racial tensions in Arkansas and other communities were brought to fever pitch. Bombings of Negro homes and Jewish temples occurred in many parts of the South. Fine working relationships between Negroes and whites, built up through years of careful work and effort, were severed overnight.

It was to be expected that the rate of desegregation might be slower, after the areas of easier adjustment to the law completed their action. But if the groups supporting law and order take a holiday, or a cooling-off period, while those who resist are building up their drive, more tragic outbreaks and lawlessness are likely to occur.

The United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia in the case of N.A.A.C.P. vs. Patty (June 21, 1958), has already referred to "the situation in Virginia, where the attitude of the public authorities openly encourages opposition to the law of the land, which may easily find expression in disturbances of the public peace." Can anyone doubt that the result of the District Court Judge's decision last week in Little Rock is even more likely - unless speedily reversed - to put a premium on similar obstruction and violent resistance elsewhere? When "deliberate speed" becomes "deliberate nullification" in consequence of mob action and organized strife and tension, the strain upon our system of law is great. The chances of chaos are dangerously increased.

The need,then,for wise, reasonable and affirmative leadership and action is urgent.

I think every member of this Committee and of this Congress will join in the view that no democracy which values the rights of its citizens can tolerate incidents where mob violence or the threats of it block law and order. Furthermore, this nation simply cannot afford another Little Rock if it would preserve its leadership as a free and democratic nation in a world which is one-third Communist and two-thirds colored.

The pending legislation, Mr. Chairman, aims to set up insurance against another Little Rock anywhere in the nation. It provides the ounces of prevention that are needed.

It provides for financial and technical assistance to communities seeking to desegregate and will thus make possible the avoidance of the fatal mistake of failing to obtain adequate support for desegregation from all walks of community life.

It permits the Attorney General's legal intervention far in advance of the critical hour when only troops can restore order.

Above all, the pending legislation will discourage the lawless elements who have disgraced America by letting them know that the Federal government is deeply and irrevocably committed to a land free of segregation. In a word, by rendering the cause of opposition to law and order hopeless, it will help to scatter and rout that opposition.

Failure of Federal Leadership: In the Executive

And finally, Mr. Chairman, I come to the worst blot of all on the good name and the moral and political health of this nation since the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 -- the complete shirking of responsibility by both the Congress and the Executive on this problem of school desegregation.

Last September, Mr. Walter Lippman wrote of the President's inaction at Little Rock in terms equally descriptive of the failure of the President and of Congress to meet their responsibilities with regard to desegregation generally, a failure for which both Democrats and Republicans must take equal blame. Mr. Lippman said:

> "The situation is one in which the whole climate could be changed by a President who took command, who spoke clearly, in no uncertain terms, to the patriotism, the common sense, and the good will of the people. There ought to be somebody around whom the Nation can rally with confidence, rising above the passion of this envenomed struggle. But at present, there is nobody who is unmistakably in command, nobody who is speaking clearly, nobody who is really working seriously to bring order, plan, purpose, and control into what is in fact a drift into disorder."

Since the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, the President of the United States has not to my knowledge taken a single step - other than the one to which he was inevitably forced at Little Rock due in large measure to his own previous inaction - to use his great office in order to promote the desegregation of public schools for the benefit of those ten million school children who are now denied their constitutional rights.

The President has called no conferences of public officials or private leaders clearly directed towards desegregation.

He has not used in any other manner the name or the power of his office in the effort to achieve school desegregation.

He has allowed his lieutenants to play the role of neutrals in the struggle for law and order.

He has even refused to endorse or to state his moral approval of the Court's school desegregation decision itself.

At a news conference on September 5, 1956, the President stated in answer to a question, "Do you endorse the finding of the Supreme Court on segregation?" that "I think it makes no difference whether or not I endorse it."

At a news conference on October 11, 1956, when asked to amplify on this statement, he said concerning the Constitution, "I am sworn to uphold it. I know, I don't ask myself whether every single phase of the Constitution, with all its amendments, are exactly what I agree with or not."

Time Magazine for October 14, 1957, quotes the President as having told Southern governors on October 1, "I have never said what I thought about the Supreme Court decision -- I have never told a soul."

On the 17th of July, 1957, the President virtually dealt the death blow to Part III of the Civil Rights Bill which would have opened the way to Federal school desegregation suits in areas where no private person can dare to bring a suit. When asked the question, "Are you convinced that it would be a wise extension of Federal power at this stage to permit the Attorney General to bring suits on his own motion to enforce school integration in the South?" he replied, "Well, no."

It is quite clear that the President has not taken those essential steps which flow from his duty to see that the Constitution's provisions are faithfully observed and enforced.

I say these things about the President, not as a Democrat but as an American, because they are true and because they need to be recognized.

Failure Too in The Congress

And the failure of the President, Mr. Chairman, to insure the faithful execution of the laws is equalled by our failure in Congress to uphold our constitutional responsibility to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

I want to pay tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, to Congressman Keating, and to the large majorities in the House who both in 1956 and 1957 sent over to the

Senate civil rights legislation which included a Part III that would have given the Attorney General power to file suits for preventive relief against school segregation.

But Democrats and Republicans in the Senate -- and our Republican friends cannot even truthfully say, as can some of our Democratic friends from the South, that their political future was involved in their vote -- nevertheless joined to defeat Part III of the Civil Rights Bill of 1957 and thus to refuse Congressional support for the desegregation decisions.

Not only has Congress failed in any way to endorse and support the school decisions pursuant to its obligation in the Fifth Section of the Fourteenth Amendment to secure Fourteenth Amendment rights to all our citizens, but, what is worse, the only declaration to date from the Congress on the subject has been entirely negative. I refer to the manifesto in which most -- happily not all -- Southern Congressmen and Senators joined in declaring their disagreement with and their resistance to the Supreme Court's mandate.

Mr. Chairman, here is a sad spectacle of the greatest democracy in the world unable to muster its moral, political and legal energies in order to secure for its school children the constitutional guarantee of equal protection. This is the reason that I come before you today to say that the Civil Rights Bill of 1958 is one of the most important pieces of legislation pending in the Congress. The present impasse must not be permitted to continue; the proposed bill is in my judgment the best way yet proposed to breach this impasse and to fulfill the American dream of equality for all.

Each day that passes without action to end the injury, the resistance and the shame is tragic for the victims and for our standing as a nation among the watching peoples and nations of the world.

II.

THE PENDING LEGISLATION IS A CONSTRUCTIVE NEW APPROACH TO DESEGREGATION

In the face of this defiance of the Court and disobedience of the law of the land, Congress must assert its obligation to put the nation once more on the path towards obedience to law and respect for the great moral judgment reflected by the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection guarantee.

What Congress and the Executive Branch must do to bring about the orderly desegregation of the public schools and to guarantee the equal protection of the laws is:

First, to declare and accept Federal legal and moral responsibility for implementing the constitutional requirement of desegregation;

Second, to provide vitally-needed Federal technical and financial assistance and Federal leadership to States and local communities whose schools are still segregated;

Third, to provide Federal legal assistance where private parties are unable to vindicate the constitutional rights of our school children and others.

I believe that the pending legislation would accomplish each of these vitally necessary purposes.

(i) Proclamation of Federal Legal and Moral Responsibility for Desegregation

Probably the most important function of this bill is to provide for the positive acceptance of legal and moral responsibility and leadership by the Federal government in the area of school desegregation. Thus, in Title I there are specific findings to the effect that the Supreme Court decisions on racial segregation in public education "express the moral ideals of the nation and the world and point the way to a nation enhanced in strength and dignity;" that the decisions are being resisted in many areas of the nation where there has been a failure to make a prompt and reasonable start towards compliance; and that legislative and executive action is necessary to safeguard the rights involved.

It is further specifically found in Title I that the Federal government "to maintain a more perfect union, to extend justice, to promote the common defense and to secure the blessings of liberty to all persons, has a coordinate responsibility (with the States) to guarantee the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws."

And finally there is a recognition by the Congress of "its authority and responsibility under the Fifth Section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and its obligation to uphold the coordinate authority and responsibility of the judicial branch of the Government," in view of which the Congress "declares its intention that the right to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution against deprivation by reason of race, color, religion or national origin and affirmed by the anti-segregation decisions of the Supreme Court, shall be protected by all due and reasonable means."

It is this declaration and acceptance of legal and moral responsibility and leadership, specifically recognized in Title I of the bill, which is implemented in the succeeding titles.

(ii) Federal Cooperation, Assistance and Planning

Titles II, III, and IV of the bill seek, by Federal cooperation, by Federal assistance and by Federal planning, to promote orderly compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation mandate.

Title II authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to promote and further desegregation through the compilation and distribution of helpful information, including the distribution of successful case histories of desegregation, through the arrangement of conferences to discuss ways and means of eliminating segregation, through the appointment of advisory councils, through the provision of specialists' services to States and local communities, and generally through the rendering of technical assistance not easily available in a particular community.

Appropriations up to $2.5 million a year for five years are authorized for these purposes.

Title III authorizes the Secretary to make grants for school facilities in areas where the chief problem preventing or hindering effective compliance is the lack of adequate buildings or other physical equipment. It provides grants also for employing additional teachers, in-service teacher training, employment of specialists in desegregation programs, short-term training courses, and other educational measures undertaken to eliminate segregation without lowering existing educational standards.

The grants authorized in Title III are based on the principle that the Federal government has a responsibility for the impact which the Court's decisions have on local educational policies which were based on a different concept of law.

One of the most important functions of Title III is to provide funds to local communities seeking to comply with the desegregation mandate, but which do so under threat of discontinuance of State funds. Section 301(b)(4) provides funds for "replacement of State payments to a school district or other political subdivision withdrawn because the applicant district or subdivision is eliminating, or starting to eliminate, segregation." This provision might well be of crucial significance in Virginia this September, where desegregation has been ordered in three communities for the fall of this year, but the legislature has prescribed the discontinuance of State funds in case of integration.

Appropriations of up to $40 million a year are authorized to cover the costs of the grant programs in Title III.

Title IV provides that, when other methods fail, the Executive Branch of government, acting through the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare,

shall accept and exercise responsibility for initiating the development of desegregation plans to accomplish that objective. In the development of these desegregation plans there are express provisions for the fullest possible local consultation and participation. It is to be hoped that the communities involved would accept the carefully developed plan established by Title IV, but, if not, Title V provides for Federal legal action to achieve desegregation.

The primary emphasis in the bill is therefore upon assistance and cooperation wherever possible, and not upon court processes or punishment.

(iii) Federal Legal Action to Accomplish Desegregation and to Secure Equal Protection.

The first four Titles of the bill, by providing for Federal assumption of legal and moral responsibility and for Federal cooperation, assistance and planning, should achieve orderly desegregation in compliance with the Supreme Court's mandate. But the bill also provides the legal power to bring about compliance where assistance and other inducements have failed. And the bill goes beyond school desegregation and provides the legal power to bring suits to guarantee the equal protection of the laws to every American denied his rights because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Title V confers the power to file compliance actions in school cases in connection with approved desegregation plans, when the Secretary certifies that all efforts to secure compliance by conciliation, assistance and otherwise have failed.

Title VI provides authority for the Attorney General to bring legal action in cases where State or local officials deny any person the equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin, but only upon a signed complaint and when in the judgment of the Attorney General the person aggrieved is unable to seek effective legal protection for the right involved.

Suits are also authorized by the Attorney General against those who attempt to prevent local officials from according persons equal protection of the laws, or who act to hinder the execution of court orders for equal protection. Action to deprive persons of their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment because such persons are opposing denial of the rights of others, is also made a basis for legal action by the Attorney General. In addition, the Attorney General is explicitly authorized to intervene in cases brought by others for relief against the denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Mr. Chairman, I need not belabor the reasons for providing these Federal legal powers to vindicate the right to desegregated schooling and to equal protection of the laws generally.

I have already described the organized defiance with which the school mandate has been met in some of our States. By virtue of the so-called anti-barratry laws, the abusive use of legislative investigatory power and innumerable private and public sanctions against litigants and potential litigants, these States have sought to nullify the right to school desegregation. Public and quasi-public reprisals against litigants and potential litigants and those who, like the N.A.A.C.P., seek to assist litigants to vindicate the constitutional rights involved, have reached such a level that in some areas only the Federal government can successfully initiate and prosecute a desegregation action.

The bill specifically provides that the Attorney General may bring an action not only when the person or persons involved are financially unable to bear the expenses of litigation, but also "when there is reason to believe that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the employment or other economic activity of, or might result in physical harm or economic damage to, such person or group of persons or their families."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Mr. Chairman, it is too much to hope that all of our colleagues in Congress will welcome this legislation, but I say to my Southern colleagues most sincerely that, if they oppose this bill, then in my judgment, they oppose not only the best and most vital interests of the nation and of the free world, but ultimately of their own constituents as well.

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and this nation cannot and must not tolerate its disobedience. No citizen of this great federation can put himself above the law. The call to disobedience, defiance and indirectly to violence which we hear daily from some of our States, too often from persons entrusted with high public office, is doomed to fail.

We all must recognize that the choice is not whether the Constitution will be obeyed, nor even whether it will be obeyed sooner or later. What we must decide is whether, by giving countenance to - or standing mute in the face of - the unlawful cry of disobedience and counter-attack, we shall add fuel to the flames and subject untold personal and public damage upon our own people, upon the nation and the free world, or whether, by joining in this reasonable and measured effort at Federal-State cooperation, planning and assistance, we shall foster orderly compliance with the supreme law of the land.

The pending legislation would provide for the recognition, acceptance and reasonable implementation of responsibility and leadership towards school desegregation by the Congress and the President. This is exactly where the responsibility and leadership belong in the face of events since May of 1954.

We never escape the penalties of our sins and of our failures. Had not Congress deleted Part III of the Civil Rights Bill of 1957, which is essentially included in the present measure, I do not believe this nation or the people of that community would have had to suffer the tragic events at Little Rock last fall. The attitude of the President and the Congress in attempting to wash their hands of the problem of school desegregation helped to embolden lawless persons at Little Rock to defy the courts and set fires of resistance burning elsewhere in the South.

Mr. Chairman, I believe we can by positive action now and with the cooperation of the executive departments and of the local communities which this bill would make possible, largely prevent in Virginia this fall or in any other State this year, next year or at any time in the future, another tragedy such as we have suffered in several areas. Surely we must seek to avoid the vindictive epithet, the acts of violence, the frightened school children of whatever race or color, the fearful parents, the repressed persons of good will, and the breaches of law and order.

Failure to act on this legislation, Mr. Chairman, would be a defeat for civil rights and for democracy itself. Now a century after the Emancipation Proclamation and the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment, let us show for all the world to see that this great democracy can carry out the ruling of its Supreme Court, assure ten million of its school children their constitutional rights to equality of opportunity, reinforce our beliefs in the dignity of man, and make available for the upbuilding and strengthening of our nation the full powers, talents and skills of all our citizens.

Whatever may be the demands of other legislation, whatever powerful domestic and international interests may command the attention of this Congress, whatever may be the call to adjourn for election campaigning, it is my earnest hope, Mr. Chairman, that your Committee will report out the Civil Rights Act of 1958, for the debate and the action of this 85th Congress, and that we may be able to persuade a majority of the Senate Committee to do likewise. In my opinion, nothing can take precedence over the need for a speedy end to massive resistance to the Constitution and for the vindication of the right of children to desegregated schooling and of every American to the equal protection of the laws.

For Release:
Friday, December 12, 1958
A.M.'s

From the Office of:
Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.)
Suite 109, Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

SENATOR DOUGLAS URGES ADMINISTRATION TO
SUPPORT POSITIVE CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) has called upon Attorney General William P. Rogers and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming, in formulating the Administration's civil rights recommendations for the 86th Congress, to give serious consideration to the bill for technical, financial and administrative assistance in school desegregation cases, as well as injunctive relief against denials of equal protection of the laws, as proposed by a bipartisan group of 16 Senators and by 13 Members of the House of Representatives earlier this year.

Accompanying the release of his letters to the two Cabinet officials, Senator Douglas also released a strong statement he submitted to them in support of the bill from a Southern leader, Mr. Marion A. Wright, lawyer of Linville Falls, North Carolina, past president of the Southern Regional Council and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

In releasing the letters and the Wright statement, Senator Douglas declared:

> "I hope that the more widespread public discussion of these constructive proposals and of Mr. Wright's thoughtful analysis can help to shift the focus of the national debate from massive defiance to deliberate compliance, from federal-state conflict to federal-state cooperation, from Constitutional violations and punishment to constructive and orderly assistance. We hope the Administration will study these suggestions with care and give its support to a positive program."

In his letters to the Cabinet members, Senator Douglas wrote,

> "The basic logic of the proposal is a greater acceptance of federal responsibility for ending denials of equal protection of the laws and fuller cooperation with state and local governments for that purpose.....
>
> "The bill has been prepared with a keen awareness of the complexity and national scope of the underlying issues, but with a deep conviction that our international position and the unfortunate events in Arkansas, Virginia and elsewhere all give a new urgency to such action."

Among the conclusions set forth in the statement of Mr. Wright about the bill were the following:

> "The bill has the great virtue that, while fully recognizing the division of powers between the three branches of government, it marshals the legislative and executive authority alongside the judicial in support of law .....

"Surely this gentle and persuasive approach (Title II, technical assistance) may be reasonably expected to reduce materially the number of communities now openly defiant .....

"I think practically everyone in the South will applaud the constructive and positive rather than punitive approach to the problem of compliance with the law which in Title III (financial assistance) the bill exhibits .....

"Title IV of the bill (administrative steps for desegregation plans) presents a new and imaginative approach to the problem ..... It will be noticed that in every step taken under this bill local interests are fully consulted."

And Mr. Wright also expressed support for the provisions of the bill giving the Attorney General the right to seek injunctive orders for compliance with the law where other steps fail or where individuals cannot sue for themselves, the principle of Part III of the 1957 civil rights bill, which was knocked out by the Senate last year. "The bill ..... seems to me to speak clearly what lies in the American conscience," said Mr. Wright in his analysis.

Mr. Wright's statement was prepared for presentation to the House Judiciary Committee, which started hearings last June only to have them interrupted by the rush of business at the end of the session. It has been forwarded by Senator Douglas to Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman of the House Committee,for inclusion in the hearing record.

The sponsors of the bill in the Senate in addition to Senator Douglas were: Senators Humphrey (D., Minn.), Ives (R., N.Y.), Hennings (D., Mo.), Case (R., N.J.), Neuberger (D., Oreg.), Allott (R., Colo.), McNamara (D., Mich.), Dirksen (R., Ill.), Morse (D., Oreg.), Javits (R., N.Y.), Clark (D., Pa.), Proxmire (D., Wis.), Carroll (D., Colo.), Beall (R., Md.), and Pastore (D., R.I.).

House Members introducing the bill were: Representatives Celler (D.,N.Y. Diggs (D., Mich.), O'Hara (D., Ill.), Roosevelt (D., Calif.), Porter (D., Oreg.), Reuss (D., Wis.), Shelley (D., Calif.), Thompson (D., N.J.), Udall (D., Ariz.), Vanik (D., Ohio), McCarthy (D., Minn.), Addonizio (D., N.J.), and, in a modified form, Dawson (D., Ill.).

The full text of Senator Douglas's letter to Attorney General Rogers and of the Wright statement follow:

FULL TEXT OF LETTER FROM SEN. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
TO ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM P. ROGERS

December 2, 1958

Honorable William P. Rogers
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Rogers:

I was greatly pleased to read the recent press accounts reporting that you are planning to ask Congress for additional civil rights legislation.

In my opinion, this is one of the most urgent questions before the country, and Congress should have the best counsel it can secure from the Executive Departments, who share the responsibility for assuring to all our citizens the equal protection of the laws.

In this connection, I am writing now to bring to your attention a bill which was introduced in the 85th Congress by 16 Senators and 13 Members of the House of Representatives, which embodies a new approach to the safeguarding of Constitutional rights in the field of public education. This measure also, more clearly and directly than in the original Civil Rights Bill of 1957, provides for preventive relief against the denials of equal protection on account of race, color, religion or national origin. It was S. 3257 in the Senate and H. R. 10601 (and 12 other separate bills) in the House.

It is my earnest hope that you will give the most careful consideration to the proposals in this legislation in working out the recommendations which you are formulating for the new Congress.

The broad bipartisan support which this legislation had is indicated by the names of its sponsors in the Senate, who included in addition to myself: Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Ives, Mr. Hennings, Mr. Case of New Jersey, Mr. Neuberger, Mr. Allott, Mr. McNamara, Mr. Dirksen, Mr. Morse, Mr. Javits, Mr. Clark, Mr. Proxmire, Mr. Carroll, Mr. Beall, and Mr. Pastore.

The Representatives who who introduced the bills in the House were: Representative Diggs, Representative O'Hara of Illinois, Representative Roosevelt, Representative Celler, Representative Porter, Representative Reuss, Representative Shelley, Representative Thompson of New Jersey, Representative Udall, Representative Vanik, Representative McCarthy, Representative Dawson (in a revised form), and Representative Addonizio. As you can see, the chairmen of two important House Committees were among this number.

The basic logic of the proposal is a greater acceptance of federal responsibility for ending denials of equal protection of the laws and fuller cooperation with state and local governments for that purpose.

In the area of public education, where these rights are being most warmly contested today, the bill provides for technical assistance (Title II), financial grants (Title III), and administrative procedures for preparing desegregation plans (Title IV). Thus by information, education, conciliation, persuasion, financial assistance and desegregation plans developed with the fullest possible local participation, it would foster compliance with the Constitution and the historic decisions of the Supreme Court. It does so with due regard for the Court's orders concerning deliberate speed. When voluntary compliance is not forthcoming, new court proceedings for preventive relief are also provided (Title V).

Preventive action by the Attorney General in "equal protection" cases generally is also authorized, but only on complaints signed by injured persons and where the Attorney General finds that these persons are unable to bring the action themselves (Title VI). Important supplementary safeguards for these and other, existing remedies are also specified in Title VII. The preambles outline the factual, legal and moral basis for the proposed legislation.

This bill has been prepared with a keen awareness of the complexity and national scope of the underlying issues, but with a deep conviction that our international position and the unfortunate events in Arkansas, Virginia and elsewhere all give a new urgency to such action. We trust you will find it a clearer and more constructive approach to the protection of the vital Constitutional rights dealt with in Part III which had your support but was stricken from last year's bill.

Senator Hennings' attempts to schedule hearings on this measure in the 85th Congress were blocked by a bare majority of his Subcommittee. But Representative Celler conducted several days of hearings in the House. For your information, I am enclosing a careful statement about the bill prepared for submission to the House Judiciary Committee by the thoughtful, former Chairman of the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Marion A. Wright, of North Carolina.

I know that the Congressional sponsors of this legislation will greatly appreciate your giving these proposals your most careful study and consideration.

With best wishes,

Faithfully,

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/fwm/es
enc.

Release:

Statement of Marion A. Wright
Of Linville Falls, N.C. Prepared for the
House Judiciary Committee
In Support of
The Civil Rights Act of 1958

Mr. Chairman:

It is perhaps well for me to make clear at once that any views which I express are mine alone, although I hope, of course, that they are shared by many others. I am not here as representing any group or organization. The phrase, picked up from television, is that "the views expressed are not necessarily those of the sponsor." I don't even have a sponsor.

Perhaps, also, I should state that I am a native of South Carolina and, for the past eleven years, have been a citizen of North Carolina. My entire life to the present has been spent in those two states. This means that I have lived under conditions of legally enforced segregation and have had - if not enjoyed - a front-row seat at the drama of events unfolding since the Supreme Court's decisions in the segregation cases.

Those events have not been a source of pride to any of us, including, I am convinced, those who firmly believe in segregation. I am sure that they, as well as we who believe in the moral indefensibility of segregation and in full compliance with the court's decrees, are seeking some means by which the shouting and tumult may die, the turmoil and upheaval come to an end. The bill which this committee has before it seems to me to offer the best hope of achieving that result.

A phrase often used by lawyers is that certain constitutional provisions are self-executing. This may be true in a legalistic sense but never in a pragmatic sense. Ultimately, such provisions require the exertion of the power of government to make them effective. Specifically, it seems quite evident that that power must be exerted to give effect to the Fourteenth Amendment. It became a part of the Constitution in the year 1868. It was significantly and unanimously interpreted as outlawing segregation by race in the public schools - that was three or four years ago. But such segregation in many areas continues.

There is no living-space in this country for the question: Shall the decrees of the court prevail, which is another way of saying Shall law prevail over anarchy. The question is how shall the power of government be exerted to the end that individuals shall enjoy rights the court says are theirs.

TITLE I

The bill has the great virtue that, while fully recognizing the division of powers between the three branches of government, it marshals the legislative and executive authority along-side the judicial in support of the law. There is

evident here no cynical spirit that the court has written the law, now let the court enforce it. Rather, the principle is recognized that, in the solemn tasks of restoring respect for law and of preserving human rights, there is room and there is obligation for joint and total effort. There will be an impressive moral effect in this declaration of unity of purpose.

TITLE II

The bill seems to me to be wise in recognizing that, even with all three arms of the government acting in concert, there will be at most sullen and grudging compliance where the public is hostile or uninformed. That kind of compliance would amount to a sort of cold war which might be indefinitely protracted. No one of us wants to live for long under an armed truce, which is only one step short of war. Since hostility and lack of information are intimately associated, the bill seeks to reduce or eliminate the former by the familiar process of education.

It is a familiar process in that government has long employed the dissemination of facts to gain its legitimate objectives. Just at this time, through the appropriate governmental agencies, the facts as to polio are being broadcast; boys and girls are being urged to continue their educations; the advantages of careers in the armed forces are publicized; the facts as to juvenile delinquency are daily presented; the seven cancer signals advertised, and, in a host of other connections, government puts facts at public disposal. Every bulletin sent out by every congressman goes in response to government's recognition of its duty to enlighten its people. Thus were typhoid and smallpox conquered. Lawlessness may present a greater national peril. Individuals might have perished from typhoid and smallpox. Lawlessness is antagonistic to the survival of government itself.

If it be objected that in some areas there is wide difference of opinion on segregation and that government ought not to enter educationally upon a controversial field, my answer is that there is probably no field in which sentiment is unanimous; that the Quakers, a highly-respected segment of the population, would probably not be in favor of military careers for anyone, and that certain honorable religious groups seriously oppose vaccination. The point seems to be that government decides, as it must, what is wise public policy and then adopts the educational means to make that policy effective. The court decisions in one sense declared the public policy; in another sense those decisions registered the national conviction about segregation. That conviction is that there is no place for legalized segregation in a democracy.

I am very glad to observe that a distinct feature of this educational process is discussion by local groups. What is contemplated is not a monologue by government, but dialogue between government and its citizens. This is education in the Socratic sense. It is now difficult in some areas of the South to have such discussion. The vehemence of the segregation leaders and their rigid control of the instrumentalities of State and local governments inhibit frank expression of opinion. For example, one Southern state refused to issue a charter to a group proposing to organize for the purpose of fostering such discussions -- the issuance being a purely ministerial duty - while chartering scores of organizations to preserve segregation. The fact that under this bill such public discussions may be had under the aegis of the Federal government will give them a degree of dignity and create an atmosphere conducive to frank and honest expression of opinion.

The bill further recognizes the fact that, while expression of opinion, any opinion, is desirable in itself, solid contribution to solution of the integration problem may only be expected from the presentation of informed views. Hence, there is provision for expert technical assistance and advice to communities contemplating their next steps. Such assistance will supplement, if not supersede, the present inadequate volunteer guidance made available to a few communities.

The process precisely parallels the type of valuable service so long furnished by public health forces and county farm and home demonstration agents.

Surely this gentle and persuasive approach may be reasonably expected to reduce materially the number of communities now openly defiant.

TITLE III

I think practically everyone in the South will applaud the constructive and positive rather than punitive approach to the problem of compliance with law which in Title III the bill exhibits. Call it a guilt complex or what you will, but most of us resent the threats of punitive action. It may be coldly logical - I express no opinion - to withhold federal aid from segregated institutions. But the reception which has greeted all such congressional proposals indicates the depth of resentment of punitive methods. More importantly, if they became law they would penalize those most in need of aid.

The bill which you gentlemen are considering recognizes that in some instances there may be costs in dollars and cents in transferring from a segregated to an integrated school system; that such costs, alone or in connection with other factors, may daunt the community; that segregated systems were created in bona fide belief in their legality, and that conditions beyond community control have now brought such systems properly under legal condemnation. Considerations such as

these must underlie the bill's wise and generous provisions for national financial aid.

There are other circumstances much more deplorable which prompt grants under other of the bill's provisions. Georgia and Virginia and perhaps other Southern states have adopted legislation cutting off state aid for communities integrating their schools, either voluntarily or under court edict. Where this happens and conditions set forth in the bill are met, the bill proposes to make grants to such communities to offset the loss of state revenue.

I submit that this is in accordance with the plain duty of the federal government.

All of those states in constitutions, court decisions, proclamations, laws and other expressions of public policy have declared that education is a function of government.

Now there is always one circumstance which justifies the federal government in entering a state -- that is, the failure of a state to perform its proper function. There are ample precedents.

So when a state abandons its self-declared function of providing education for its children, it has created a temporary vacuum which the federal government in good conscience must fill. Those children enjoy a dual citizenship -- of state and nation. The nation of which they are citizens and in defense of which they may be drafted into armed service, in its own intelligent self-interest, will not allow them to grow up in ignorance.

So those leaders who declaim against "federal interference" in education while accepting with alacrity all other forms of national largesse, if they actually carry out their threats to close the schools, will have created the very conditions which make such "interference" necessary.

Certainly, the threat presents to the national government a clear issue of duty. Where a local school board wishes sincerely to abide by law, but is lashed by a recalcitrant state administration, shall the federal government wash its hands of the educational purge, leave the struggle to these ill-matched opponents, or shall it give its help to the community, say to it, "For your honorable effort to discharge a plain legal and moral duty you shall not be scourged?" This bill gives the obvious, the compulsory, answer to that question.

It gives the answer in advance of the event. In so much of what has transpired in regard to integration it has been a case of too little and too late, of repairing damage already done. Here is the opportunity truly golden to act preventively and constructively. Even now little time remains. In several

areas the issue of closing the schools simmers; just across the Potomac in Arlington it boils. If you gentlemen were members of the Arlington school board and concerned, as you would be, only with the proper discharge of your duty, would you not have your eyes anxiously upon this hearing as being part of a process designed to strengthen your resolve? Absent the help which this bill proposes, you might have to bow your head and bow your will and bow your spirit to arrogant admonitions.

The practical assistance given to school units under Title III -- the mere declaration that such assistance is available -- should still further reduce the area of open opposition.

TITLE IV

Title IV of the bill presents a new and imaginative approach to the problem of achieving compliance with law. Thus far, under this bill, all efforts toward that end have been left to individual initiative and action. For reasons which I shall partially discuss in a moment that method has serious limitations. This bill is based upon the solid premise that where rights have been judicially established -- rights common to a substantial number of people -- it is a legitimate concern of government to see that these are not mere paper rights found only in the bound volumes of judicial reports, but that they are actual rights, present and enjoyed in the daily lives of the people affected. The manifest and flagrant contrast between what the courts have directed and what one sees at every cross roads constitutes a gross reflection upon government. The government cannot long remain in this posture of indifference and apparent impotence without losing respect for itself and without sacrificing the respect of mankind at home and abroad. For such respect we must have a decent regard.

Just a word as to why it is unfair and unrealistic to leave to the individual school child the critical and momentous task of securing compliance with law. This is not a contest between individual litigants over some such matter as a boundary line or the sale of a horse. It is a contest between a child and his school district, with the awesome figure of the State on stage or standing in the wings. All of the resources of the State and most of the instrumentalities of public opinion are against the child. Money of taxpayers finances the defense; legal brains employed by the State map the strategy of exclusion, setting up innumerable barriers and hurdles to bar admission.

However, the most sinister aspect of the nullification effort is the spate of anti-barratry laws adopted in several of the resistant states. These are admittedly designed to deprive the child of legal aid from the one quarter where it

could be expected. It is a great tribute to the NAACP that the states concerned have been so unsuccessful in competition with it before judicial tribunals that they adopt the desperate expedient of declaring it an outlaw.

So there is the completely unequal struggle between child and district.

What is the issue? In its narrowest sense, it is the admission of a child into a school. But the issue is far broader than that. It is the issue of respect for law and the issue of enjoying equal rights under law. Certainly with education government is not unconcerned, but the very life of government itself hinges upon respect for law; and the devotion of its citizens at home and its role of leadership abroad depend upon proof of its claim that all are equal before the law.

In the presence of so unequal a struggle over issues so momentous and crucial to it, can government be above the battle? Can it, in effect, say to the ambitious Negro pupil, seeking to enjoy a right already solemnly decreed to be his, "We are unconcerned, indifferent as to the outcome. You alone must pit your puny strength against the massive and awesome power of your native State?" In only the narrowest sense is the right sought to be enjoyed a private one. In any realistic view, it is a right profoundly affected with a public interest.

Under such circumstances government has a solemn obligation to intervene, to throw its weight and influence and prestige into the struggle.

The bill wisely, in my opinion, seeks to have government move first upon the non-legal front, to take action designed to obviate litigation, always disruptive of community harmony. It authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in consultation with local officials and interested citizens, to devise a plan of integration conforming to the requirement of deliberate speed. There are the safeguards of proper notice and full public hearings. Ultimately, after compliance with all procedural provisions, carefully delineated in the bill, the Secretary promulgates a plan, which in his opinion is fair and workable, and transmits the plan to the proper public officials.

Again, it seems not unreasonable to hope that a plan of integration so carefully developed, with full community participation, or, at least, the right of full participation, would appeal to reasonable minds with the result that many units of school administration would move toward compliance with law.

TITLE V

In Title V the bill, as it must, comes to grips with the possibility of non-compliance. Up to this point under the bill the initiative of the federal government merely filled the vacuum created by paralysis of local initiative. It has perforce exercised a function which the local unit has failed to exercise. But

conceivably a local unit-- municipality, school district, or other -- may not act to put into effect the plan so painstakingly devised. What, then, is government to do?

Up to this point, also, what has been secured is an executive determination that the plan is fair and workable. But in case of rejection within a reasonable time, the bill sets up the machinery for a judicial determination of the same issues. The Attorney General is authorized to act. He may do so by instituting a suit against the appropriate officials, seeking a declaratory judgment, or other decree, that the district or other unit is subject to the terms of the plan.

Here again are safeguarding provisions for notice, hearings, evidence and modification or amendment of the plan if the record justifies or requires.

It will be noticed that in every step taken under this bill local interests are fully consulted. Every conceivable party in interest has his day in court. He may be heard in opposition to, or in full advocacy or modification of, the proposed plan or any of its provisions, or, indeed, in support of his own plan. The requirements of fair play -- even of tender regard for community sensibilities -- could hardly be further extended.

Out of all of this multitude of counsel, this unhurried and probing consideration of the problems of the community, there finally emerges a decree which fixes the legal rights and responsibilities of the parties. By its terms and in accordance with established practice, all are bound.

Surely, the care, the persuasion, the sympathy, the awareness of complexities, shown by the steps taken up to this point will not go unrewarded. Surely, scores of communities will respond favorably to these overtures of government.

TITLE VI

But the Congress must face up to the regrettable possibility that, in exceptional instances, even such carefully wrought decrees may be defied; that, in other instances, the compliance may be more pretensive than real; and that, in still others, there may be undue delay or only partial performance.

But the decrees now under consideration are only one facet of equal protection of the laws. Congressional notice may be taken of facts within the knowledge of ordinary mortals. Deprivation or denial of other legal rights to persons of color -- denial often made effective because perpetrated by virtue of office -- are fairly commonplace in some areas, not exclusively in the South. It would be a morbid exercise and serve no useful purpose to list them here.

These denials constitute a challenge to the authority of government. Only a pusillanimous government would fail to meet the challenge.

The bill, therefore, authorizes the Attorney General, upon receipt of signed complaints, from a person or persons in the judgment of the Attorney General unable for any reason to seek effective legal protection of rights under the 14th Amendment, to institute suits for injunctions or other appropriate preventive relief.

The government must take this step, or it must say to the Negro citizen, "You must go it alone; you must buck your state; you must assume full risk of reprisal." That might be proper in a suit over purchase price of a horse; it is not proper in an issue so freighted and charged with public interest.

The bill presents no radical departure from accepted principles. In the cases of litigants unable to pay for printing appeals to higher courts, many, if not all states, allow perfection of the appeals in formo pauperis. All states assign counsel to indigent defendants in capital cases. Many states have created the office of public defender to assure byond doubt the proper protection of private rights. And the military services provide free competent counsel for defendants in all court-martial proceedings.

What underlies this provision of counsel for those unable to hire their own lawyers? It is the principle that no man shall be deprived of a legal right merely because, for financial reasons, he is unable to have his cause properly presented. Surely rights secured under the 14th Amendment are at least of equal dignity and sanctity with those invoked by a bootlegger or reckless driver, for whom the services of a public defender are provided. And surely, also, the financial reason for non-employment of counsel is no more controlling of human action than the massed pressure of public opinion, the arbitrary and tenacious power of a State, the real and present danger of reprisal, repression and violence. The Negro child of school age and his parents know that, even if they had the needed funds, they would sue at their peril.

Government is not being generous; it is merely being wise in expressions of concern for careful protection of rights. For they are not alone the rights of the man in the dock; they are the rights of all of us. Impair his rights and you impair the rights of every American citizen. Preserve his rights inviolate and you preserve inviolate the rights of us all.

It would, of course, be regrettable if the legal power of government had to be exercised in the manner permitted in the bill. The alternatives are vastly more regrettable. What are they?

First, that government should be indifferent concerning the enjoyment of equal rights by its citizens.

Second, that two co-ordinate branches of government should leave the third, the judiciary, impotent to enforce its decrees.

And, third, that the Congress and the Executive should require a lone wronged individual to risk reprisal, repression, boycott and violence in order to establish his legal rights.

It is easy to embrace these three alternatives. ~~All that~~ is required is inaction, some yielding to the soft seductions of irresolution, some retreat from a stern task. A government thus recreant will not for long have or deserve the devotion of its citizens at home or the respect of citizens of other lands.

Laws, of course, will not solve all human problems. But they are aids to solution. In the form of bills before enactment they afford the opportunity to register the national will, the national conviction. The bill presently under consideration seems to me to speak clearly what lies in the American conscience.

Its enactment into law will constitute a ringing and practical declaration that in this nation human rights are so priceless a boon that all the power of government will be marshalled to the task of their preservation.

Mr. Chairman, there is one point about this Act, or any Civil Rights Act for that matter, which we may be inclined to overlook. It may be defined as the collateral results, or the fringe benefits, of the Act. I so designate it because the beneficiaries are not necessarily persons of color or members of a minority group, for whom the aid and protection of the Act are primarily designed.

May I make an admission for myself and, I imagine, for many others concerned with this type of legislation. We are perhaps sometimes suffused with a sense of our own goodness. We seldom say so aloud, of course -- this is probably the first time you ever heard it except in the form of an accusation -- but, so mixed are human motives, that righteous advocacy of a good cause may bring to the advocate an undue and unbecoming sensation of moral superiority. "Here are we," we say to ourselves, "spending our time, energy, resources and talents in order that <u>others</u> may enjoy rights equal to our own." There is an inflating balm about such reflections.

But dare we lay that flattering unction to our souls? The lives of all of us are so closely knit that we all writhe and flinch and suffer when the lash of injustice falls on another's back. There is no pin-pointing of a target to one man of color. He is the victim of the searing and blinding flash. The lethal fall-out blights all manking. Nowhere is there immunity or sanctuary.

The original intention of segregationists two or three years ago could have been simply stated. It was by any means to keep Negro children from

enjoying a right the court said was theirs. But into what strange and dishonorable and even bloody paths has that intention led us! White professors have been fired from university faculties. White Protestant ministers have been evicted from their pulpits, Jewish synagogues have been burned. The residences of a white preacher in Durham, N.C., and a white Gentile woman in Gaffney, S.C. have been bombed. Everywhere the story is repeated. What had those people done? They had spoken their convictions in response to the promptings of duty or religion. This is thought control of a type believed to exist only on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

So the Act under consideration is needed not only by Negro children and Negro adults now thwarted in the enjoyment of rights peculiar to them. It is needed by men and women of every creed and color in order that they may walk unafraid, that they may think, they may speak, they may write in that freedom from reprisal which is the birthright of every American citizen.

Restore respect for law. The beneficiaries of your action are not just Negro children knocking on school doors. The beneficiaries are as undeniably everyone of us who wishes to keep alive and undiminished the principles which this nation has always carried in its heart and which are the touchstones of our national greatness.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

MARION A. WRIGHT - Attorney - Linville Falls, North Carolina

Practiced law in Conway, South Carolina, until retirement in 1947. Past President, Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina. President, South Carolina Conference of Social Workers and South Carolina Citizens Library Movement. Chairman, South Carolina Library Board and South Carolina Commission on Adult Education. Served by appointment of President Roosevelt as a member of the Enemy Alien Board for South Carolina during World War II. Past President, Southern Regional Council (Atlanta, Georgia).

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

12/10/58

Dear Mr. Fleming —

Since the Congressional committees never reached Mr. Wright in their hearings, this is our way of trying to get some mileage for the legislation from his fine statement.

Kindest regards,

Frank E. McCulloch

DANTE B. FASCELL
4TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEES:
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JOHN R. BUCKLEY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 25, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks very much for sending me Senator Douglas' Congressional Record statement.

It was thoughtful of you to call this to my attention.

Sincerely,

Dante

DANTE B. FASCELL
Member of Congress

DBF:EM

BC: John Morris

March 24, 1959

The Honorable Paul H. Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Douglas:

Enclosed is an exchange of correspondence between a young Episcopal clergyman, the Rev. John Morris, and Federal District Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr., of South Carolina. As you will see, Mr. Morris is releasing the correspondence on his own initiative, although with the permission of Judge Timmerman.

I believe you will find these letters of considerable interest. Timmerman's statements are fairly typical of the extreme segregationist views heard in the South. But the fact that they were made by a Federal judge gives them heightened importance.

If you would like additional copies for any of your colleagues or others who might be interested, I shall be glad to see that they are sent to you.

With good wishes and warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

CLIFFORD P. CASE
NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SAM ZAGORIA
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

FRANCES HENDERSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ALBERT E. ABRAHAMS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ALEXANDER B. PORTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 23, 1959

RECEIVED APR 29 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the exchange of correspondence between the Reverend John B. Morris and Federal District Judge George Timmerman. I found the exchange most interesting.

Your letter arrived just after I had testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, and I am taking the liberty of enclosing some excerpts which may be of interest to the Council.

Sincerely,

Clifford P. Case

Clifford P. Case
U. S. Senator

CPC:pk
Enc.

From the Office of Senator Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.)

EXCERPTS OF TESTIMONY PREPARED
FOR DELIVERY BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS ON THURSDAY A.M.
APRIL 16th 1959

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to appear before the subcommittee to support needed congressional action in the field of civil rights.

I would like to speak in favor of six bills of which I am a co-sponsor: S. 456, S. 810, S. 955, S. 957, S. 958 and S. 960.

My remarks will be designed to show the need for each rather than to explain the mechanics of its operation. Others have appeared before your subcommittee to discuss each of these measures in detail.

I. Two Year Extension of the Civil Rights Commission (S. 957).

There is much agreement on the need for improving and strengthening some of the provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. For example, a two-year extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission is necessary and desirable if the Commission is to finish the job for which it was created by Congress in 1957. A two-year extension has been requested by President Eisenhower and it is provided for in a number of other bills sponsored by members of both parties.

II. Protection of Voting Rights:

A. Preservation of Registration Records and Authority for the Attorney General to Inspect Records (S. 957) The provisions of the '57 Act which were designed to protect voting rights have to be strengthened if meaningful protection is to be provided. Both the Attorney General and the Civil Rights Commission were given responsibility under the Act to investigate complaints of discrimination in voting rights cases.

But in recent months, investigation has been made almost impossible by the refusal of state and local authorities to let Federal officials inspect registration records. Alabama, where a Federal investigation of voter discrimination has been undertaken, has gone so far as to pass a law

permitting the destruction of registration records. Louisiana officials have defied current efforts by the Civil Rights Commission to obtain voting information.

And so, Congress must require that such records be preserved and that they be made available for inspection, if voting rights are to be effectively protected. One of the Administration bills, S. 957, would achieve this result. It should be included in any bill adopted by the committee.

B. Consideration of Amendment to Civil Rights Act of 1957 to Remove any Doubt Concerning Federal Authority to Enjoin Discrimination by State Agencies as well as Individuals: In connection with voting rights, I hope the subcommittee will also give attention to the possible need for amending the injunction provisions of the 1957 Act to authorize the federal courts to enjoin discriminatory practices by the State as well as by individual registrars and officials.

As you know, the first injunction action brought by the Attorney General under the 1957 Act failed because of a jurisdictional technicality relating to this question. In that case, brought in Macon County, Alabama, the individual voting officials whose alleged discrimination against Negro voting applicants was on trial had resigned before the trial commenced. The district court, holding that the 1957 Act authorized injunctive action only against individuals and not against the State, dismissed the case. Should this interpretation be affirmed on appeal, local officials may defeat effective enforcement of voting rights by the simple expedient of resigning from their jobs when suit is brought by the Attorney General.

Further action by Congress may be necessary, therefore, to prevent this flouting of voting rights. The subcommittee should consider the advisability of clarifying this aspect of the law.

III. Protection of 14th Amendment Rights

A. Obstruction of court orders in School Desegregation Cases.

S. 955, the Administration bill to make it a Federal offense willfully to use force or threats of force to obstruct court orders in school desegregation cases, should also be adopted. Attorney General William P. Rogers has outlined in detail the need for this measure, and it is not necessary to duplicate his remarks.

B. Congressional Affirmation of the School Desegregation Decisions (S. 810 and S. 958): There is also urgent need for action by Congress and the executive branch to reinforce the work of the federal courts in upholding the right of American children, whatever their race, color or creed, to equal educational opportunity in the public schools.

At the minimum, Congress should enact a clear statement in support of the school desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court. Following the Court's decision in 1954 and again in 1955, many of us hoped that racial discrimination in the schools would be eliminated by voluntary action backed up if necessary by the courts. But this hope has largely vanished as this issue has been seized upon as a political rather than a legal or moral question. Attacks upon the Supreme Court and emotional appeals to racial prejudice in many places have silenced the voices of reason and conscience. And these demagogic appeals have been used not only to win elections but to obscure the fundamental law.

You'll recall, for example, that the attorney for the Little Rock School Board stood before the Supreme Court last fall and actually argued that there was some doubt about the law of the land. He based his argument on the fact that the Governors and legislators of his state and adjoining states had led the people to believe there was a superior law that would let them counter or nullify the Supreme Court's decrees.

Now the Supreme Court, of course, rejected his argument. But

there's a lesson for us in the fact that he was able to make the argument without being laughed out of court.

Congress can and ought to remove any doubts which have been created in any place in this country by adopting an affirmative statement of congressional support for the principle of equal rights set forth in the school desegregation cases. Both S. 810, the Douglas bill, and S. 958, an Administration bill which has been referred to another committee, provide for such a statement of principle. Either measure could serve as a useful model.

B. New Federal Procedures to Assist in the Desegregation Process (S. 456 and S. 810).

In addition, Congress should act this year to improve the judicial and other procedures for dealing with school desegregation problems. Judicial procedures themselves should be improved, and the courts ought also to be assured of help from the legislative and executive branches in dealing with the determined defiance of certain state governments.

C. Vann Woodward, author of a number of Southern historical works, reminds us that legal authority has been frustrated by determined resistance in the past. It is quite possible, he suggests, that the decisions in the school cases may, in like manner, be blocked by implacable state opposition today.

In Mr. Woodward's own words:

"There is so far no professed intention of compliance in the Lower South, and there is open boasting of the fact. Civil disobedience and passive resistance to authority on grounds of principle are old traditions in America. They have a rather remarkable record of success, and they have not been employed exclusively

on the side of the angels. If they have been effectively used to nullify the Fugitive Slave Act, they have also been used to nullify the Volstead Act and to make a mockery of treaties guaranteeing the rights of Indians that were backed by decisions of the Supreme Court."

Current events give credence to this historical view. It is true, of course, that in the border states, real progress has been made in eliminating segregated schools. Indeed, all but a handful of the approximately 800 school districts which have desegregated since 1954 are in border states. Token desegregation has also taken place in Arkansas and Virginia, where the litigation of school cases has been centered.

Yet the progress made this past Fall, measured in terms of the number of districts desegregated, is less than in any previous year. Only 18 districts completed or began desegregation in the last year.

In six states of the lower South, not a single school has been desegregated in the nearly five years since the original decision. Except for the metropolitan centers of Atlanta, Miami and New Orleans, where concern has been expressed about the economic and other effects of continued segregation upon the cities' growth, rigid resistance remains the order of the day. In the absence of some kind of local option plan which would permit these cities to decide this question for themselves, there is very great doubt that desegregation can be carried out even in those localities that wish to do so.

That these six states have a very difficult problem I would be the last to deny. Long standing habits are not easily changed, and the South is being asked to break away from the customary patterns of many years. This is, therefore, a time for patience and understanding on the part of all of us.

We have been patient in the years since the school desegregation decisions were handed down. We have been rewarded with the spectacle of intransigent adherence to the old ways. And the voices of many good Southern people who were willing at least to make a start on the problem have been silenced.

If we continue to stand idly by while the states defiantly defend the practice of discrimination and punish those who seek to eliminate it in their own localities, surely we will only pander to the habit of segregation and encourage disrespect for Constitutional authority.

In the light of this history, the real issue before Congress is not the pace or plan of desegregation but unreasoning defiance of federal authority by certain state governments.

There are a number of useful things Congress can do to improve upon present procedures for dealing with this problem.

New Procedures: Among the procedures that have been suggested are: 1) mediation and conciliation; 2) technical assistance (S. 810); 3) financial assistance to meet the cost of desegregation (S. 810 and S. 958); and 4) authority for the Attorney General to bring civil suits to prevent discriminatory practices which violate the 14th Amendment to the Constitution (S. 456 and S. 810). There is increasing public recognition as each of these new proposals indicates, that we cannot rely solely upon private litigation to bring about school desegregation.

There are a number of reasons for this. Litigation is expensive. It exacerbates ill-feelings between the parties. And it does not afford the flexibility which is possible in a negotiated settlement. It is, nevertheless, an indispensable weapon in reserve. The mere knowledge that court action is available serves generally as an inducement to the parties to seek, wherever possible, to find agreement by negotiation between themselves.

This kind of negotiation would be possible under the terms of the

Douglas bill (S. 810), which would use conciliation and technical and financial assistance to help eliminate school segregation.

1) Mediation and Conciliation (S. 810 and S. 499):

The use of modern mediation and conciliation techniques, which have been successfully used in labor-management disputes for a good many years, is suggested by the Douglas bill (S. 810) and has been elaborated in detail in the Johnson bill (S. 499). These are constructive proposals and merit sympathetic attention by the subcommittee.

As in the case of any negotiated settlement, however, effective mediation results depend upon the existence of outside inducements which make the settlement of differences attractive to both parties. These inducements would be provided in Senator Douglas' bill, which I have co-sponsored, by providing legal authority for the Attorney General to bring civil suits to enforce civil rights. The Douglas bill would enable the Attorney General to bring such suits upon request of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, when conciliation and offers of assistance have failed or upon complaint by an individual who is unable for financial or other reasons to bring suit himself.

Taken together with the technical and financial assistance which the Douglas bill would also furnish to localities seeking to carry out desegregation, the provision for mediating disputes concerning racial discrimination should be a constructive tool. It might, for example, be particularly useful in localities, such as Atlanta or Miami, which may in the future wish to desegregate in the face of strong opposition at the State level. The threat of losing State financial assistance--which might otherwise make such localities hesitate to proceed with desegregation--would no longer be a bar if federal assistance on at least a short term

emergency basis were available.

Senator Lyndon Johnson's bill which has the most elaborate provisions for establishing a mediation and conciliation service is deficient because it does not provide any of these related assistance and enforcement tools. Lacking these, the provision for mediation and conciliation, alone, would appear to be both unrealistic and of doubtful utility.

2) Technical Assistance (S. 810): Title II of the Douglas bill provides for gathering information, conducting surveys, and holding State conferences concerning the progress of desegregation.

There is a great need for a central storehouse of information concerning the techniques that have been successfully employed in communities that have desegregated. School officials in such communities have stressed the importance of laying the groundwork for desegregation by thorough discussion and consultation with local civic, professional and religious groups. Their experience should be made readily available in the future to communities which establish desegregation plans.

3) Financial Assistance (S. 810 and S. 958): S. 958, an Administration bill which has been referred to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and Title III of S. 810 offer financial assistance to help States and localities meet any additional costs resulting from the elimination of segregated schools. Both would provide for grants either to the States or directly to local educational agencies to help pay for needed staff specialists, such as pupil placement or school social workers, and to meet other expenditures incurred in connection with desegregation. S. 810 would provide, also, for federal grants to replace State payments to a school district withdrawn because the district is eliminating segregation.

I urge the subcommittee to consider favorably grants of this kind. The Federal Government has a clear obligation to help States and localities meet the cost of complying with the Supreme Court decisions.

4) Authority for the Attorney General to Bring Civil Suits for Preventive Relief: The urgency of providing authority for the Attorney General to institute suits for preventive relief, as provided in Senator Javits' bill, S. 456, and in Senator Douglas' bill, S. 810, should be apparent. As all of you know, authority of this kind was provided in Part III of the Civil Rights bill as it passed the House two years ago, but the authority was stricken from the bill in the Senate.

I have no desire to re-hash the debate over Part III, but I do feel the need for such legislation is even clearer now than it was at that time. You will note that the Attorney General would be authorized, under the Javits' bill, to act only "upon written complaint or information on oath or affirmation of any person who is subject to or threatened with the loss of his right to equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin, and who is unable because of financial inability or other reason effectively to prosecute a Federal civil proceeding on his own behalf."

Similar limitations are contained in Title VI of the Douglas bill.

As I have indicated above, the settlement of desegregation disputes out of court through the procedures of mediation and conciliation, technical assistance and financial aid depend for their effectiveness upon the presence of effective sanctions which will be an inducement to negotiated settlement. The restoration of Part III would provide such a sanction not only in the school cases but in other cases involving segregation in public transportation, public parks cases, and other public facilities where equal

protection of the law as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment of the Constitution has been denied.

The Restoration of Part III is necessary also because of the unusually expensive nature of litigation in this field. The private litigation of these cases is particularly costly because the States will exhaust every avenue of appeal in order to delay action.

Individual Negro parents face an almost impossible task in bringing court suits to protect their children's rights. Frequently, the parents come from the lowest income groups in the community. Where can they hope to find the funds to finance court actions that may cost thousands of dollars? And, even if they should find the wherewithal, will they be able to survive the economic and social pressures so often employed to restrain them from asserting their rights?

Help from other private sources has also become more difficult to secure. The efforts of private groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to provide legal services have been undermined in many Southern States by the passage of antibarratry statutes which prohibit "outsiders" to provide legal services or financial assistance for court action.

Where these conditions prevail, the Attorney General ought to be authorized to bring suit himself.

Administrative Action Directed Toward Eliminating Segregation in Public Education (S. 810): The Douglas bill also provides that, in the event all efforts through conciliation, technical assistance and offer of financial aid have failed, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may prepare a tentative plan for eliminating desegregation. This shall be drawn up after consultations with local, State and regional officials and citizens and must take into account the particular area's need for time to adjust from segregated to desegregated schools.

Following these consultations and public hearings, if agreement has not been reached, the Secretary may prepare an approved plan of desegregation for the area in question. If this plan is finally rejected, the Secretary may then request the Attorney General to institute a civil action for preventive relief. Final judgment would, therefore, continue to lie with the federal district courts.

In cases where States or localities do not wish to comply with the Supreme Court decisions, these administrative proceedings would provide a much more intelligent and thorough basis for court consideration of the issues than would normally be possible in ordinary litigation.

****

File

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CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

RECEIVED MAY 22 1959

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 62, 86TH CONGRESS)

May 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want to thank you for your courtesy in sending me, at the suggestion you mention of Senator Paul Douglas, copies of an exchange of correspondence between the Rev. John B. Morris and Federal District Judge George Timmerman.

Incidentally, I want to take the opportunity of this letter to tell you that, although I was not able to be present myself at the time, I have read the testimony of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work of the Southern Region, and I want to tell you both of the valuable contribution made to our hearing record.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.
Chairman

TCH:sg

Senator's campaign speech

May 27, 1959

Miss Mary Nolan
Executive Secretary to
Senator Paul H. Douglas
United States Senate Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Nolan:

Thank you for your letter of May 20. It is very thoughtful of you to offer us the copies of Senator Douglas' remarks on the Council. We could, indeed, put them to good use and will be grateful to you for sending them.

With best regards to you all,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

May 20, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have about 2,000 of the attached reprint of Senator Douglas' remarks on the Southern Regional Council which he gave in the Senate in 1957. We would be glad to send them to you if you could use them. Please let me know at your convenience.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mary Nolan

Mary Nolan
Executive Secretary to
Senator Paul H. Douglas

MN:jcd
Enclosure

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[8]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[8] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

438693—63815

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1957

Encls: Montgomery Advertiser Feb 1, 1959
Citizens Council advertisement:
"This Is The Program to Keep
Schools Segregated"

Editorial from Montgomery Advertiser
"He Knows Best:
Conform or Go"

June 25, 1959

Mr. Herbert Blitz
Office of Senator Jacob Javits
Room 326, Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Blitz:

Enclosed are the two clippings which you requested during our phone conversation this morning.

If we can be of further help please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

August 27, 1959

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
United State Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Diggs:

We are glad to have your letter of August 25 and to learn that you have raised with the Interstate Commerce Commission the implications of our waiting room survey.

I am enclosing two copies of the full report and can supply more if they should be needed.

Of course, our survey was only a sampling of the larger Southern cities; presumably comparable conditions could be found in many other places. I shall be grateful if you will inform us of any resulting ICC action that may come to your attention, so that we may be better able to judge the usefulness of this kind of fact-finding.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
13TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

DETROIT OFFICE:
671 MACK AVENUE
TEMPLE 3-4211

MISS DOROTHY QUARKER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1239 NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

CAPITOL 4-3121
EXTENSION 2261

August 25, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The New York Times for Sunday, July 26, 1959, carried an article on the findings of your survey on segregation in waiting rooms for trains, buses, and airlines in the South. I sent a copy of the article to the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, requesting that he comment on the report and advise me if investigations were underway or contemplated by the Commission with respect to practices pointed up by you.

Enclosed is a copy of the Commission's reply of August 12, 1959. I would very much appreciate it if you will send me one or two copies, if possible, of your complete report so that I may pursue the matter further with the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress
United States of America

Enclosure

Interstate Commerce Commission

Washington 25, D. C.

August 12, 1959

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Diggs:

This refers to your letter of August 6, 1959, with which you enclosed a newspaper clipping concerning the survey conducted by the Southern Regional Council and requesting my comments on the findings of the Council and on investigation by the Commission of "the charges contained in this report."

I have not received a copy of the Southern Regional Council's report of its survey and consequently I am unable to determine the extent of investigation which may be desirable respecting conditions described in the report. It is the policy of the Commission to investigate every complaint of unlawful segregation of interstate passengers by rail or motor carriers in transportation facilities operated by such carriers. When investigation reveals unlawful segregation by carriers in transportation within the Commission's jurisdiction, action is taken by the Commission to terminate the practice. When investigations have revealed segregation of passengers not within the Commission's jurisdiction (for example in intrastate transportation only) the facts revealed by the investigation have been referred to the Department of Justice for consideration in connection with the Civil Rights Statutes.

I am unable to determine from the newspaper account of the Council's report the cities in which this alleged segregation is practiced by railroads or bus lines and the character of the segregation alleged. If you will furnish, or have furnished, to the Commission the names of the carriers, the points at which segregation is practiced by such carriers, and a statement of the segregation indulged in, investigation will be made promptly and such action will be taken as may be required to eliminate unlawful segregation within our jurisdiction.

Very truly yours,

Kenneth H. Tuggle

KENNETH H. TUGGLE
Chairman

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Correspondence of Senators et. al

September 5, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 8 1959

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

As you undoubtedly know, I have recently been appointed Chairman of a Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. We have tentatively planned some initial field trips in the Middle West between September 28th and October 1st. At the moment, our plans call for us to be in and around Lansing, Michigan; Madison, Wisconsin; and St. Paul, Minnesota.

If any of your local people would care to submit testimony in the form of a statement or by personal appearance, I'd appreciate being advised at your earliest opportunity. Since our time schedule is rather tight, it may not be possible to hear everyone who wants to appear, but we'll certainly do our best.

I'm sure you'll agree that one of the principal objectives of the field trips is to develop more public awareness of this problem. Any assistance your people in these areas can render to us in dramatizing the hearings, both before and after our visit, will be deeply appreciated. I want to emphasize that our plans are still subject to change because of several considerations yet to be explored. We are hopeful, however, that the schedule outlined above will prove to be our final plan for the middle-West hearings.

I'll certainly appreciate having any advice and comments you may care to make, at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Harrison Williams

Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Migratory Labor

cc. MJ

September 14, 1959

Mr. Herbert J. Blitz
Office of Senator Javits
United States Senate Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Herb:

Thanks for your letter of the 3rd and the Record insert.

In regard to Senator Ervin's remarks, you may be interested to know how the "error" came about. The 1957 printed report did not include county-by-county registration figures. These were made available in mimeographed form however, and Senator Douglas inserted into the Record one of the first copies available. There were several typographical errors in this first release but the greatest misunderstanding came from failure to correctly interpret the symbols "o" and "-".

While the "o" meant that no Negroes were registered, the "-" meant that no figures were available to the consultant or the source used. This was particularly the case in a number of counties in Alabama and North Carolina. This "-", in several instances erroniously interpreted to mean none - led to considerable confusion and criticism. In fact, it was necessary to make a clearer interpretation of the symbols in later copies of the mimeographed report.

You will note, incidentally, that the 1959 report - with the exception of Texas - includes

only county-by-county data where it could be obtained from official sources. Thus, if there is any question of the cited figures - unless we have made typographical errors - the dispute is with the state office concerned.

Your sending us the Record insert prompts me to request a favor of you, if it is reasonable. Our research department could make good use of the Congressional Record if it were regularly available. Would it be possible for us to be added to Senator Javits' list for that purpose?

Adjournment may have become a fact by the time you receive this. If so, I am sure you welcome and deserve some let-up from the demands of the good job you have been doing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

September 3, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Warmest thanks for your promptness in sending the study on Negro voting in the South. I hope we put it to good use.

Please find enclosed our record insert which you may find of interest. Note Senator Ervin's remark towards the end.

Sincerely,

Herbert J. Blitz

HJB:lbf
Enclosure

merce is left for future determination by the Congress, or in the absence of congressional action, by the courts.

There is nothing in the bill to cover that point.

Mr. COOPER. Then the Senator would agree that clearly the courts could interpret such a situation as I have described, as I am sure they have the right to do anyway.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Certainly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Virginia has expired.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BUSH. How much time remains, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twenty minutes remain to the minority leader.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. President, I should like to observe this is a very clarifying report. As one who sponsored, with my good friend, the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING], one of the bills the committee had under consideration, which resulted in the report to the Senate, I wish to compliment the committee on the final result which has come from this effort. I believe this proposed legislation will afford some comfort and allay some of the fears of many small business corporations.

The proposed legislation has a particular appeal to the smaller companies who do not have large sales forces of their own, are not able to maintain branch offices and extravagant selling organizations. It certainly will give them some relief from the fear or the actuality of multi-State taxation of income pending the results of the findings of the committee which has been set up under the conference report.

So I wish to compliment the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee and other members of the committee on bringing to a successful conclusion this legislative effort.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President——

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, how much time is left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seven minutes remain to the opponents of the conference report. The Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING] is controlling the time.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, how much time does the Senator from Kentucky desire?

Mr. COOPER. Five minutes.

Mr. KEATING. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Kentucky.

(Mr. COOPER addressed the Senate. His remarks appear elsewhere, under an appropriate heading.)

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, has all time been exhausted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield back any remaining time?

Mr. KUCHEL. I do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired or has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business, Senate bill 1748, Calendar No. 518, be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1555) to provide for the reporting and disclosure of certain financial transactions and administrative practices of labor organizations and employers, to prevent abuses in the administration of trusteeships by labor organizations, to provide standards with respect to the election of officers of labor organizations, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I suggest the absent of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceed to call the roll.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a report on Negro voter registration in the South, issued by the Southern Regional Council, dated 1959.

Mr. President, despite the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, amazingly little progress in securing voting rights for Negro citizens has been made.

The report indicates practically no progress at all in 1957 and 1958. It shows a purported increase of about 66,000 in registration, but actually that figure cancels itself out because of imperfections in other figures used for comparison.

Mr. President, I wish to point out that the majority leader, the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON], in commenting on the civil rights bill of 1957, said:

> I voted for the civil rights bill, because I believe that the right to vote is the most important instrument for securing justice. I was convinced that steps were needed to safeguard that right. If there are loopholes [in the present law], I believe they should be plugged.

This was said on January 20, 1959, and he made a similar statement on August 6, 1959.

I heartily support the Senator from Texas, but I deeply feel that we must back up what we say with legislation in Congress.

It is a fact that unless the Attorney General of the United States is empowered to subpena voting records and local officials are required to retain those voting records for a reasonable time, unless action is taken here to deal with what is called the Macon decision, holding that a State is not amenable to the Civil Rights Act of 1957, we will have a repetition of the same thing, no real progress in 1960, 1961, and 1962.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this report may be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH

(By Margaret Price)

Opposing forces

Negroes of voting age in the South today are being influenced by two distinct forces.

On one side is the Nation as a whole. Congress has passed the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. Federal courts have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice.

On the other side, stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp there is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening element. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a steppingstone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington.

Negro southerners are caught in the middle by other factors. If more of them voted, they undoubtedly would benefit by improved educational, economic, and political opportunities. But, on the other hand, only when their educational and economic levels are raised can many be persuaded to vote. By the same token, politicians who could aid in their struggle for first class citizenship cannot be expected to seek their vote until enough are registered to make it worthwhile to run the risk of condemnation by many white voters. However, to many Negroes it is not worthwhile to run the risk of registering—and it still is a risk in many places—until candidates seek their votes and they can expect the same rewards as white voters.

Currently, it cannot be said that either the proponents or opponents of equal suffrage are winning. In the States where the most reliable figures are available, the number of Negro registrants dropped slightly between 1956 and 1958. However, in this off-year election period, registration dropped over the Nation. Even the fact that there was no sharp decrease in Negro registrants might be considered something of an achievement in light of the South's tensions, sporadic violence, tightening of voter registration laws, and the purging of voting rolls in the intervening 2 years.

The influence of basic national forces indicates that the long range prospect is for a steady, if slow, growth in Negro suffrage in the South. As Negroes improve their educational and economic standing, their interest in voting can be expected to grow. Along with this growth should come an expanded, experienced leadership. If the trend toward urbanization continues, more Negroes can be expected to vote in cities, which are generally more permissive. The existing new Federal agencies also may be expected in the long run to encourage more Negroes to exercise their basic civil rights.

However, there seems to be no reason to expect a sudden, dramatic rise in the number of Negro voters in the South, for the obstacles which have restricted Negro voting in the recent past are still strong.

This report will review the developments since 1956 which have brought both new problems and new hope for the political future of Negro southerners.

In addition, studies of three southern counties are included to spotlight forces influencing specific areas. These deal with a northern Louisiana parish which experienced a wholesale removal of Negroes from voting lists, a South Carolina coastal county, and a Deep South Black Belt county.

CURRENT NEGRO REGISTRATION

In mid-1956, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the 11 Southern States. At the close of 1958, there were an estimated 1,303,827 registered, a gain of 65,789.

This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

On the other hand, the 1956 total for South Carolina probably was inflated, since the available figures there were based on out-of-date registration rolls which undoubtedly carried the names of some who had died or moved. Since then, the State has had a complete reregistration as required every 10 years. Both white and Negro totals dropped sharply.

In the eight States where the Southern Regional Council was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State election board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three States, Tennessee presented a special problem in obtaining data. There is no central source for registration figures and any estimates are of necessity always speculative. At election time, even the number of precincts in the State is in dispute. Judging by the number of votes cast in Tennessee in the presidential race of 1956, the previous estimate of all eligible voters available to SRC was low. If the overall strength was underestimated in 1956, it seems likely that the Negro portion of that total also was low. The 1958 estimate was obtained from a veteran capitol reporter.

In Mississippi, for lack of an official source, observers in the State interested in Negro suffrage were relied upon. These generally estimated the number of qualified Negro voters in the State at 20,000, the same figure used since 1952. They felt there had been no increase because of the State's stringent racial restrictions and because the number of Negroes has declined in Mississippi.[1]

As for Alabama, scene of some of the South's strongest resistance to racial change, there also was no central, official source for registration figures. An estimate of 70,000 Negro voters there was made by MacDonald Gallion, attorney general of Alabama, in testimony before a congressional committee in Washington in April 1959.

Virginia figures were revised after SRC issued an interim report on voting in the fall of 1958. In October, the secretary of the State board of elections gave the number of Negroes registered in the counties (cities are listed separately in Virginia) as 82,423, based on estimates submitted to him by the various counties. In January 1959, after the board had met, Negro registration in the counties was listed at 40,455, a drop of nearly 42,000. (At the same time, the white registration figures for the counties went up nearly 45,000 from the October total.)[2]

The foregoing suggests the difficulty of obtaining reliable, current registration figures. Even States which have a central source for registration data usually can rely only on figures submitted by the various localities and except in some of the larger cities, there is generally no sustained procedure for keeping the rolls up to date. The names of persons who have died or who have moved often are not struck. When a State has had a periodic reregistration, as South Carolina had in 1958, the new figures will be reasonably accurate for several years. On the other hand, a researcher is confronted by such discrepancies as are obvious in the Georgia estimates, where about 50 counties report more white voters than there were white residents over 18 (voting age in Georgia) in the 1950 census. These are rural counties, most of which have been losing population since 1950.

The following table shows the changes in Negro registration over the past 11 years:

Negro registration[1]

	1947	1952	1956	1958
Alabama	6,000	25,224	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023
Florida	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,818
Virginia	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172
Total	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038	1,303,827

[1] See appendix for detailed sources for figures.

Negro registration figures probably are more reliable than those for whites. As stated in the 1956 study, Negro registration is supervised more carefully by officials and also is made up largely of names which have been on the books not more than 12 or 13 years; thus, it is less likely to be inflated by the names of persons who have moved or have died.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, where official figures showed a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped.

An estimated 25 percent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South in 1956, as compared to 60 percent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represents about the same percentage, a little over 25 percent of the Negroes of voting age at the time of the 1950 census. (Interim population figures do not have an age breakdown.)

The number of registrants who actually vote lowers the score of the region's political participation even more. For example, of some 20,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi, officials there estimated that only 8,000 had paid the poll tax and only about 7,000 voted in 1956.

The South continues to lag generally behind the rest of the country in the percentage of eligible citizens who vote. The one-party system and the thousands of Negroes who do not or cannot vote are contributing factors. In the 1956 presidential election the percentage of adults of voting age who cast their ballot ranged from the top of 77.3 percent in Idaho and 76.6 in Connecticut to the lowest percentages in the 11 Southern States. They ranked 38–48, in this order:

	Percent voting
Florida	48.4
North Carolina	47.6
Tennessee	46.0
Arkansas	39.9
Louisiana	39.3
Texas	38.0
Virginia	34.2
Georgia	30.4
Alabama	28.4
South Carolina	24.5
Mississippi	22.1

NEW LAWS AND THE COURTS

In 1957 Congress enacted the first civil rights legislation since the post-Civil War years. This did not bring immediate benefit for prospective Negro voters, but rather the voice of defiance from officials in parts of the South.

Negroes themselves were slow to file well-documented complaints with the new Civil Rights Commission. This was due in part to Negro fears, general political apathy in the South and Negro concentration on school desegregation. However, by April 1959, in hearings before a House Subcommittee on Appropriations, the Commission reported it had received the following voting complaints from the South:[3]

	Total	Sworn	Unsworn
Alabama	119	104	15
Arkansas	6		6
Florida	14	12	2
Georgia	1		1
Louisiana	95	88	7
Mississippi	41	40	1
North Carolina	2	1	1
South Carolina	3		3
Tennessee	7	1	6
Texas	1		1
Virginia	2		2
Total	291	246	45

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 set up the Civil Rights Commission and gave it authority to investigate the status of civil rights anywhere in the Nation. The Commission has the power to subpena witnesses and hold hearings to obtain information, but no enforcement powers. The subpena power is backed by the authority of Federal courts to punish refusals by issuing contempt citations. The Commission is charged with reporting its findings and recommendations for additional legislation to the President and Congress.

The 1957 act also created a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department which can seek court orders to enforce voting rights, although it does not have subpena powers.

Alabama: The Civil Rights Commission met its first major test in Macon County, Ala. This rural county, home of noted Tuskegee Institute for Negroes and Negro-staffed Veterans Administration Hospital, has a population 85 percent Negro—the highest percentage of nonwhites of any southern county. However, only about 28 percent of Macon's registered voters are Negroes.

The Tuskegee Civic Association reported that 1,110 Negroes and 3,016 white persons were registered in 1958. Since the total

[1] However, Kenneth Toler, head of the Mississippi bureau of the Commercial Appeal, in an article in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Dec. 14, 1958, said Negro voting strength in Mississippi was estimated at 35,000. He said this "is probably a record high and results from reported FBI checking on county registrars or threats of agents moving in."

[2] In April 1959 the State board of elections announced that estimates provided by local clerks and registrars showed a new total of 94,311 Negro voters in Virginia at that time.

[3] From the Nation as a whole, including the South, 310 complaints were received, 253 of them sworn.

white population was estimated at 4,671 in 1957, this meant that almost all white citizens over 21 had registered. The disproportionately low number of Negro registrants is despite the fact that Macon County ranks first in Alabama both in the number of Negro high school and college graduates.

Negroes in Macon County have fought a long battle for their right to vote. At a hearing in Montgomery, Ala., in December 1958, witnesses told the Civil Rights Commission their efforts have been thwarted by a series of delaying and evasive tactics. They told of pitfalls for Negroes who are required to read and copy sections of the Constitution "to the satisfaction of the registrars," of the failure of registrars to take application from Negroes on several regular registration days, and of the Board's policy of allowing an individual Negro to vouch for only two applicants a year. (Alabama requires that a qualified voter vouch for an applicant.) The witnesses told how, when these methods lost their effectiveness, the board either would resign or meet in a place undisclosed to Negroes.

William P. Mitchell, chairman of the Voter Franchise Committee of the Tuskegee Civic Association, said that in the previous 8 years 1,585 Negro applications for registration were made but only 510 granted. He added that hundreds more appeared to file applications but could not do so because only two Negroes were allowed to apply simultaneously in a small, separate room. Mitchell estimated that at the present rate of issuing certificates to Negroes, it would require 203 years to register the approximately 13,000 unregistered Negroes in Macon County then over 21. This estimate did not take into account the yearly increase of population.

The Commission had subpenaed voting officials of Macon and five other rural, south central Alabama counties—Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes, all with a Negro population of from 53 to 82 percent. They were ordered to bring with them voting records for the past 3 years. However, State and county officials refused to produce records and in several instances refused to testify.

Circuit Court Judge George Wallace, unsuccessful prosegregationist candidate for Governor, had seized the records of Barbour and Bullock a month earlier, claiming they were needed for a grand jury investigation of voting frauds. Two days before the Commission met, grand juries impounded the records of Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes. The Commission received records from Macon County but they showed only the names of voters already registered and contained none of the requested information about prospective voters who were turned down.

The Commission ended its hearing with a request to the Justice Department for a court order to open voting records in the recalcitrant countries.

Two days later, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., in Montgomery, ordered the defiant counties to produce registration records and issued subpenas to Circuit Judge Wallace and five registrars in Macon, Barbour, and Bullock Counties. Shortly thereafter, the two subpenaed Macon County registrars resigned and said they would then appear before the Commission since they were no longer registrars and had no records in their possession. In January 1959, in a compromise settlement, State authorities agreed to let the Commission look at registration books without removing them from custody of the registrars in Bullock, Barbour, and Macon Counties. No mention was made of the other three counties where records were impounded by grand juries. None of the officials of these three had refused to testify at the December hearings.

Subsequently, Wallace turned the registration records of Barbour and Bullock over to grand juries before leaving office. His action resulted in a contempt of court charge, but Federal Judge Johnson acquitted him, ruling that Wallace had in fact complied with the court order, though by devious means. (The county grand juries had opened the records to Commission examiners.)

The Commission released a report July 31, 1959, which Director Gordon M. Tiffany said showed "a consistent pattern of denial of equal protection of the laws as regards voting in six Alabama counties" (Macon, Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Lowndes, and Wilcox).

The report included testimony taken in executive session from four staff members who had examined voting records in the counties involved. They testified that a double standard was used by some Alabama registrars when considering Negro applicants for registration. Negroes, they said, often were disqualified for minor mistakes that did not generally disqualify white applicants. For example, they told of Negro applicants being turned down for writing the letters "M" or "S" instead of "married" or "single"; of one who gave the month and year he became a resident but was rejected because he left out the day.

They said a spot check of accepted applications showed that 16 persons were registered who had made the same type of mistakes as those rejected. Fifteen of the 16 accepted were white. Three of those registered had left blank a question on whether they would "give aid or comfort to the enemies of the U.S. Government or the government of the State of Alabama."

The Justice Department, which made its own independent investigation of Macon County complaints, filed a suit in Montgomery, February 6, 1959, charging that voting officials in Macon County discriminated against Negroes. Judge Johnson dismissed the suit, which would have required the Macon registrars to enroll 13 Negroes the Department contended were qualified.

Central legal problem in the case was the resignation of the registrars before the suit was filed. The Justice Department argued that under Alabama law the resignations could not be effective until successors qualified. Alternatively, in case the resignations were held legal, the State of Alabama was named codefendant. Judge Johnson ruled that the registrars had resigned legally and that the Civil Rights Act allowed the Department to seek injunctions only against individuals, not States. He was upheld in June 1959, by the U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Justice Department announced that the decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

In February 1959, the Alabama legislature, without a dissenting vote, passed an act authorizing registration boards to destroy their records. Specifically, boards could destroy questionnaires completed by applicants at the end of the 30-day limit for appealing a board ruling.

Georgia: On September 4, 1958, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice filed a suit in U.S. District Court against the board of registrars of Terrell County, Ga. It was the first suit filed under section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This section gives the Attorney General of the United States the right to institute a suit in behalf of citizens denied the right to vote.

The suit asked for an injunction prohibiting registrars from applying stricter literacy standards to Negroes and from delaying applications by Negroes. It sought registration certificates for five Negroes, four of them college graduates. The Government charged they were denied the right to register by discriminatory use of a literacy test.

The Justice Department also indicated the five instances were part of a systematic exclusion of Negro voters. The complaint said there were only 48 registered Negroes of 5,036 of voting age but that 2,679 of the 3,233 eligible white citizens were enrolled. (The Secretary of State's office reported 2,810 registered white voters in Terrell in 1958.)

On January 26, 1959, Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit. He ruled that the injunctive clause of the 1957 Civil Rights Act violated States rights and was unconstitutional. The Justice Department appealed and the Supreme Court has agreed to review the case.

The suit was filed several months after Terrell County appeared in the news because of other racial problems. On June 8, 1958, Robert Baker reported in the Washington Post and Times Herald charges of police brutality, as well as of unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to register. Subsequently, Federal investigators proposed indictments based on the deaths of two Negroes, the pistol wounding of another, the beating of one, and the allegedly illegal detention of a fifth. However, a Federal grand jury refused the Government's request to indict three policemen of Dawson, the county seat of Terrell.

Louisiana: Investigation of voting discrimination complaints from 68 persons in 7 northern Louisiana parishes ran into legal snags also. There, in July, 1959, U.S. District Judge Ben C. Dawkins granted a temporary restraining order preventing the Civil Rights Commission from holding a scheduled hearing. At the same time, Judge Dawkins ordered a three-judge court to rule on the constitutionality of the Commission.

The judge granted the injunction to Louisiana Attorney General Jack Gremillion, who filed the suit on behalf of 17 north Louisiana registrars subpenaed to appear at the hearing. In charging the registrars were denied their constitutional rights, Gremillion claimed they were not informed of the nature and cause of the accusations against them nor allowed to confront their accusers. The government then asked the court to require those involved in the case to post bond but the request was denied.

Two weeks earlier, the Justice Department filed suit to stop the purge of Negro voters in Washington Parish in southeastern Louisiana. Named as defendants were the White Citizens Council of Washington Parish, four of its members and the parish registrar. The government said that during the previous 7 months Negro registration in the parish was reduced from 1,517 to 236, as a result of challenges by Citizens Council members. The petition said that in the same period only 10 affidavits were filed questioning the voting rights of white persons. The complaint said that almost without exception the challenging affidavits were based on minor technical deficiencies. Under Louisiana law any two bona fide voters may challenge the right of another voter.

From the outset, investigators of voting rights complaints ran into problems in Louisiana. When one staff member of the Civil Rights Commission went to Webster Parish we found the registrar, who had the State attorney general sitting in as legal adviser, refused to turn over voter records. Although Negroes make up 37.1 percent of the total population of Webster, they represent 1 percent of the registration; of the 8,277 registered voters there in 1958, only 80 were Negro.

The same investigator met a similar refusal in Caddo Parish.

Both registrars contended the investigator failed to comply with two points of State law necessary to obtain their records: he was not a registered voter of Louisiana and he had not obtained a petition signed by 25 Louisiana voters.

Mississippi: The Civil Rights Commission had a difficult time even getting started in

Mississippi, one of the first three States where it announced it would investigate registration complaints. (Alabama and Florida were the other two.) When the Commission announced advisory groups would be set up in each State to work with it on civil rights problems, the word from a Citizens Council source in Mississippi was that "anyone who would accept an appointment would be considered a traitor to the South." In Washington, the Commission conceded it was having difficulty in getting a well balanced committee in Mississippi.

Florida: In Florida, where the Commission announced it would look into registration procedures, Gov. LeRoy Collins said he had no objection, so long as the investigation was carried out in a sound manner.

Edward D. Davis, president of the Florida Voters League, a nonpartisan Negro organization, said he had received no complaints at the time of the 1958 primary. Before that, however, Davis said Negroes complained of registration procedures in the four north Florida counties of Liberty, Lafayette, Union, and Gadsden. As the following figures show, Negroes are almost totally disfranchised in these counties:

	1958 population, white	1958 population, Negro	Registered white voters	Registered Negro voters	Population percent Negro	Percent Negroes registered
Gadsden	21,700	28,400	6,310	7	56.7	11
Lafayette	2,600	200	1,902	0	7.1	0
Liberty	2,200	600	1,706	0	21.4	0
Union	7,100	3,500	2,598	0	33.0	0

The States: Since the Southern Regional Council's 1956 voting survey, no Southern State has eased its registration laws. Five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. More important, literacy tests which could be used to limit Negro registration remain in effect in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South and North Carolina, Mississippi, and Virginia.

Two States tightened registrations laws—Virginia and Georgia.

Georgia passed a new registration law which some of its legislative sponsors frankly admitted was intended to discourage Negro voting. In opposing the bill, the Georgia League of Women Voters claimed the measure would make unequal application possible in several respects:

(1) Every county could have a different voter application form.

(2) Some voters could register with only one trip to the registrar's office; others would have to make a trip to the clerk's office and the registrar's office also.

(3) Registrars could choose any section of the Georgia or U.S. Constitution for applicants to read and write but the law sets no standard of correctness.

(4) Answers were not provided with a set of 30 questions to ask the registrant nor was it made clear who would decide the correctness of the answers.

Virginia put a new "blank paper" registration law into effect in July 1958. It requires new registrants to write from memory, on a blank sheet of paper, answers to 10 questions about age, residence, occupation, etc.

In North Carolina a 1957 State law provides for court appeals from the rulings of registrars. It requires applicants denied registration to file notice of appeal with the registrar the following day; appeals then can be carried to the county boards of elections, and on to the superior court and the State supreme court.

The Louisiana Legislature defeated two bills of Gov. Earl K. Long which would have prevented the removal of any voter from the registration rolls who had been registered for more than 12 months, despite errors found in the registration, and another bill which stipulated that minor errors in the filing of an application would not disqualify the registrant.

Pending before the Alabama Legislature was a constitutional amendment restoring the cumulative poll tax. In 1953 the poll tax law was modified, limiting past due taxes to 2 years, or $3. Previously, a voter might have had to pay as much as $36 in accumulated unpaid poll taxes before registering.

The courts: In November 1958, a three-judge Federal court dismissed a suit brought by a Negro minister, the Rev. H. D. Darby, who in effect contended that Mississippi registration laws were designed to be administered arbitrarily and were used to discriminate against Negroes. The NAACP announced the suit would not be appealed but would instead be referred to the Civil Right Commission.

The Supreme Court of the United States denied the appeal of a Negro woman, Mrs. Louise Lassiter, to enjoin North Carolina registrars from using literacy tests if an applicant were otherwise qualified. In a unanimous decision, the Court said the tests apply regardless of race and are "one fair way of determining whether a person is literate."

APPENDIX

FLORIDA

County	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Alachua	80,500	60,400	20,100	15,602	13,433	2,169	25.0	13.9
Baker	6,800	5,100	1,700	3,820	3,423	397	25.0	10.4
Bay	63,600	53,600	10,000	21,063	19,159	1,904	15.7	9.0
Bradford	12,200	9,100	3,100	5,305	4,535	770	25.4	14.5
Brevard	86,200	75,800	10,400	21,019	19,272	1,747	12.1	8.3
Broward	265,900	218,900	47,000	92,604	84,997	7,607	17.7	8.2
Calhoun	7,800	6,700	1,100	4,303	4,038	265	14.1	6.2
Charlotte	7,200	6,300	900	4,168	3,895	273	12.5	6.5
Citrus	8,400	6,600	1,800	3,976	3,576	400	19.0	10.1
Clay	19,700	17,300	2,400	6,312	5,402	910	12.2	14.4
Collier	13,900	10,300	3,600	4,491	4,164	327	25.9	7.3
Columbia	18,600	12,400	6,200	6,221	5,250	971	33.3	15.6
Dade	846,800	732,000	114,800	358,623	337,838	20,785	13.6	5.8
De Soto	11,600	9,200	2,400	4,910	3,995	915	20.7	18.6
Dixie	4,400	3,600	800	2,018	1,948	70	18.2	3.4
Duval	427,200	324,400	102,800	132,105	105,652	26,453	24.1	20.0
Escambia	166,400	131,000	35,400	60,033	51,956	8,077	21.3	13.5
Flagler	5,300	3,800	1,500	1,551	1,532	19	28.3	1.2
Franklin	5,700	4,100	1,600	3,420	2,897	523	28.1	15.3
Gadsden	50,100	21,700	28,400	6,317	6,310	7	56.7	.11
Gilchrist	3,300	2,900	400	1,704	1,670	34	12.1	2.0
Glades	3,100	1,700	1,400	881	735	146	45.2	16.6
Gulf	8,900	6,400	2,500	3,736	3,234	502	28.1	13.4
Hamilton	8,300	4,500	3,800	4,317	3,805	512	45.8	11.9
Hardee	13,600	11,600	2,000	4,595	4,303	292	14.7	6.4
Hendry	7,200	4,900	2,300	2,702	2,339	563	31.9	20.8
Hernando	9,800	7,100	2,700	3,734	3,248	486	27.6	13.0
Highlands	17,400	13,100	4,300	9,856	8,922	934	24.7	9.5
Hillsborough	359,300	305,000	54,300	114,938	105,116	9,822	15.1	8.5
Holmes	11,600	11,100	500	6,838	6,698	140	4.3	2.0
Indian River	23,100	18,000	5,100	7,229	6,708	521	22.1	7.2
Jackson	34,100	23,000	11,100	11,530	9,440	2,090	32.6	18.1
Jefferson	9,500	3,700	5,800	3,470	3,038	432	61.1	12.4
Lafayette	2,800	2,600	200	1,902	1,902	0	7.1	0
Lake	52,200	40,900	11,300	17,725	16,362	1,363	21.6	7.7
Lee	40,800	32,900	7,900	15,491	14,359	1,132	19.4	7.3
Leon	78,000	50,800	27,200	19,143	15,054	4,089	34.9	21.4
Levy	9,900	6,700	3,200	5,552	5,139	413	32.3	7.4
Liberty	2,800	2,200	600	1,706	1,706	0	21.4	0
Madison	14,200	7,800	6,400	4,570	3,617	953	45.1	20.9
Manatee	56,300	46,100	10,200	18,207	17,293	914	18.1	5.0
Marion	47,500	31,500	16,000	15,022	12,018	3,004	33.7	20.0
Martin	13,100	10,000	3,100	6,065	5,450	615	23.7	10.1
Monroe	54,000	49,000	5,000	11,504	9,856	1,648	9.3	14.3

APPENDIX—Continued

FLORIDA—Continued

County	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Nassau	14,900	10,700	4,200	6,304	5,041	1,263	28.2	20.0
Okaloosa	56,500	52,100	4,400	13,005	15,321	684	7.8	5.3
Okeechobee	5,100	4,000	1,100	2,514	2,147	367	21.6	14.6
Orange	237,600	201,200	36,400	59,504	56,358	3,146	15.3	5.3
Osceola	16,300	14,600	1,700	7,456	7,102	354	10.4	4.7
Palm Beach	214,300	162,700	51,600	73,300	67,009	6,291	24.1	8.6
Pasco	30,800	27,300	3,500	13,767	13,097	670	11.4	4.9
Pinellas	296,100	264,600	31,500	138,833	134,223	4,610	10.6	3.3
Polk	176,000	142,900	33,100	61,360	55,761	5,599	18.8	9.1
Putnam	33,500	22,000	11,500	12,800	10,979	1,821	34.3	14.2
St. Johns	31,300	21,600	9,700	12,775	10,605	2,170	31.0	17.0
St. Lucie	33,600	24,000	9,600	13,072	11,179	1,893	28.6	14.5
Santa Rosa	25,200	23,300	1,900	11,139	10,390	749	7.5	6.7
Sarasota	59,000	51,700	7,300	21,598	20,915	683	12.4	3.2
Seminole	46,200	33,000	13,200	11,110	9,529	1,581	28.6	14.2
Sumter	11,500	8,600	2,900	4,790	4,216	574	25.2	12.0
Suwannee	14,100	10,200	3,900	5,709	5,312	397	27.7	7.0
Taylor	14,000	10,700	3,300	4,550	4,483	67	23.6	1.5
Union	10,600	7,100	3,500	2,598	2,598	0	33.0	0
Volusia	102,100	80,000	22,100	48,206	43,350	4,856	21.6	10.1
Wakulla	5,100	3,600	1,500	2,994	2,601	393	29.4	13.1
Walton	14,200	12,400	1,800	6,189	5,479	710	12.7	11.5
Washington	10,900	9,000	1,900	6,302	5,664	738	17.4	11.7
State	4,448,000	3,603,100	84,490	[1] 1,593,353	1,448,543	144,810	19.0	9.1

[1] Total of Democratic and Republican registrants. There were also 13,861 voters with other affiliation or independent; as there is no racial breakdown for these, they are excluded from the county figures and the State totals.

Source: Secretary of state of Florida, July 1958. Population figures: Florida State Board of Health, February 1959.

GEORGIA

County	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Appling	14,100	11,300	2,800	7,752	6,612	1,140	19.9	14.7
Atkinson	7,700	6,000	1,700	4,961	4,164	797	22.1	16.1
Bacon	9,700	8,600	1,100	6,127	6,105	22	11.3	.36
Baker	5,200	1,900	3,300	1,670	1,670	0	63.5	0
Baldwin	21,700	13,900	7,800	10,293	7,675	2,618	35.9	25.4
Banks	5,900	5,600	300	4,464	4,420	44	5.1	1
Barrow	13,500	11,000	2,500	6,160	5,858	312	18.5	5.1
Bartow	29,400	25,200	4,200	12,442	11,239	1,203	14.3	9.7
Ben Hill	15,400	10,400	5,000	4,727	3,797	930	32.5	19.7
Berrien	13,400	11,600	1,800	4,580	4,177	403	13.4	8.8
Bibb	142,000	94,700	47,300	31,037	26,124	4,913	33.3	15.8
Bleckley	9,100	6,400	2,700	3,391	3,346	45	29.7	1.3
Brantley	6,200	5,600	600	3,993	3,767	226	9.7	5.7
Brooks	17,100	8,900	8,200	5,016	4,321	695	48	13.9
Bryan	6,000	3,600	2,400	2,789	1,972	817	40	29.3
Bulloch	24,600	15,400	9,200	9,289	7,899	1,390	37.4	15
Burke	22,100	6,900	15,200	4,091	3,664	427	68.8	10.4
Butts	9,200	5,000	4,200	5,241	3,810	1,437	45.7	27.4
Calhoun	7,600	2,500	5,100	1,814	1,682	132	67.1	7.3
Camden	8,800	4,700	4,100	3,991	2,606	1,385	46.6	34.7
Candler	7,500	4,900	2,600	4,369	3,195	1,174	34.7	26.9
Carroll	35,000	28,200	6,800	14,605	13,680	925	19.4	6.3
Catoosa	17,600	17,200	400	10,008	9,938	70	2.3	.7
Charlton	4,800	3,400	1,400	2,333	2,293	40	29.2	1.7
Chatham	193,400	124,400	69,000	46,193	36,943	9,250	35.7	20
Chattahoochee	1,200	600	600	292	284	8	50	2.7
Chatooga	23,400	21,200	2,200	12,261	11,250	1,011	9.4	8.2
Cherokee	21,800	20,800	1,000	1,069	879	190	4.6	17.8
Clarke	42,700	32,400	10,300	17,391	14,255	3,136	24.1	18
Clay	5,200	1,600	3,600	1,107	1,013	94	69.2	8.5
Clayton	33,900	29,100	4,800	11,918	11,441	477	14.2	4
Clinch	6,500	4,400	2,100	2,748	2,429	319	32.3	11.6
Cobb	84,800	77,800	7,000	30,042	28,134	1,908	8.3	6.4
Coffee	26,100	19,600	6,500	11,000	10,058	942	24.9	8.6
Colquitt	35,700	27,200	8,500	13,965	13,000	965	23.8	6.9
Columbia	11,000	6,100	4,900	3,933	3,423	510	44.5	13
Cook	12,700	9,000	3,700	6,500	6,000	500	29.1	7.7
Coweta	28,900	18,300	10,600	13,244	11,597	1,647	36.7	12.4
Crawford	5,600	2,300	3,300	1,651	1,496	155	58.9	9.4
Crisp	18,200	10,300	7,900	5,506	4,785	721	43.4	13.1
Dade	8,500	8,400	100	3,718	3,678	40	1.2	1
Dawson	3,300	3,300	0	2,172	2,172	0	0	0
Decatur	25,300	13,700	11,600	8,490	7,530	960	45.8	11.3
De Kalb	202,800	183,800	19,000	66,603	64,450	2,153	9.4	3.2
Dodge	16,200	11,500	4,700	10,756	8,728	2,028	29	18.9
Dooly	12,800	6,100	6,700	4,974	4,252	722	52.3	14.5
Dougherty	59,000	36,500	22,500	13,443	10,815	2,628	38.1	19.5
Douglas	14,000	11,900	2,100	7,778	6,946	832	15	10.7
Early	17,000	7,700	9,300	4,017	3,812	205	54.7	5.1
Echols	2,300	1,700	600	819	804	15	26.1	1.8
Effingham	9,000	5,700	3,300	2,806	2,618	188	36.7	6.7
Elbert	18,300	12,700	5,600	10,116	9,012	1,104	30.6	10.9
Emanuel	17,800	11,500	6,300	9,014	7,252	1,762	35.4	19.5
Evans	6,400	3,800	2,600	2,689	2,206	483	40.6	18.
Fannin	15,700	15,600	100	8,522	8,503	19	.63	.22
Fayette	8,000	5,400	2,600	3,229	3,204	25	67.5	.77
Floyd	67,700	58,000	9,700	20,767	19,244	1,523	14.3	7.3
Forsyth	11,100	11,000	100	4,148	4,148	0	.9	0
Franklin	13,900	12,300	1,600	5,800	5,500	300	11.5	5.2
Fulton	571,600	395,000	176,600	133,291	104,877	28,414	30.9	21.3
Gilmer	10,700	10,600	100	4,460	4,454	6	.9	.1
Glascock	3,000	2,200	800	1,358	1,339	19	26.7	1.4

APPENDIX—Continued

GEORGIA—Continued

County	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Glynn	35,400	24,600	10,800	9,464	7,425	2,039	30.5	21.5
Gordon	19,600	18,400	1,200	7,702	[1] 7,353	[1] 348	6.1	.47
Grady	18,900	12,300	6,600	5,907	5,076	831	34.9	14.1
Greene	12,500	6,100	6,400	7,781	5,053	2,728	51.2	35.1
Gwinnett	35,600	32,400	3,200	17,509	16,498	1,002	9	5.7
Habersham	18,100	17,500	600	8,423	8,223	200	3.3	2.4
Hall	45,000	40,200	4,800	18,751	17,542	1,209	10.7	6.4
Hancock	10,200	2,600	7,600	3,794	2,064	1,730	74.5	45.6
Haralson	15,100	13,900	1,200	12,194	11,443	751	7.9	6.2
Harris	11,400	5,000	6,400	3,850	3,635	215	56.1	5.6
Hart	14,100	10,600	3,500	6,238	5,944	294	24.8	4.7
Heard	6,000	4,600	1,400	2,849	2,475	374	23.3	13.1
Henry	16,800	9,400	7,400	7,104	5,442	1,662	44	23.4
Houston	28,600	20,600	8,000	7,739	[2] 7,259	[2] 480	28	6.2
Irwin	11,600	7,300	4,300	5,200	4,500	700	37.1	13.5
Jackson	18,700	16,000	2,700	7,659	7,209	450	14.4	5.9
Jasper	6,800	2,900	3,900	3,334	2,530	804	57.4	24.1
Jeff Davis	9,800	7,600	2,200	6,190	6,134	56	22.4	.9
Jefferson	18,500	7,700	10,800	4,384	4,120	264	58.4	6
Jenkins	9,500	4,500	5,000	3,196	2,502	694	52.6	21.7
Johnson	8,200	5,700	2,500	3,923	3,655	268	30.5	6.8
Jones	7,300	3,500	3,800	2,659	2,048	611	52.1	23
Lamar	10,600	6,400	4,200	3,700	2,801	899	39.6	24.3
Lanier	5,100	3,400	1,700	2,344	1,892	452	33.3	19.3
Laurens	33,600	20,000	13,600	16,725	13,218	3,507	40.5	21
Lee	6,200	2,000	4,200	1,310	1,281	29	67.7	2.2
Liberty	9,700	4,000	5,700	4,600	2,128	2,472	58.8	43.7
Lincoln	6,300	3,200	3,100	2,440	2,437	3	49.2	.12
Long	3,400	2,300	1,100	[3] 3,262	[3] 2,201	[3] 1,061	32.4	32.5
Lowndes	42,700	26,800	15,900	14,564	11,860	2,704	37.2	18.6
Lumpkin	7,000	6,800	200	3,995	3,912	83	2.9	2.1
Macon	13,500	4,700	8,800	3,202	3,024	178	65.2	5.6
Madison	11,700	9,400	2,300	4,643	4,588	55	19.7	1.2
Marion	6,400	2,400	4,000	1,382	1,330	52	62.5	3.8
McDuffie	12,200	6,800	5,400	4,468	4,089	379	44.3	8.5
McIntosh	6,600	2,500	4,100	2,615	1,396	1,219	62.1	46.6
Meriwether	20,900	10,400	10,500	6,384	5,457	927	50.2	14.5
Miller	8,600	6,200	2,400	3,363	3,357	6	27.9	.18
Mitchell	22,700	11,400	11,300	7,673	7,298	375	49.8	4.9
Monroe	10,600	5,600	5,000	4,086	3,333	753	47.2	18.4
Montgomery	6,900	4,000	2,900	4,320	3,315	1,005	42	23.3
Morgan	11,600	5,600	6,000	3,353	2,615	738	51.7	22
Murray	10,600	10,500	100	4,997	4,962	35	.94	.7
Muscogee	144,100	109,900	34,200	26,588	22,859	3,729	23.7	14
Newton	21,600	14,400	7,200	10,963	9,058	1,905	33.3	17.4
Oconee	6,800	5,200	1,600	3,596	3,224	372	23.5	10.3
Oglethorpe	8,600	4,800	3,800	3,157	2,958	199	44.2	6.3
Paulding	11,400	10,100	1,300	8,286	7,851	435	11.4	5.2
Peach	12,900	4,900	8,000	3,218	2,539	679	62	21.1
Pickens	8,900	8,500	400	4,494	4,393	101	4.5	2.2
Pierce	10,900	8,400	2,500	3,769	3,388	381	22.9	10.1
Pike	7,400	4,100	3,300	3,016	2,520	496	44.6	16.4
Polk	33,200	27,900	5,300	11,006	9,852	1,154	16	10.5
Pulaski	8,400	4,500	3,900	3,088	2,853	235	46.4	7.6
Putnam	7,500	3,500	4,000	2,936	2,366	570	53.3	19.4
Quitman	2,800	1,000	1,800	764	721	43	64.3	5.6
Rabun	7,400	7,300	100	4,878	4,867	11	1.4	.22
Randolph	12,300	4,500	7,800	3,078	2,585	493	63.4	16
Richmond	154,400	106,200	48,200	29,080	23,260	5,820	31.2	20
Rockdale	9,200	6,600	2,600	4,064	3,501	563	28.3	13.9
Schley	3,500	1,400	2,100	1,164	1,006	158	60	13.6
Screven	16,900	7,300	9,600	3,562	3,027	535	53.3	15
Seminole	7,700	4,800	2,900	3,201	3,172	29	37.7	.9
Spalding	35,500	24,700	8,800	[4] 11,930	[4] 9,930	[4] 2,000	26.3	16.8
Stephens	19,400	16,900	2,500	8,869	8,242	627	12.9	7.1
Stewart	8,600	2,300	6,300	1,662	1,555	107	73.3	6.4
Sumter	24,600	11,900	12,700	5,647	5,164	483	51.6	8.6
Talbot	7,600	2,200	5,400	1,667	1,448	219	71.1	13.1
Taliaferro	3,500	1,200	2,300	1,669	913	756	65.7	45.3
Tattnall	13,700	10,500	3,200	9,904	8,224	1,680	23.4	17
Taylor	8,300	4,200	4,100	3,450	3,103	347	49.4	10.1
Telfair	12,400	8,200	4,200	7,558	7,389	169	33.9	2.2
Terrell	13,200	4,700	8,500	2,858	2,810	48	64.4	1.7
Thomas	36,000	22,100	14,500	10,001	8,422	1,579	39.6	15.8
Tift	25,900	18,500	7,400	7,794	6,681	1,113	28.6	14.3
Toombs	18,100	12,900	5,200	5,713	5,543	170	28.7	3.
Towns	4,800	4,800	0	[3] 2,123	[3] 2,123	[3] 0	0	0
Treutlen	6,000	4,100	1,900	[3] 3,559	[3] 3,541	[3] 18	31.7	.5
Troup	54,700	38,000	16,700	15,940	13,836	2,104	30.5	13.2
Turner	10,500	6,400	4,100	4,367	3,893	474	39	10.9
Twiggs	8,000	3,100	4,900	2,865	2,517	348	61.3	12.1
Union	7,200	7,200	0	4,944	4,944	0	0	0
Upson	25,600	19,300	6,300	5,903	5,437	466	24.6	7.9
Walker	43,800	41,100	2,700	24,451	23,324	1,127	6.2	4.6
Walton	20,400	13,900	6,500	7,678	6,873	805	31.9	10.5
Ware	32,800	24,100	8,700	13,736	11,418	2,318	26.5	16.9
Warren	8,000	2,900	5,100	2,201	2,006	195	63.8	8.9
Washington	19,600	8,300	11,300	8,400	6,966	1,704	57.7	20.3
Wayne	15,600	12,500	3,100	9,370	7,931	1,439	19.9	15.4
Webster	3,800	1,300	2,500	934	934	0	65.8	0
Wheeler	5,700	3,700	2,000	3,592	3,157	435	35.1	12.1
White	5,800	5,400	400	4,121	3,932	189	6.9	4.6
Whitfield	40,800	39,100	1,700	16,777	15,920	857	4.2	5.1
Wilcox	8,700	5,900	2,800	3,289	3,059	230	32.2	7
Wilkes	10,900	5,100	5,800	3,654	3,364	290	53.2	7.9
Wilkinson	9,200	4,700	4,500	3,452	3,041	411	48.9	11.9
Worth	18,700	9,200	9,500	6,151	5,855	296	50.8	4.8
State	3,934,000	2,791,000	1,143,000	1,292,343	1,130,385	161,958	29.0	12.5

[1] Total reported by secretary of state not broken down by race. Negro estimate taken from SRC 1956 report; white estimate based on population reports.

[2] Total reported by secretary of state not broken down by race. White and Negro estimates by county board of registrars.

[3] Not reported by secretary of state. Estimates taken from SRC 1956 report.

[4] Not reported by secretary of state. Estimates provided by county board of registrars.

Source: Secretary of State, September 1958, unless otherwise noted. Population figures: Georgia Department of Public Health, July 1958.

APPENDIX—Continued

LOUISIANA

Parish	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Acadia	55,050	43,771	11,279	21,828	18,324	3,504	20.5	16.1
Allen	21,883	16,550	5,333	8,816	7,053	1,763	24.4	20
Ascension	25,919	16,744	9,175	9,406	7,382	2,024	35.4	21.5
Assumption	19,781	11,261	8,520	6,720	4,731	1,989	43.1	29.6
Avoyelles	43,311	31,288	12,023	15,999	14,045	1,954	27.8	12.2
Beauregard	21,030	17,291	3,739	7,787	6,747	1,040	17.8	13.4
Bienville	20,905	10,107	10,796	4,787	4,759	28	51.6	.58
Bossier	50,376	33,994	16,382	10,455	9,983	472	32.5	4.5
Caddo	208,722	127,707	81,015	55,688	51,222	4,466	38.8	8
Calcasieu	112,461	87,039	25,422	41,967	35,603	6,364	22.6	15.2
Caldwell	11,338	8,025	3,313	2,572	2,534	38	29.2	1.5
Cameron	6,733	6,284	449	2,003	1,928	75	6.7	3.7
Catahoula	13,566	8,672	4,894	2,409	2,222	187	36.1	7.8
Claiborne	27,325	12,834	14,491	5,713	5,698	15	53.0	.26
Concordia	16,968	7,037	9,931	2,262	2,090	172	58.5	7.6
DeSoto	27,434	11,403	16,031	6,012	5,526	486	58.4	8.1
East Baton Rouge	190,198	127,464	62,734	63,690	54,590	9,100	33.0	14.3
East Carroll	18,681	7,243	11,438	2,028	2,028	0	61.2	0
East Feliciana	21,198	8,343	12,855	2,939	2,485	454	60.1	15.4
Evangeline	35,908	26,626	9,282	15,901	12,815	3,086	25.8	19.4
Franklin	34,146	20,905	13,241	6,056	5,692	364	38.8	6
Grant	15,783	11,732	4,051	5,277	4,752	525	25.7	9.9
Iberia	47,533	32,070	15,463	18,602	14,490	4,112	32.5	22.1
Iberville	30,479	15,440	15,039	7,853	5,917	1,936	49.3	24.7
Jackson	17,296	11,756	5,540	5,316	4,956	360	32.0	6.8
Jefferson	130,226	108,398	21,828	66,127	59,392	6,735	16.8	10.2
Jefferson Davis	30,823	23,925	6,888	10,830	9,169	1,661	22.3	15.3
Lafayette	69,568	49,993	19,575	17,121	14,125	2,996	28.1	17.5
Lafourche	50,456	43,584	6,872	22,879	20,926	1,953	13.6	8.5
La Salle	14,256	12,577	1,679	5,058	4,901	157	11.8	3.1
Lincoln	28,798	16,855	11,943	5,135	4,665	470	41.5	9.2
Livingston	23,238	19,511	3,727	7,107	6,543	564	16	7.9
Madison	20,156	6,654	13,502	1,316	1,316	0	67	0
Morehouse	38,276	19,308	18,968	4,849	4,647	202	49.6	4.2
Natchitoches	42,796	23,084	19,712	7,528	6,121	1,407	46.1	18.7
Orleans	643,979	424,440	219,539	194,421	163,132	31,289	34.1	16.1
Ouachita	87,967	58,006	2,961	22,755	21,979	776	34.1	3.4
Plaquemines	17,714	10,962	6,752	5,416	5,371	45	38.1	.83
Pointe Coupee	25,060	11,301	13,759	3,747	3,121	626	54.9	16.7
Rapides	105,119	70,082	35,037	27,924	25,294	2,630	33.3	9.4
Red River	13,460	6,480	6,980	1,973	1,958	15	51.9	.76
Richland	31,261	17,757	13,504	4,452	4,273	179	43.2	4
Sabine	23,205	18,128	5,077	9,135	7,643	1,492	21.9	16.3
St. Bernard	14,944	12,919	2,025	----------	----------	802	18.6	----------
St. Charles	16,600	11,373	5,227	6,433	5,001	1,432	31.5	22.3
St. Helena	9,958	4,458	5,500	2,761	1,702	1,059	55.2	8.4
St. James	18,006	8,783	9,223	----------	----------	----------	51.2	----------
St. John	17,653	8,565	9,088	----------	----------	2,426	51.5	----------
St. Landry	92,456	50,536	41,920	22,512	15,367	7,145	45.3	31.7
St. Martin	31,335	19,308	12,027	9,650	7,144	2,506	38.4	26
St. Mary	42,703	26,845	15,858	14,021	11,363	2,658	37.1	19
St. Tammany	31,177	21,381	9,796	16,129	14,059	2,070	31.4	12.8
Tangipahoa	61,991	41,135	20,856	21,031	17,554	3,477	33.6	16.5
Tensas	15,009	5,210	9,799	928	928	0	65.3	0
Terrabonne	53,184	40,551	12,633	12,192	11,193	999	23.8	8.2
Union	21,164	13,390	7,774	4,303	3,935	368	36.7	8.6
Vermilion	42,245	36,711	5,534	18,753	16,863	1,890	13.1	10.1
Vernon	23,242	20,463	2,779	8,063	7,423	640	12.0	7.9
Washington	44,852	29,838	15,014	12,961	11,444	1,517	33.5	11.7
Webster	41,189	25,890	15,299	8,277	8,197	80	37.1	1
West Baton Rouge	13,448	6,354	7,094	2,315	1,301	1,014	52.8	43.8
West Carroll	19,488	15,709	3,779	3,335	3,265	70	19.4	2.1
West Feliciana	11,405	3,091	8,314	901	901	0	72.9	0
Winn	17,742	12,589	5,153	----------	----------	1,430	29.0	----------
State	3,130,173	2,067,740	1,062,433	[1] 920,675	[1] 793,265	[2] 126,410	33.9	13.7

[1] Excluding St. Bernard, St. John the Baptist, and Winn parishes, for which registration figures were not available at the time of the survey. The Negro registration figures entered above for these parishes are from SRC's 1956 survey, and are not included in the State totals or percentages.

[2] Plus 4,658 for the 3 excluded parishes equals 131,068.

Source: Secretary of State, Oct. 4, 1958. Population figures: Louisiana State Department of Health, 1958.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	1957 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Abbeville	24,167	15,995	8,172	5,538	5,420	118	33.8	2.1
Aiken	63,075	41,719	21,356	20,216	18,454	1,762	33.9	8.7
Allendale	13,211	3,704	9,507	2,559	2,419	140	72	5.5
Anderson	100,724	77,296	21,428	25,048	23,424	1,624	21.3	6.5
Bamberg	19,733	8,029	11,704	3,660	3,267	393	59.3	10.7
Barnwell	20,074	8,097	11,977	5,317	4,786	531	59.7	10
Beaufort	30,466	12,257	18,209	4,141	2,855	1,286	59.8	31.1
Berkeley	34,609	12,427	22,182	7,060	5,147	1,913	64.1	27.1
Calhoun	16,490	4,515	11,975	1,773	1,699	74	72.6	4.2
Charleston	193,973	113,329	80,644	40,136	32,859	7,277	41.6	16.5
Cherokee	39,146	29,976	9,170	11,276	10,612	664	23.4	5.9
Chester	36,716	20,802	15,914	9,143	8,463	680	43.3	7.4
Chesterfield	40,417	24,346	16,071	9,597	8,196	1,401	39.8	14.6
Clarendon	37,376	10,372	27,004	3,782	3,458	324	72.2	8.6
Colleton	31,684	14,405	17,279	6,430	5,695	735	54.5	11.4
Darlington	57,480	30,098	27,382	12,635	10,191	2,444	47.6	19.3
Dillon	35,541	18,045	17,496	5,740	4,924	816	49.2	14.2
Dorchester	25,514	11,153	14,361	5,742	5,330	412	56.3	7.2
Edgefield	18,950	7,231	11,719	3,537	3,267	270	61.8	7.6
Fairfield	24,824	9,692	15,132	4,968	4,218	750	61.0	15.1
Florence	90,885	49,189	41,696	17,953	16,090	1,863	45.9	10.4

APPENDIX—Continued

SOUTH CAROLINA—Continued

County	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Georgetown	37,160	17,127	20,033	5,578	4,667	911	53.9	16.3
Greenville	193,720	157,176	36,544	51,097	47,057	4,040	18.8	7.9
Greenwood	46,524	32,327	14,197	11,682	10,844	838	30.5	29.3
Hampton	20,258	8,625	11,633	3,460	3,210	250	57.4	7.2
Harry	69,224	49,692	19,532	15,122	13,892	1,230	28.2	8.1
Jasper	12,224	4,213	8,011	2,464	1,975	489	65.5	19.8
Kershaw	36,262	18,709	17,553	9,790	8,706	1,084	48.4	11.1
Lancaster	41,921	29,593	12,328	12,977	12,084	893	29.4	6.9
Laurens	51,396	34,988	16,408	11,033	10,102	931	31.9	8.4
Lee	26,754	8,229	18,525	4,908	4,166	742	69.2	15.1
Lexington	50,725	39,833	10,892	14,319	14,106	213	21.5	1.5
McCormick	10,859	3,867	6,992	1,399	1,399	0	64.4	0
Marion	38,196	16,349	21,847	6,252	5,280	972	57.2	15.5
Marlboro	35,204	16,409	18,795	7,411	7,016	395	43.4	5.3
Newberry	34,392	21,283	13,109	8,480	7,984	496	38.1	5.8
Oconee	43,441	38,219	5,222	8,277	7,717	560	12.0	6.8
Orangeburg	78,513	27,910	50,603	12,288	10,068	2,220	64.5	18.1
Pickens	44,737	39,866	4,871	10,734	10,435	299	10.9	2.8
Richland	165,882	106,686	59,196	38,775	32,110	6,665	35.7	17.2
Saluda	17,679	9,952	7,727	4,351	4,135	216	43.7	5.0
Spartanburg	167,990	129,872	38,118	45,084	41,914	3,170	22.7	7.0
Sumter	69,385	30,494	38,891	9,704	7,574	2,130	56.1	21.9
Union	34,687	23,408	11,279	12,124	11,100	1,024	32.5	8.4
Williamsburg	51,222	15,736	35,486	6,390	6,156	234	69.3	3.7
York	82,092	56,145	25,947	18,966	16,552	2,414	31.6	12.7
State	2,415,502	1,461,385	954,117	537,406	479,711	57,978	39.5	10.8

Source: Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton, as repored in The State (Columbia, S.C.), May 24, 1958. The South Carolina Legislative Manual, 1959 prints county registration figures as of June 10, 1958 (p. 358); the figures given above were reported by the secretary of state as of May 10, 1958. The later figures are not used because they are not broken down by race. The difference, however, is slight: a total State registration of 536,206, or 1,200 less than the May 10 report used here. Population: figures: State board of health, Jan. 1, 1957.

VIRGINIA

County	1956 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
County:								
Accomack	33,923	22,094	11,829	4,962	4,469	493	34.9	9.9
Albermarle	27,933	22,805	5,128	4,765	4,120	645	18.4	13.5
Alleghany	11,725	10,834	891	2,214	2,056	158	7.6	7.1
Amelia	8,299	4,128	4,171	2,582	1,975	607	50.3	23.5
Amherst	21,063	15,623	5,440	5,182	4,586	596	25.8	11.5
Appomattox	8,667	6,429	2,238	2,540	2,390	150	25.8	5.9
Arlington	158,710	151,207	7,203	44,526	43,252	1,274	4.5	2.9
Augusta	35,107	33,322	1,785	7,446	7,271	175	5.1	2.4
Bath	5,982	5,321	661	1,776	1,704	72	11	4.1
Bedford	31,601	25,693	5,908	6,985	6,130	855	18.7	12.2
Bland	6,185	6,048	137	1,689	1,672	17	2.2	1
Botetourt	16,555	15,112	1,443	4,740	4,740	0	8.7	0
Brunswick	20,544	8,095	12,449	4,626	3,856	770	60.6	16.6
Buchanan	38,650	38,636	14	11,625	11,625	0	.04	0
Buckingham	12,135	6,738	5,397	1,515	1,075	440	44.4	29
Campbell	33,669	26,063	7,606	6,133	5,358	775	22.6	12.6
Caroline	12,788	6,108	6,680	1,912	1,410	502	52.2	26.3
Carroll	26,882	26,481	401	6,456	6,445	11	1.5	.17
Charles City	4,842	867	3,975	1,186	554	632	82.1	53.3
Charlotte	15,431	9,352	6,079	3,580	3,296	284	39.4	7.9
Chesterfield	56,044	46,385	9,659	12,595	11,325	1,270	17.2	10.1
Clarke	7,267	6,050	1,217	2,330	2,105	225	16.7	9.7
Craig	3,315	3,301	14	1,080	1,080	0	.42	0
Culpeper	14,517	10,662	3,855	3,304	2,827	477	26.6	14.4
Cumberland	6,966	2,868	4,098	1,775	1,475	300	58.8	16.9
Dickenson	23,391	23,181	210	9,305	9,260	45	.9	.48
Dinwiddie	20,575	7,866	12,709	4,260	3,424	836	61.8	19.6
Essex	6,666	3,496	3,170	1,070	845	225	47.6	21
Fairfax	176,371	164,269	12,102	48,580	47,506	1,074	6.9	2.2
Fauquier	24,401	18,206	6,195	4,120	3,937	183	25.4	4.4
Floyd	11,580	11,174	406	4,538	4,433	105	3.5	2.3
Fluvanna	7,289	4,492	2,797	890	808	82	38.4	9.2
Franklin	27,188	23,011	4,177	3,995	3,609	386	15.4	9.7
Frederick	20,400	19,972	428	4,265	4,220	45	2.1	1.1
Giles	20,090	19,547	543	5,001	4,950	51	2.7	1
Gloucester	11,351	7,942	3,409	3,596	2,949	647	30	18
Goochland	9,280	4,512	4,768	2,625	1,950	675	51.4	25.7
Grayson	16,887	15,869	1,018	6,501	6,430	71	6	1.1
Greene	5,321	4,641	680	1,787	1,700	87	12.8	4.9
Greensville	17,996	7,456	10,540	3,685	2,810	875	58.6	23.7
Halifax	43,418	24,223	19,195	6,332	5,750	582	44.2	9.2
Hanover	26,012	18,374	7,638	5,175	4,640	535	29.4	10.3
Henrico	86,821	80,776	6,045	30,813	29,958	855	7	2.8
Henry	36,825	27,400	9,425	6,621	6,270	351	25.6	5.3
Highland	3,811	3,695	116	1,257	1,247	10	3	.8
Isle of Wight	16,580	7,899	8,681	4,523	3,592	931	52.4	20.6
James City	7,370	4,037	3,333	1,465	1,123	342	45.2	23.3
King George	6,636	4,652	1,984	1,525	1,200	325	29.9	21.3
King and Queen	6,822	3,110	3,712	915	565	350	54.4	38.3
King William	7,949	4,650	3,299	1,405	1,100	305	41.5	21.7
Lancaster	8,911	5,316	3,595	2,075	1,660	415	40.3	20
Lee	30,363	30,013	350	12,311	12,183	128	1.2	1
Loudoun	23,764	19,788	3,976	7,919	7,498	421	16.7	5.3
Louisa	13,550	8,181	5,369	2,464	2,085	379	39.6	15.4
Lunenburg	14,925	8,134	6,791	2,660	2,200	460	45.5	17.3
Madison	8,784	6,621	2,163	2,110	1,985	125	24.6	5.9
Mathews	6,900	4,981	1,919	1,675	1,475	200	27.8	11.9
Mecklenburg	33,810	17,220	16,590	5,880	5,250	630	49.1	10.7
Middlesex	6,971	4,049	2,922	1,206	1,003	203	41.9	16.8
Montgomery	32,171	30,647	1,524	6,530	6,100	430	4.7	6.6

APPENDIX—Continued

VIRGINIA—Continued

County	1958 population			1958 registration			Population, percent Negro	Registration, percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro		
Counties:—Continued								
Nansemond	28,554	10,081	18,473	4,247	2,909	1,338	64.7	31.5
Nelson	14,248	10,229	4,019	3,444	3,078	366	28.2	10.6
New Kent	4,237	1,925	2,312	1,182	808	374	54.6	31.6
Norfolk	70,428	54,110	16,318	8,040	6,739	1,301	23.2	16.2
Northampton	17,861	8,085	9,776	2,795	2,275	520	54.7	18.6
Northumberland	9,594	5,391	4,203	4,550	3,070	1,480	43.8	32.5
Nottoway	15,964	8,921	7,043	3,220	2,655	565	44.1	17.5
Orange	13,589	10,208	3,381	2,531	2,274	257	24.9	10.2
Page	15,550	15,043	507	6,010	5,900	110	3.3	1.8
Patrick	16,307	14,999	1,308	3,980	3,900	80	8	2
Pittsylvania	60,674	38,597	22,077	6,918	6,425	493	36.4	7.1
Powhatan	5,823	3,534	2,289	1,796	1,365	431	39.3	24
Prince Edward	15,993	9,259	6,734	3,450	2,750	700	42.1	20.3
Prince George	22,134	16,389	5,745	2,246	1,819	427	26	19
Princess Anne	77,104	64,438	12,666	16,573	15,158	1,415	16.4	8.5
Prince William	28,840	25,852	2,988	4,205	3,851	354	10.4	8.4
Pulaski	30,357	28,284	2,073	8,077	7,572	505	6.8	6.3
Rappahannock	5,839	4,875	964	2,360	2,150	210	16.5	8.9
Richmond	6,136	3,885	2,251	1,255	970	285	36.7	22.7
Roanoke	50,123	46,565	3,558	19,435	18,647	788	7.1	4.1
Rockbridge	25,054	23,013	2,041	5,179	4,834	345	8.1	6.7
Rockingham	39,544	38,928	616	7,933	7,855	78	1.6	.98
Russell	27,858	27,161	697	7,052	6,963	89	2.5	1.3
Scott	28,398	28,134	264	6,360	6,320	40	.93	.63
Shenandoah	21,651	21,240	411	6,260	6,205	55	1.9	.88
Smyth	30,822	30,283	539	8,022	7,931	91	1.7	1.1
Southampton	27,038	11,161	15,877	4,155	3,630	525	58.7	12.6
Spotsylvania	13,770	10,685	3,085	3,900	3,500	400	22.4	10.3
Stafford	14,235	12,430	1,805	3,285	2,940	345	12.7	10.5
Surry	6,662	2,391	4,271	1,340	1,075	265	64.1	19.8
Sussex	13,628	4,726	8,902	2,910	2,275	635	65.3	21.8
Tazewell	49,395	46,807	2,588	7,487	7,140	347	5.2	4.6
Warren	15,622	14,456	1,166	4,090	3,911	179	7.5	4.4
Washington	38,308	37,415	893	7,864	7,686	178	2.3	2.3
Westmoreland	10,825	5,824	5,001	3,543	3,177	366	46.2	10.3
Wise	48,223	46,918	1,305	11,095	11,044	51	2.7	.4
Wythe	23,075	21,848	1,227	12,391	12,131	260	5.3	2.1
York	18,635	14,361	4,274	3,235	2,715	520	22.9	16.1
Independent cities:								
Alexandria	85,427	76,767	8,660	28,046	27,175	871	10.1	3.1
Bristol	18,093	16,986	1,107	3,230	3,000	230	6.1	7.2
Buena Vista	6,204	5,979	225	1,124	1,093	31	3.6	2.8
Charlottesville	29,975	24,616	5,359	10,638	9,467	1,171	17.8	11
Clifton Forge	5,830	4,736	1,094	2,216	2,000	216	18.7	9.7
Colonial Heights	7,813	7,796	17	2,500	2,500	0	.2	0
Covington	11,453	10,353	1,100	3,215	2,755	460	9.6	14.3
Danville	50,006	36,824	13,182	11,450	9,893	1,557	26.4	13.6
Falls Church	9,752	9,592	160	3,352	3,297	55	1.6	1.6
Fredericksburg	12,597	10,658	1,939	4,411	3,853	558	15.4	12.7
Galax	5,423	5,094	329	1,360	1,350	10	6.1	.74
Hampton	75,980	58,805	17,175	17,440	14,811	2,629	22.6	15.1
Harrisonburg	12,188	11,326	862	3,385	3,200	185	7.1	5.5
Hopewell	18,722	16,052	2,670	4,310	4,000	310	14.3	7.2
Lynchburg	50,528	39,641	10,887	20,568	17,992	2,576	21.5	12.5
Martinsville	18,764	13,159	5,605	3,807	3,397	410	29.8	10.8
Newport News	44,778	22,355	22,423	11,369	6,626	4,743	50.1	41.7
Norfolk	291,896	218,108	73,787	69,310	59,422	9,888	25.3	14.3
Norton	5,139	4,714	425	1,459	1,386	73	8.3	5
Petersburg	35,620	19,074	16,546	8,236	6,029	2,207	46.5	26.8
Portsmouth	88,073	54,927	33,146	15,724	11,415	4,309	37.6	27.4
Radford	9,999	9,415	584	4,198	3,957	241	5.8	5.7
Richmond	240,744	152,181	88,563	68,012	55,666	12,346	36.8	18.2
Roanoke	101,540	84,598	16,942	36,524	33,825	2,699	16.7	7.4
South Norfolk	24,105	18,762	5,343	4,535	3,850	685	22.2	15.1
Staunton	22,374	20,016	2,358	5,733	5,337	396	10.5	6.9
Suffolk	12,456	7,977	4,479	3,663	2,988	675	36	18.4
Virginia Beach	6,958	6,658	300	3,714	3,591	123	4.3	3.3
Warwick	58,345	43,411	14,934	12,419	11,116	1,303	25.6	10.5
Waynesboro	14,051	13,028	1,023	4,309	4,165	144	7.3	3.3
Williamsburg	7,865	6,835	1,030	1,293	1,173	120	13.1	9.3
Winchester	14,700	13,377	1,323	4,087	3,996	91	9	2.2
State	3,799,174	2,981,893	817,281	[1] 944,727	852,483	92,172	21.5	9.8

[1] Includes 72 Indians in Charles City County.

Source: Secretary, State board of elections, Jan. 15, 1959. Population figures: Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, May 1957.

ARKANSAS

County	1957 registration			Registration percent Negro	County	1957 registration			Registration percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro			Total	White	Negro	
Arkansas	8,008	7,308	700	8.7	Craighead	14,239	13,929	310	2.2
Ashley	8,050	6,868	1,182	14.7	Crawford	6,584	6,489	95	1.4
Baxter	3,597	3,597	0	0	Crittenden	6,923	5,778	1,145	16.5
Benton	12,308	12,284	25	.2	Cross	4,642	4,036	606	13.1
Boone	5,869	5,869	0	0	Dallas	4,268	3,240	1,028	24.1
Bradley	5,566	4,443	1,123	20.2	Desha	6,852	4,693	2,159	31.5
Calhoun	2,907	2,607	300	10.3	Drew	5,000	4,500	500	10.0
Carroll	4,195	4,195	0	0	Faulkner	9,223	8,767	456	4.9
Chicot	6,286	3,761	2,525	40.2	Franklin	4,547	4,518	29	.6
Clark	7,083	5,872	1,211	17.1	Fulton	2,647	2,647	0	0
Clay	5,337	5,337	0	0	Garland	17,347	16,647	700	4.0
Cleburne	2,839	2,839	0	0	Grant	3,665	3,479	186	5.1
Cleveland	2,886	2,536	350	12.1	Greene	8,144	8,134	10	.12
Columbia	7,544	6,534	1,010	13.4	Hempstead	7,034	5,884	1,150	16.3
Conway	7,585	6,189	1,396	18.4	Hot Springs	8,859	8,559	300	3.4

APPENDIX—Continued

ARKANSAS—Continued

County	1957 registration			Registration percent Negro
	Total	White	Negro	
Howard	4,112	3,852	260	6.3
Independence	6,862	6,787	75	1.1
Izard	2,933	2,910	23	.78
Jackson	7,368	6,553	815	11.1
Jefferson	20,970	15,308	5,662	27.0
Johnson	4,892	4,877	15	.31
Lafayette	3,830	2,725	1,105	28.9
Lawrence	5,536	5,506	30	.54
Lee	4,171	2,805	1,366	32.7
Lincoln	3,871	2,569	1,302	33.6
Little River	3,730	3,230	500	13.4
Logan	6,041	5,996	45	.74
Lonoke	7,755	6,597	1,158	14.9
Madison	3,645	3,645	0	0
Marion	2,792	2,792	0	0
Miller	10,740	9,172	1,568	14.6
Mississippi	16,841	12,919	3,922	23.3
Monroe	4,389	3,453	936	21.3
Montgomery	2,625	2,625	0	0
Nevada	4,021	3,285	736	18.3
Newton	2,465	2,465	0	0
Ouachita	11,421	7,401	4,020	35.2
Perry	2,147	2,117	30	1.4
Phillips	9,512	5,900	3,612	37.9
Pike	3,242	3,139	103	3.2
Poinsett	9,003	8,653	350	3.9
Polk	4,803	4,803	0	0
Pope	7,059	6,969	90	1.3
Prairie	3,832	3,632	200	5.2
Pulaski	72,190	61,771	10,419	14.4
Randolph	4,428	4,403	25	.56
St. Francis	7,162	5,262	1,900	26.5
Saline	9,415	9,328	87	.92
Scott	3,275	3,230	45	1.4
Searcy	2,766	2,766	0	0
Sebastian	21,045	20,209	836	4.0
Sevier	3,406	3,205	201	5.9
Sharp	2,823	2,823	0	0
Stone	2,770	2,770	0	0
Union	17,928	15,158	2,770	15.5
Van Buren	3,300	3,280	20	.60
Washington	13,933	13,921	12	.09
White	9,780	9,480	300	3.1
Woodruff	4,140	3,224	916	22.1
Yell	4,975	4,902	73	1.5
State	563,978	499,955	64,023	

Source: Report of Jimmie "Red" Jones, auditor of State of Arkansas, 1958.

Texas—Statistical estimates of qualified Negro voters

EXPLANATION.—Texas has no personal registration for voting, and the closest thing to it is poll tax payment. The poll tax is levied on all between the ages of 21–60, with a few classes of people (e.g., some physically disabled) exempted from payment. For these latter persons to vote, they must obtain a certificate of exemption; so also must persons over 60 who reside in a city of 10,000 or more population. Persons over 60 living in smaller places need not get a certificate to vote, if otherwise qualified. The table below, therefore, shows (1) number of poll taxes paid; (2) number of certified, or listed, exempts; (3) number of unlisted exempts, i.e. persons over 60 living in places of less than 10,000 population. Some of this third group, of course, may not realize that they are eligible to vote.

Counties	Poll taxes paid	Listed exempts	Unlisted exempts, estimate	1958 voter total	Negro population, 1950
Anderson	917	188	656	1,761	4,864
Andrews	33	0	1	34	34
Angelina [1]	768	242	188	1,198	5,944
Aransas	54	0	9	63	107
Archer [1 2]	1	0	1	2	16
Armstrong [1 2]	0	0	0	0	7
Atascosa	24	0	12	36	240
Austin [3]	[4] 365	0	435	800	3,016
Bailey [1 2]	29	0	6	35	239
Bandera	2	0	1	2	15
Bastrop	666	0	858	1,524	6,196
Baylor	6	0	8	14	108
Bee	120	0	55	175	470
Bell	1,007	13	211	1,231	8,646
Bexar	6,175	1,376	216	7,767	32,565
Blanco	15	0	23	38	105
Borden	0	0	0	0	24
Bosque	9	0	59	68	373
Bowie [2]	1,614	355	922	2,891	15,184
Brazoria	1,419	29	672	2,120	6,845
Brazos	700	350	533	1,583	9,192
Brewster	7	0	7	14	40
Briscoe [1 2]	10	0	2	12	98
Brooks	4	0	2	6	39
Brown [2]	127	41	90	258	906
Burleson [3]	[4] 508	0	704	1,212	4,203
Burnet [1 2]	26	0	16	42	220
Caldwell	370	0	448	820	3,068
Calhoun	118	1	58	177	712
Callahan	0	0	2	2	7
Cameron [1 2]	88	0	39	127	732
Camp [3]	[4] 532	0	468	1,000	3,478
Carson	3	0	2	5	11
Cass [3]	[4] 1,324	0	917	2,241	8,657
Castro	19	0	1	20	64
Chambers	621	0	174	795	1,526
Cherokee	883	0	1,101	1,984	10,634
Childress	61	0	62	123	832
Clay	9	0	21	30	81
Cochran [1 2]	20	0	10	30	164
Coke	0	0	0	0	5
Coleman [1 2]	48	0	38	86	402
Collin [3]	[4] 444	0	244	688	3,792
Collingsworth [1 2]	81	0	48	129	671
Colorado	535	0	687	1,222	4,436
Comal	15	0	1	16	277
Comanche	0	0	3	3	8
Concho	0	0	1	1	10
Cooke [3]	[4] 112	0	18	130	959
Coryell	8	0	49	57	424
Cottle [1 2]	46	0	14	60	385
Crane	53	0	1	54	104
Crockett [1 2]	12	0	6	18	106
Crosby [1 2]	99	0	39	138	827
Culberson	0	0	0	0	4
Dallam	6	0	2	8	35
Dallas [3]	[4] 17,074	0	1,615	18,689	82,922
Dawson [3]	103	29	2	134	1,091
Deaf Smith	4	0	0	4	6
Delta	24	0	101	125	934
Denton [1]	200	0	105	305	2,321
DeWitt [3]	[4] 387	0	547	934	3,199
Dickens	14	0	31	45	369
Dimmit	3	0	5	8	63
Donley	13	0	20	33	253
Duval	4	0	6	10	23
Eastland [1 2]	38	0	62	100	313
Ector [1 2]	557	0	28	585	1,571
Edwards	0	1	1	1	13
Ellis [3]	[4] 1,270	0	852	2,122	10,843
El Paso [1 2]	[4] 905	0	57	962	4,182
Erath	4	0	25	29	148
Falls	321	38	1,121	1,480	8,590
Fannin [3]	[4] 384	0	490	874	3,282
Fayette	275	0	643	918	3,926
Fisher	31	0	48	79	561
Floyd	36	0	16	52	387
Foard	23	0	15	38	430
Fort Bend [3]	[4] 909	0	952	1,861	7,520
Franklin	50	0	54	104	424
Freestone	746	5	860	1,611	6,316
Frio	8	0	6	14	98
Gaines [1 2]	14	0	5	19	119
Galveston	6,011	961	358	7,330	23,712
Garza	37	0	10	47	242
Gillespie	2	0	4	6	15
Glasscock	0	0	1	1	11
Goliad [1 2]	77	0	105	182	638
Gonzales	224	0	560	784	3,926
Gray [1 2]	75	0	2	77	623
Grayson [3]	[4] 1,900	0	232	2,132	6,187
Gregg	[4] 4,412	0	690	5,102	14,963
Grimes [3]	[4] 740	0	948	1,688	6,116
Guadalupe [3]	[4] 438	0	541	979	3,622
Hale [3]	89	0	11	100	1,039
Hall [1 2]	118	0	38	156	986
Hamilton	0	0	1	1	1
Hansford	0	0	0	0	0
Hardeman [1 2]	99	0	65	164	822
Hardin	761	4	334	1,099	3,079
Harris	[4] 44,282	0	1,112	45,994	149,286
Harrison [3]	[4] 2,000	200	1,543	3,743	24,717
Hartley	0	0	1	1	11
Haskell	35	0	45	80	887
Hays	128	0	187	315	1,144
Hemphill	0	0	0	0	1
Henderson	463	0	518	981	4,766
Hidalgo [1 3]	73	0	77	150	609
Hill	105	0	490	595	4,677
Hockley	31	0	28	59	940
Hood	4	0	25	29	30
Hopkins	201	0	292	493	2,631
Houston	701	4	1,050	1,755	8,918
Howard [2]	155	27	4	186	890
Hudspeth	0	0	1	10	25
Hunt [3]	[4] 738	0	260	998	6,309
Hutchinson	113	28	31	172	522
Irion [1 2]	0	0	1	1	10
Jack [1 2]	8	0	4	12	74
Jackson	166	1	202	369	1,714

Footnotes at end of table.

Texas—Statistical estimates of qualified Negro voters—Continued

Counties	Poll taxes paid	Listed exempts	Unlisted exempts, estimate	1958 voter total	Negro population, 1950
Jasper	636	3	572	1,211	5,305
Jeff Davis	2	0	3	5	26
Jefferson	8,616	1,383	162	10,161	44,122
Jim Hogg	2	0	1	3	13
Jim Wells [1 3]	48	0	3	51	401
Johnson	80	3	98	181	1,761
Jones	58	0	109	167	1,333
Karnes	74	1	95	170	59
Kaufman [3]	[4] 1,042	0	465	1,507	8,905
Kendall	8	0	19	27	60
Kenedy	0	0	0	0	0
Kent [1 3]	6	0	4	10	48
Kerr [1 3]	68	0	56	114	564
Kimble	1	0	2	3	5
King [1 3]	7	0	2	9	62
Kinney	56	0	36	92	221
Kleberg	253	0	2	255	810
Knox	21	0	42	63	613
Lamar [2]	561	276	363	1,200	7,971
Lamb [1 3]	159	0	44	203	1,326
Lampasas [1 3]	24	0	38	62	201
LaSalle [1 3]	2	0	5	7	15
Lavaca	127	0	372	499	2,278
Lee [3]	[4] 326	0	425	751	2,695
Leon [3]	[4] 682	0	636	1,318	4,737
Liberty	[4] 1,144	22	590	1,756	6,071
Limestone	1,305	22	827	2,154	7,468
Lipscomb	0	0	1	1	2
Live Oak	0	0	2	2	31
Llano [1 3]	6	0	7	13	54
Loving	4	0	0	4	0
Lubbock [2]	404	90	48	542	7,893
Lynn	28	0	23	51	592
Madison	194	30	315	539	2,618
Marion [1]	[4] 885	0	721	1,606	5,782
Martin [1 3]	32	0	8	40	263
Mason	0	0	4	3	64
Matagorda [3]	[4] 571	0	601	1,182	4,809
Maverick	0	0	4	4	10
McCulloch [1 3]	44	0	35	79	370
McLennan [3]	[4] 4,000	0	800	4,800	22,329
McMullen	0	0	1	10	5
Medina	12	0	32	44	207
Menard [1 3]	3	0	5	8	29
Midland	672	78	13	763	2,123
Milam	210	0	715	925	5,150
Mills	0	0	1	1	2
Mitchell [1]	200	0	63	263	905
Montague	0	0	0	0	1
Montgomery	1,084	0	704	1,788	6,149
Moore	0	0	1	1	6
Morris	269	2	274	545	3,126
Motley	18	0	16	34	259
Nacogdoches [3]	879	191	429	1,499	8,655
Navarro [3]	785	200	550	1,535	9,886
Newton	631	4	436	1,071	3,824
Nolan [3]	61	23	6	90	783
Nueces [3]	1,566	100	30	1,696	7,958
Ochiltree	0	0	0	0	0
Oldham	0	0	0	0	0
Orange [3]	[4] 632	0	32	664	4,387
Palo Pinto [1]	100	0	82	182	668
Panola	891	0	543	1,434	6,643
Parker [1 3]	32	0	54	86	263
Parmer [1 3]	2	0	1	3	17
Pecos	12	0	6	18	136
Polk [3]	[4] 648	0	599	1,247	4,504
Potter [2]	184	133	2	319	3,556
Presidio	1	0	9	10	57
Rains [1 3]	51	0	41	92	424
Randall	0	0	4	4	47
Reagan [1 3]	17	0	3	20	141
Real	1	0	0	1	8
Red River	318	0	647	965	5,230
Reeves [1 3]	33	0	10	43	276
Refugio [1 3]	134	0	101	235	1,120
Roberts	0	0	0	0	0
Robertson	753	0	1,147	1,900	8,212
Rockwall [3]	[4] 197	0	116	313	1,688
Runnels	0	0	60	60	509
Rusk	2,093	29	1,258	3,380	12,632
Sabine [3]	[4] 322	0	185	507	2,240
San Augustine	236	0	302	538	3,068
San Jacinto [3]	[4] 542	0	528	1,070	3,767
San Patricio	52	0	41	93	723
San Saba	7	3	11	21	70
Schleicher [1 3]	12	0	0	17	99
Scurry [1 3]	47	0	15	62	341
Shackelford	8	0	17	25	135
Shelby [3]	700	0	584	1,284	5,916
Sherman	0	0	0	0	2
Smith [1 2]	2,000	500	1,276	3,776	22,291
Somervell	0	0	0	0	2
Starr	0	0	1	0	3
Stephens	151	0	50	201	359
Sterling [1 3]	1	0	0	1	13
Stonewall [1 3]	12	0	14	26	101
Sutton	4	0	1	5	33
Swisher	4	0	6	10	104
Tarrant [2]	4,590	433	242	5,265	39,674
Taylor [1 3]	307	0	26	333	2,561
Terrell	1	0	3	4	13
Terry [1 3]	46	0	16	62	382
Throckmorton	0	0	1	1	1
Titus	566	0	305	871	3,197
Tom Green [3]	500	110	2	612	3,091
Travis	3,919	961	473	5,353	22,493
Trinity	1,100	7	417	1,524	2,688
Tyler	227	0	205	432	2,232
Upshur [3]	[4] 919	0	604	1,523	6,009
Upton	84	0	11	95	207
Uvalde	10	0	23	33	193
Val Verde [3]	43	15	2	60	355
Van Zandt [3]	181	0	180	361	1,543
Victoria [3]	420	46	182	648	3,073
Walker	792	0	885	1,677	7,494
Waller [3]	[4] 765	0	626	1,391	6,328
Ward	76	1	21	98	319
Washington [3]	[4] 846	0	1,202	2,048	6,993
Webb [3]	1	3	0	4	79
Wharton [3]	[4] 949	0	1,008	1,957	7,843
Wheeler	10	0	25	35	288
Wichita [3]	803	191	27	1,021	6,276
Wilbarger [1 3]	210	0	22	323	1,743
Willacy [1 3]	13	0	12	25	110
Williamson	56	0	655	711	5,864
Wilson	24	0	60	84	310
Winkler	71	0	6	77	170
Wise	7	0	16	23	135
Wood	328	0	399	677	3,124
Yoakum	17	0	1	18	13
Young	17	0	9	26	140
Zapata	0	0	0	0	1
Zavala	23	1	7	31	95
Total	163,773	8,954	54,291	226,818	977,458

[1] Estimate of county tax assessor-collector.
[2] County includes a city of 10,000 or over population.
[3] Estimate of SRC consultant.
[4] Includes both "poll taxes paid" and "listed exempts."

Source: SRC consultant—Population figures: 1950 Census.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I point out that those of us who are fighting for a civil rights bill at this session are not talking against the wind. We are talking about a reality, and the biggest thing uppermost in respect of reform in the South is reform of voting procedures so that more people will have the right to vote.

These figures indicate that we are faced with a great deal of nullification and relatively little progress. I believe that shows why Congress should amend the act.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks an article entitled "Negro Registration Is Set Back in South," written by Claude Sitton, and published in the New York Times of Sunday, August 30, 1959.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEGRO REGISTRATION IS SET BACK IN SOUTH

(By Claude Sitton)

ATLANTA, August 29.—Racial tension generated by the school desegregation controversy has all but checked the growth of Negro voter registration in the South, according to the southern regional council.

In a report released today, the interracial agency said purges, threats, slowdowns, evasions and outright refusals to register Negroes had been employed in some areas.

"Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944," it declared.

The council said its first full-scale survey of the suffrage problem since 1956 had also shown a devaluation of the ballot of those Negroes who had been able to overcome the barriers and reach the polls.

This was attributed to the efforts of racists to make the support of the minority race a political liability.

OPTIMISM VOICED

Despite these setbacks, optimism was voiced over the longrun outlook. The council said this was for "a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation—along with rising economic and social status."

A full report on the survey, entitled "The Negro, and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price, will be published next week.

The council sponsored the study as a part of its effort to improve race relations in the South.

SMALL RISE NOTED

The agency said an estimated total of 1,303,827 Negroes were registered in the 11 States covered by the survey at the end of 1958. This was an increase of 65,798 from the 1956 total. However, it went on:

"This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 esti-

mate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

"In the 8 States where Southern Regional Council was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 total 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845."

The report showed that 25 percent of the eligible Negroes and about 60 percent of the eligible whites were registered in the South in 1956. The 1958 total, it said, represented approximately the same percentage.

ALL-WHITE REGISTRATION

Twenty-nine southern counties have no Negroes registered, according to the council. These include 1 in Virginia, 1 in South Carolina, 2 in Georgia, 3 in Florida, 2 in Alabama, 1 in Tennessee, 15 in Mississippi, and 4 in Louisiana.

"The majority have populations over 50 percent Negro," it pointed out.

However, the council contended that there were other counties in the South where Negroes could register in greater numbers if they wished.

The council said there had been a decrease during the 2 years in the number of Negro voter registrants in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

It noted that none of the 11 States surveyed had eased its registrations law during the 2-year period since its last study.

STATE LAWS TIGHTENED

Two—Virginia and Georgia—tightened voting requirements. Five still retain the poll tax. And seven States have literacy tests that could be used to restrict Negro registration.

"The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage," declared the report.

"The fear and hostility generated by demagogs has dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation."

In the discussion the watering down of the Negro power at the polls, the council said that in normal times no serious office-seeker would deliberately antagonize a sizable of voters. But it went on:

"In many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue had led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield if I have any time.

Mr. ERVIN. I should like to ask the Senator what the report of the Southern Regional Council shows about Negro registration in Burke County, N.C.

Mr. JAVITS. I cannot tell the Senator what it shows about each particular county. I think it shows that North Carolina has a better record than other States in the South.

May I point out, Mr. President, that by way of balancing that fact, in 29 communities in the South in which the Negro population is 50 percent or more, there is not any Negro registered on the voting rolls. I will give the Senator credit for what took place in his State, in certain parts of it, but I think we ought to have a pretty balanced picture.

Mr. ERVIN. My reason for asking that question is that 2 years ago the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] placed in the RECORD reports of the Southern Regional Council which failed to show any Negro registered in Burke County, N.C., which is my home county. I know that there are hundreds of Negroes registered in Burke County, and I also know of a considerable number of Negroes in my own precinct who are registered and who vote. When the records of the Southern Regional Council were presented to the Senate 2 years ago, they omitted giving registration figure for Negro electors in many North Carolina counties where thousands of Negroes were registered, and were used as a basis for incorrect inference—an event which usually happens where the truth is only partially told. I point this out to show that the records of the Southern Regional Council cover the subject partially, and the inferences drawn from them are not accurate in many cases.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator is at liberty to submit any figures he wishes. I will submit tables by counties. Unfortunately, we are often frustrated in obtaining information.

MR. AVRAHAM HARMAN, THE NEW AMBASSADOR FROM ISRAEL

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the new Ambassador from Israel, Mr. Avraham Harman, who will succeed Mr. Abba Eban is now here in the United States to take up his new duties. He is no stranger to our shores, and like his gifted and distinguished predecessor, he has made many friends in America.

Mr. President, I salute the incoming Ambassador from Israel and wish him every success in his new post.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial from today's New York Herald Tribune entitled, "New Ambassador From Israel," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW AMBASSADOR FROM ISRAEL

Israel's new Ambassador to the United States is a welcome figure here. Avraham Harman is no stranger. From 1953–55 he was Israeli consul general in New York, and prior to that he was a counselor to his country's delegation to the United Nations. He has also been consul general in Montreal. He knows our part of the world and its people well.

Mr. Harman was born and educated in Britain, worked for a time in South Africa, and settled in Palestine in 1940. His story is typical of many Israelis—men and women born and reared elsewhere, fulfilling in their lifetimes the Biblical promise of the ingathering of the exiles, devoting their skills and their lives to the renewal of their ancient homeland. In his new mission to Washington Mr. Harman succeeds a popular and respected Ambassador in Abba Eban. We are sure he will meet his task well.

THE NEED FOR HIGHWAY FINANCING LEGISLATION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I note with great satisfaction that the House Public Works Committee has just voted to accept the proposal of the Ways and Means Committee for a 1-cent increase in the gasoline tax for a period of 22 months. This is very good news. The controversy over the best way to finance the Federal highway program is an important one, and thus deserves the careful attention that it has so far received. Many of us will be greatly disappointed if the differences of opinion on how to finance our highways are allowed to kill this vital program for the coming year. The necessity of having a highway bill before adjournment is widely recognized. Already many States—including my own—have been forced to curtail road-building activities as a result of the discontinuation of the payment of Federal highway funds.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following letter which I received from Mr. Harry R. Mason, a county highway engineer in New York State and the secretary of the New York State County Highway Superintendents Association be printed in the RECORD at the completion of my remarks. This letter is typical of the many which I have received requesting that I do all that I am able, to see that Congress passes a new highway financing bill before adjournment.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK STATE COUNTY HIGHWAY SUPERINTENDENTS ASSOCIATION,
Fonda, N.Y., August 27, 1959.

Hon. KENNETH KEATING,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KEATING: As a county highway engineer and as secretary of the New York State County Highway Superintendents Association, I urge you to support the Fallon bill (H.R. 8678) to continue the interstate highway program.

Any curtailment or cutback in the program would be a serious blow to the transportation and economy of the country. In Montgomery County, which is now recovering from an economic low point, interstate projects planned will be of great help to the area in attracting new industry. If some interim financing measure is not approved to continue the program, it is probable that proposed projects on the State highway system in this area will be canceled.

Any slowdown now in construction will serve to increase the problems in the future on our highway system due to the expected increase in the number of vehicles in this country in the next few years.

I hope that in your capacity as representative of Montgomery County, that you will act in favor of continuing this important highway program.

Very truly yours,

HARRY R. MASON,
Secretary.

AMENDMENT OF COPYRIGHT ACT OF 1909

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, for a long time, and in fact over a period of more than 12 years, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has been considering proposed legislation which would amend the Copyright Act of 1909 by removing a specific exemption from that act which provides that performance of copyrighted musical works by coin-operated music machines shall not be deemed a public performance for profit. In practice, this 50-year-old exemption

means that the 500,000 so-called jukeboxes in the United States are accorded the special privilege, alone among all commercial users of copyrighted music, of taking musical property from its owners without their permission, and profiting from the use of such musical property without payment to the creators of the music.

Under the leadership of the eminent senior Senator from Wyoming, the Copyright Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary made a thorough study of all the issues, which it embodied in Senate Document No. 155—84th Congress, 3d session—entitled "A Review of the Evidence Relating to the Copyright Law as it Applies to Jukeboxes." As a result of this study, and of hearings held by the able chairman of the subcommittee, the full Judiciary Committee, in the closing days of the 85th Congress, favorably reported a bill, S. 1870, to eliminate the special clause exempting jukeboxes, and thus afford the owners of the music compensation for the use of their property in coin-operated machines. The findings of the committee were embodied in Senate Report No. 2414—85th Congress, 2d session. Because of the lateness of the session, however, no action was taken on the measure by the 85th Congress.

The bill has been reintroduced in the 86th Congress as S. 950, and a somewhat similar measure in the House, H.R. 5921. Hearings have been held recently on H.R. 5921 by our sister committee in the House, and under guidance by the chairman of the House committee, proponents and opponents of the measure are being brought together to discuss ways and means of working out reasonable and equitable compensation to the composers and other copyright owners.

As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, I have studied the evidence, and have concluded that composers are entitled to a fee for the performance of their music in jukeboxes. The musical property created by the hearts and brains of Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, Hammerstein and Rodgers, George Gershwin, Jerome Kern, and a multitude of others deserves and should receive under the Copyright Act just as much lawful protection as a man's house or farm or crops, or any other real or tangible property he possesses. The strength of our economic system depends upon the incentives which our Nation provides to its citizens, to encourage them to earn, accumulate and hold the just rewards of their toil. I urge my fellow Members of the Senate to give their attention to this apparently trivial but significant alienation of property which has been allowed to exist for 50 years, and to restore to their rightful owners the musical property being wrongfully taken from American composers by jukebox operators.

EFFECT OF STEEL STRIKE ON RAILROAD INDUSTRY

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, as one who has spent considerable time in the study of the Nation's transportation system, particularly surface transportation, I cannot help becoming increasingly alarmed over the effect which the steel strike is having on the Nation's carriers, especially on the railroads, their essential maintenance and building programs, and the increasing numbers of their furloughed employees.

When the last steel strike occurred, in 1956, freight carloadings for the 5-week period of the strike's duration were about 800,000 below normal, and at least 750,000 cars of this loss, or 150,000 cars a week, were attributed directly to the strike. Losses in the first 5 weeks of the present strike, as recently announced by the Association of American Railroads, show that the 1956 experience is being substantially repeated. Carloadings for the 5 weeks ended August 22 were 875,000 below normal. Included in this loss were 123,000 carloads of coal, 44,000 carloads of coke, 383,000 carloads of ore, and 325,000 carloads of other or related commodities.

Translated into dollars, the loss of 875,000 carloads has meant $220 million in revenue lost to the railroads. This loss continues at a rate of approximately $40 million for each week that the strike is allowed to continue. But the effects cannot be measured in dollars alone. One of the most serious and disturbing aspects is the effect that a prolonged strike with its continuing revenue losses of that magnitude is certain to have on the ability of railroads to continue their vital programs for the purchase of new plant and equipment and for clearing up the large backlog of deferred maintenance left over from the economic recession of 1958.

Severe losses of traffic and revenue in 1958 not only forced many railroads to the brink of insolvency but also triggered heavy retrenchment programs, both in new construction and in maintenance, throughout the industry. A measure of economic recovery this spring, combined with emergency measures taken by Congress in the Transportation Act of 1958, have enabled many railroads to resume their vital programs for improvement and rehabilitation. One large eastern railroad, for example, has recently announced ambitious plans for new car construction, repair, and rehabilitation to cost $200 million. There has been an encouraging increase in the ordering of new freight cars throughout the industry, with the result that the backlog of cars on order today is more than 50 percent above the very low level of a year ago.

Railroads today should be building, rebuilding, and repairing cars and other equipment for all they are worth. Anything less is almost certain to leave them unprepared to cope with the great resurgence of economic activity expected to occur after the strike ends.

The steel strike is having other serious human consequences. On the basis of estimates by the Railroad Retirement Board, more than 45,000 railroad employees have been furloughed, due to the strike. If the strike continues for as long as 6 weeks, the Board estimates that additional thousands of railroad employees will be idled.

The burden of this unemployment is not spread evenly among railroads throughout the country, but is borne mainly by employees whose railroads serve steel-producing companies or are major haulers of commodities such as coal and iron ore used in steel production. One railroad in the Pittsburgh area, anticipating a loss of 90 percent in carloadings as the strike continues, may be forced to furlough as many as 2,000 of its total of 3,100 employees. A large eastern road has been compelled to furlough 6,200 workers, of which 3,500 are train crews and 2,200 are in shop and track maintenance. The same is true in varying degree of no fewer than a dozen major carriers of steel and related products.

Railroad workers are, of course, entitled to compensation under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act; and the amounts received will help to alleviate suffering and hardship for many of those affected. But these payments will only lessen the hardship, not eliminate it. Here again, however, the effect of adding thousands of new beneficiaries to the railroad unemployment rolls will be to add even greater financial burdens to the already hard-pressed railroads. This is because the cost of benefits paid out under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is borne entirely by the railroad companies.

Already the Railroad Retirement Board has paid out in benefits to strike-furloughed railroad employees over $5,200,000. If the strike lasts 8 weeks, the Board estimates that it may pay out, in unemployment benefits, attributable solely to the steel strike, as much as $28 million or $29 million. Of this amount, $21 million would be paid in benefits while the strike is in progress, and $7 million to $8 million in benefits after the strike ends, since it is not anticipated that all employees will be called back immediately when work in the steel mills resumes. If the strike should last longer than 8 weeks, the additional cost to railroads, under the Unemployment Insurance Act, could continue at a rate of $3 million to $4 million a week.

Not to be overlooked, of course, is the serious loss of tax revenue to Federal, State, and local governments that is the inevitable result of reduced business and employment in the transportation industry. With the tax rate on corporations at 52 percent, the Federal Government alone is absorbing no small part of the weekly $40 million revenue loss from reduced traffic volume. And with 45,000 railroad employees on unemployment insurance rolls, an additional substantial loss in returns from individuals is incurred.

In short, Mr. President, the time has come when this strike must be settled. The damage being done to our economy, our people, and our transportation system far outweighs the particular dispute between the steel companies and their employees.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

THE INTEREST RATE CEILING ON LONG-TERM GOVERNMENT BONDS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, it is quite clear that the administration and its newspaper allies in the financial com-

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

11/3/59

Dear Mr. Fleming —

I thought this letter which the Senator is sending to a number of constituents might also be of interest to you.

With best wishes —

Frank McCulloch

LWD
MF (file)

SENATOR DOUGLAS REPORTS

109 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
337 U. S. COURT HOUSE, CHICAGO 4 ILLINOIS

Dear Friend:

On one of the greatest moral issues before the American people today, the 86th Congress has thus far taken no important action. I refer to the quest for equal justice--the drive to assure that in our public schools, voting booths and public facilities of all kinds, no persons shall be denied equality of opportunity because of race, religion or color.

I want to outline for you in this report the efforts that were made, the reasons for our failure, and the hard but essential jobs that lie ahead in this field of civil rights.

If we are to make any real gains in our advance toward equal educational and voting rights, we must clearly understand the needs, the necessary steps to meet them, the obstacles, and the public and political forces required to surmount them.

To be sure, Congress did pass a last-minute rider to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission. But this merely prolongs the chance for that body to tell us what we already know--that there are widespread denials of Constitutional rights to our Negro and Mexican-American citizens in many sections of the country, and that Congress and the Executive should do something about it.

The Opening Battle to Curb Filibusters

Interminable debate to prevent a vote in the Senate has traditionally been the main roadblock to civil rights legislation. The mere threat of such a filibuster has often served the same purpose. It is also used to compel the watering down of basic legislation.

In previous reports, I have described how Senate Rule 22 protects such blocking tactics. From 1916 to 1949, it required a vote of two-thirds of those present and voting to limit debate. From 1949 to 1959, it required two-thirds of all those elected to the Senate and--by a shrewdly devised proviso--no debate limitation at all was permitted on a motion to bring up a rule change. In all those 42 years, it was never possible to secure such a limitation, or cloture, on a civil rights measure. A minority in the Senate could always block action by talk.

The Civil Rights Bill of 1957 was no real exception to this rule. By key votes to amend it, the 1957 bill was so greatly weakened that the opponents of civil rights were willing to let it pass with only token resistance. The filibuster threat had served to rob the measure of most of its vitality.

We who wanted to free the Senate from the filibuster strait jacket, therefore, renewed our bipartisan efforts to amend Rule 22 at the start of the 86th Congress. We had secured 38 votes and the support of three absentees for a similar effort in 1957. We did considerable preliminary, explanatory work in the fall of 1958 and, with affirmative assurances from a number of the newly elected Senators, we had high hopes of success in 1959.

Our proposal to amend the rule was moderate. It would have allowed limitation (a) by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting two days after 16 Senators filed a petition, or (b) by a majority of all elected to the Senate (51 votes) 15 days after the filing of the petition by 16 Senators. Following a successful vote on limitation, each Senator would have been allowed one more hour of debate. Since no petition would be supported by 16 Senators until there was some evidence of a filibuster--two to three weeks of debate--and since the procedure might be required on the motion to take up as well as on the bill itself, we demonstrated that "cloture" could not be voted by a majority of 51 until after six to eight weeks of debate--hardly an unreasonably short period. But at least it would finally have permitted a majority of the Senate to reach a vote.

We were defeated in this effort, however, when the majority and minority leader jointly proposed--and the Senate adopted--a rule change back to the unworkable 1916-1949 rule, cloture by two-thirds of those present and voting. Since attendance on civil rights bills tends to be almost 100 per cent, two-thirds of those present is in all practical effect the same as two-thirds of those elected. It was a meaningless change. It left the veto power over Congressional action in the hands of 34 Senators.

We lost our general motion to change the rules by 36 to 60, our compromise majority-of-all elected limitation by 28 to 67, and another compromise plan for cloture by three-fifths of those present and voting by 36 to 58.

The Old Coalition Renewed

The behind-the-scenes maneuvers and persuasions were numerous. The proponents of the 1917-1949 substitute obviously had more effective inducements than the advocates of some real reform could muster. The analysis of the votes to block an effective change in Rule 22 reveals that our Southern Democrats had revived their traditional coalition with conservative Republicans, including the Administration's stalwarts, and to these were added--with two exceptions--a further group of Democrats from the mountain and small states. Their 60 votes on the key issue were made up of 24 Southern and border state Democrats, ten from the mountain states, six mostly from small states, and 20 Republicans.

Not only was the battle thus lost to curb the filibuster--on which curb the hope for any effective civil rights legislation depends--but the votes were also a tip-off to the operation of the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition which has continued thus far to frustrate every effort even to get such legislation to the floor of the House or the Senate in this Congress.

Principal Civil Rights Proposals in 1959

The adroit Majority Leader, Senator Johnson, presented one approach to these problems in a bill patching up the voting rights and anti-bombing laws, and proposing a new "conciliation" approach to community tensions. But it was silent on whether the conciliation should encourage compliance with the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, or permit the bargaining away of Constitutional rights already won in the courts.

I was glad to introduce for 17 Senators of both parties a bill, S. 810, which proposed to back up the Court's school decision and give the Executive branch power to assist local communities in many constructive ways to comply with the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. It also would give the Attorney General power to file suits to enjoin violations of these rights on complaint where the persons were unable to start such suits themselves. We felt that our bill sought to deal affirmatively with the most urgent problems in this area of human rights.

The Administration proposed a package of bills dealing with voting records, bombings, obstruction of court orders, a non-discrimination commission for Federal contractors, education for children of members of the armed services where public schools are closed, and some minimal aids in desegregation situations <u>if</u> the states would allow them. They left out any authorization to the Attorney General to start injunction suits, which they had endorsed in 1957 ("Part III" of the 1957 bill).

There were, of course, a wide variety of other proposals, including a new anti-lynching bill after the killing of Mack Charles Parker. But the foregoing represented the main proposals.

Progress of the 1959 Bills

Both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees held extensive hearings on all these measures. I would not minimize the long hours of patient listening and study that were devoted to this subject. (The printed Senate record runs to 2,800 pages, the House hearings to 960 pages).

But when the Senate subcommittee concluded its work, it was only able to secure a favorable vote for a bill that included provisions for (a) extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission, and (b) the retention and production of Federal election records. Even this weak substitute for a real civil rights bill is now stalled in the full committee with little prospect of its emerging by any voluntary action of the committee. If the Administration Republicans were to join forces with the civil rights advocates in our Democratic ranks, a good bill could emerge. But the coalition--as in the rules fight--is the other way.

In the House, similarly, the committee majority--the coalition--substituted the weak Administration package for Congressman Celler's bill which was a companion measure to our S. 810. But in so doing, they stripped from the Administration bill its most affirmative--though minimal--provisions for aid to local school authorities in complying with the Constitution, its sections recognizing the Court's desegregation decisions as the law of the land, and the section

setting up an equal job opportunity commission for Government contractors.

Republicans having supplied enough votes--along with the Southern Democrats--to knock out the major parts of what was at best a thin package, this pallid proposal was then voted out of Committee onto the House calendar.

But floor consideration has been stalled because the Rules Committee--the old coalition again--will not give even this bill the necessary rule. A petition to discharge the Rules Committee and bring the bill to the floor was filed by Representative Celler and is now awaiting sufficient signatures.

February 15, 1960 Is the Day in the Senate

When it appeared at the close of the session that nothing but the extender of the Civil Rights Commission could be passed, the prodding and urging of various Senators--myself included--was finally followed by assurances from the majority and minority leaders that civil rights would be brought to the Senate floor by February 15, 1960.

It is not clear whether this will be done by "discharging" the Senate Committee from further consideration of some bill, by sending some newly-passed House civil rights bill directly to the Senate floor (as we did in 1957), by tacking a civil rights rider onto some other bill, or--as a parliamentary device--by asking immediate consideration of a new "token" bill agreed upon by the GOP wing of the coalition and acceptable to the filibuster bloc of Southern Democrats.

We thus can at last look forward, however, to a date certain in the Senate. But whether the bill before us will be an effective measure, or what support we shall have to make it effective, are big, unanswered questions.

The Job Ahead

I hardly need remind you of the continuing needs.

Compliance with the Supreme Court's school decisions has slowed to a snail's pace, with more than 2,100 still segregated districts in the 17 Southern and border states. In six states, there is no compliance at all--in four others, only token compliance. Legal resistance continues unabated, utilizing complicated pupil-placement laws, private schools, harrassment of the NAACP, etc.

The Southern Regional Council reported that despite passage of the Civil Rights (voting rights) Bill of 1957, voting by Negroes had not increased and may actually have gone down. The widespread obstruction and intimidation to prevent Negroes from voting is also confirmed by the Civil Rights Commission

The situation therefore requires, in my opinion, that we continue to work for meaningful legislation in both the public education and voting rights areas.

Our bill, S. 810, offers a reasonable and constructive program for the former objective, worthy of wide public study and support.

It would range the Congress and the Executive alongside the Supreme Court in declaring and accepting the legal and moral responsibility to carry out the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the laws. It would provide the needed Federal technical and financial assistance and Federal leadership to states and local communities whose schools are still segregated.

It would furnish Federal legal assistance, through injunction suits, where private persons are unable to vindicate their Constitutional rights (the so-called "Part III").

The recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission (joined in by two of its three Southern members as well as all three Northern members) for the appointment of temporary Federal registrars where local officials decline to permit Negroes to register, or some other effective Federal election system to keep the polls open to all, is also essential. From the evidence now in hand about the continuing systematic denials of voting rights to large groups of citizens, it is clear that no patch work system of preserving voting records will work. Those who earnestly talk of guaranteeing every American the right to vote should now stand up and be counted on the Commission's proposal for Federal registrars.

Administration Cooperation Essential

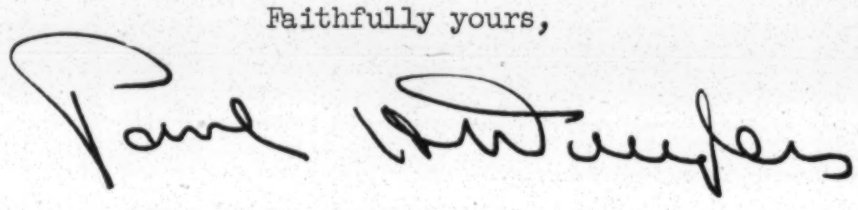
Even though our aims are clear and the proposals reasonable, the sheer arithmetic of the Congress and of Senate Rule 22, which I described at the start, makes it obvious that we cannot win those objectives without full public understanding and--let me be blunt about it--Administration backing to insure more Republican votes, as well as additional Democratic votes from states outside the South.

With 34 Senators still able to block a limitation of debate, and to use endless talk to stop a vote, only a strong bipartisan effort can win a meaningful civil rights bill. If the old Dixiecrat-GOP coalition continues, and if it also keeps its mountain state allies, we cannot expect more than a token bill--dressed up to look well--in the point-with-pride records in the 1960 election campaign.

Were this unhappy event to occur, either by putting together 51 votes before debate begins or by accumulating them through "accomodations" reached while efforts are being made to pass a truly meaningful bill against a certain filibuster, it would be a betrayal of the promises of both party platforms, of the Constitution and of our finest religious precepts. It would mock the hopes and dreams of millions of our citizens. It would leave the conscience of America troubled and its devotion to equality of opportunity suspect in the eyes of the colored peoples of the world.

I shall join in the strong bipartisan effort in the second session, however, to win some effective gains in this struggle for equal justice. I hope you will feel this program is also worthy of your own study and support.

Faithfully yours,



Paul H. Douglas

via air mail special

January 8, 1960

Mr. Herbert J. Blitz
Office of Senator Javits
United States Senate Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Herb:

Enclosed are such materials as we felt might possibly be of some help to you. At least quantity-wise, there's a great deal. Quality-wise the situation is somewhat different.

No states, so far as we know, have taken positive action to avoid federal action in the area of registration. Florida's Governor Collins has acted responsibly in attempting to correct the situation in several Florida counties as revealed by the Report of the Civil Right's Commission. This was not, however, an attempt to prevent further legislation; merely the act of a responsible public official. Only Alabama has taken action with the possible (likely) intent of further limiting Negro registration since the Commission's report.

There appeared, before the Commission's Report, a series of articles on Negro voting and registration in the Birmingham News beginning on February 15, 1959 and ending on March 8. The series is interesting and if the State of Alabama comes under particular scrutiny you might want to consult this local source.

On this request I feel we have been of little help, but hope you will call on us again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

Appropriate news clips on Negro registration and voting.

Sent to Herb Politz Office of Sen. Davis July P.A.

file copy

February 23, 1960

Herb:

Enclosed are materials which I hope will be helpful:

(1) The major document, and hopefully the most useful is "A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60." Section 1 of this, pp. 2-9, should serve you well. Note that on page two, old figures have been crossed out and an insert of two pages carries the current information.

Except as general background information, Section 3 of this report should not be relied upon.

However, as background, see page 22 on Prince Edward County, Virginia. In this county, public schools remain closed. White children are receiving a makeshift education in private schools. Whites have attempted unsuccessfully to interest Negroes in private schools. At this time some 1700 Negro children in Prince Edward County have no opportunity to attend public schools.

(2) The SRC "Statement"; several passages marked.

(3) Clipping from Southern School News; note underlined.

(4) Forty-sixth Annual Report of Race Relations in the South from Tuskegee Institute. N ot particularly good; but an additional source to quote from if interested.

There are several particularly striking examples of retrogression. One, cited above, is the Prince Edward County situation where public schools have been denied the citizens

and a large group of pupils have no public education facilities available.

Another is the instance of Charlotte, North Carolina; generally considered a "desegregated city." At the beginning of the 1958-59 school year, only four Negroes were attending previously all-white schools. At the beginning of the 1959-60 school year this number was reduced to one Negro pupil.

On the level of higher education, four states have no desegregation in tax-supported colleges or universities: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina.

Hope this helps, and that from it you can pull, rather quickly, the necessary factual information.

Herb:

Enclosed are materials which I hope will be helpful:

(1) The Major document, and hopefully the most useful, is "A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60." Section 1 of this, pp.2-9, should serve you well. Note that on page two old figures have been crossed out and an insert of two pages carries the current information.

Except as general background information, Section 3 of this report should not be relied upon.

However, as background see page 22 on Prince Edward County, Virginia. In this County ~~xxxxx~~ public schools remain closed. White children are receiving a makeshift education in private schools. Whites have attempted unsuccessfully to interest Negroes in private schools. At this time some 1700 Negro children in Prince Edward County have no opportunity to attend public schools.

(2) The SRC"Statement"; several passages marked.

(3) Clipping from Southern School News; note underlined.

(4) Forty-sixth Annual Report of Race Relations in the South from Tuskegee Institute. Not particularly good; but an additional souce to quote from if interested.

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On the level of higher education, four states have no desegregation in tax-supported colleges or universities: Alabama, Georgia, Miss., S. Carolina.

Hope this helps, and that from it you can pull rather quickly the necessary factual information.

April 12, 1960

Mr. Herbert Blitz
Office of Senator Jacob Javits
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Herb:

You will receive the enclosed in due time through the automatic process. But, I wanted to especially call it to your attention. It is one of our new efforts -- a series, "Toward Regional Realism," that will be a companion to our more customary roles of fact-finding and research.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Collins pamphlet)

May 2, 1960

Mr. Herbert Mehler
Administrative Assistant
to Congressman Johansen
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mehler:

I am happy to send you the enclosed copy of my speech read in a session of the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Speech)

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
3D DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

COMMITTEES:
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 28, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Recently you spoke before the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youths here in Washington.

This office is most anxious to get the complete text of that address.

Thank you for your courtesy in this matter.

Very truly yours,

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
Member of Congress

By Herbert Mehler
Administrative Assistant

via air mail

August 31, 1960

Mr. Herbert Blitz
Office of Senator Javits
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Herb:

Since you were good enough to have the Congressional Record sent to us, we have kept them on file and made considerable use of them. However, I now find that, with some little embarrassment, we have misplaced our copy of February 27, 1960.

In that issue, beginning on p. 3376, Senator Javits inserted a letter from Gordon Tiffany pertaining to the expense of litigation of court suits concerning education. If it can be done, without undue effort, would you please have someone in your office either send us the appropriate pages or the full Congressional Record of February 27?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

JOHN F. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN RELATIONS
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 30, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1960

Doctor Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Ic.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Fleming:

This letter is to invite and urge you to participate in the National Conference on Constitutional Rights and American Freedom which I am calling to meet in New York City on Tuesday and Wednesday, October 11 and 12. The purpose of the Conference and a rough outline of the agenda are contained in the attached release which I issued earlier this week.

The Tuesday, October 11, meeting is scheduled only for the evening, convening at 8:00 p.m. and recessing at 11:00 p.m. The Wednesday, October 12, meeting and activities will begin at 9:00 a.m. and will be completed by late afternoon.

I am planning to meet with the working panels and to receive their recommendations on Wednesday, and also to address the Conference and the public that afternoon.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey will serve as Chairman of the Conference. Others already scheduled to participate include Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Governor G. Mennen Williams, Senators Joseph S. Clark and Philip A. Hart, Representatives Emanuel Celler, William L. Dawson, Charles C. Diggs, Robert N. C. Nix and Adam Clayton Powell, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, who will be host to the Conference, and Mr. Harry Golden.

The working sessions will take place at the Hotel Park-Sheraton 55th and 56th Streets at 7th Avenue, New York City. A detailed agenda will be mailed to you within the next week.

However, it is important that we know as soon as possible whether or not you will be with us. A self-addressed postcard is enclosed for your convenience in letting me know your plans respecting attendance.

I hope that you will be able to be with us. We need the benefit of your counsel and I am looking forward to seeing you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

John F. Kennedy

Encls. (2)
JFK:hb

U. S. SENATOR...

JOHN F. KENNEDY
FOR PRESIDENT

★ ★ ★ ★

HEADQUARTERS · 1106 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. · DISTRICT 7-1717

October 3, 1960

Mr. H. C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

One of the greatest challenges of the next decade is the challange to provide a decent home in a decent neighborhood for every American. This goal was first set by a Democratic Administration in the Federal Housing Act of 1949. Over the last decade the problem of slums and urban blight has become more and more acute. Because of your first hand knowledge of this subject, I am asking you to join me at a conference on the problems of cities and suburbs to be held in Pittsburgh on October 10th. I would appreciate your participation quite apart from any partisan interest you may have.

This conference will help to dramatize for the American people the issues of most concern to you. It will help me to learn what needs to be done about these issues. And it will help me to make plans to do the job.

Governor David Lawrence of Pennsylvania has agreed to serve as honorary chairman of the conference. I have asked Mayor Richard C. Lee of New Haven to serve as conference chairman, and Mayors Richard J. Daley of Chicago, Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia and Robert F. Wagner of New York to serve as vice-chairmen, together with Philip Klutznick of Chicago, leader in the urban development field, and William H. Whyte, Jr., author of "The Exploding Metropolis." A conference committee is in the process of formation.

The conference will be held at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel. The registration desk will be open at 9:00 a.m. on October 10th. Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether you will be able to join me at the conference. Please write c/o the Urban Affairs Section, Democratic National Committee, 1106 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

John F. Kennedy

RECEIVED OCT 3 1960

JFK/wac

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA., CHAIRMAN
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CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
THRUSTON B. MORTON, KY.
ELIZABETH B. SPRINGER, CHIEF CLERK

Copy in current commendation file, please. H. Copy made

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

November 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the annual report of the activities of the Southern Regional Council.

The Council is a real focal point of reason and of orderly adjustment, and I wish for it continuing strength, courage and success in its many crucial activities.

I appreciate your kind remarks about my own reelection. Many people had a hand in it because, I believe, many are interested in the causes for which we stand.

With kindest, personal regards,

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/es

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STEWART E. MC CLURE, CHIEF CLERK
JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

October 23, 1961

Mr. Harold G. Fleming, Exec. Dorector
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In recent weeks I had a series of conferences with very responsible and dedicated persons who recommended to me that I introduce legislation proposing the calling of a national conference to be known as the Attorney General's Conference on Social Change and the Law.

I am enclosing a copy of a bill that I introduced on September 25, 1961, which would legislatively implement the calling of such a conference. It would be very helpful to me if you would read the bill and give me the benefit of your evaluation of the proposal.

I wish to make clear that I am not asking you to involve yourself in the legislative responsibility of Congress. However, as a recognized leader in the administration of American justice, your views as to the value of such a national conference, as proposed in the bill, would bear great weight with me.

Those who propose such legislation, and I share their objectives, are interested in the political and social philosophy of our law today and in the practices and procedures by which it is implemented in relation to the vast, rapid changes we are experiencing. To what extent and in what manner is the impact of social, economic and political change reflected in our law?

Further, they have raised with me such questions as the following: At what point and in what manner can the rights and privileges of each citizen and of all citizens be best preserved and functionally implemented? What are the rights, duties and responsibilities of the members of a free society in regard to directing or regulating the relation of science to the individual, and to government at all levels? What forms of control and regulation must a free society exercise over its regulatory bodies?

They point out that we are experiencing a "conflict of cultures." What is the place and form for legal restraint and regulation in this conflict? What values must we seek to preserve? How? In what ways may -- should -- government give positive help to each and all citizens?

They also make the observation that law and legislation are not the business solely of those who write the laws nor of those who interpret them at the bar or on the bench. They are the profound concern of all who live under a government by law.

I have the feeling that, perhaps, we could all clarify our thinking a little if we were to study these problems together. There is a legal philosophy to be re-expressed or perhaps to be expressed anew.

I shall appreciate any advice in regard to this subject matter that you see fit to give to me.

Sincerely yours,

Wayne Morse

Wayne Morse

WM:jc
Enclosure

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2635

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 25, 1961

Mr. MORSE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To authorize the Attorney General to call a national conference to study the impact of social change upon Federal and State law, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Attorney General is authorized and directed to call a national conference, to be known as the Attorney General's Conference on Social Change and the Law (referred to hereinafter as the "National Conference"), which shall be conducted within the District of Columbia before December 15, 1962. It shall be the duty of the Conference to—

(1) receive, consider, and compile all reports con-

1 cerning significant trends reflecting the impact of social
2 change upon Federal and State law which it may receive
3 from State conferences convened under section 3 of this
4 Act and from such other individuals and organizations as
5 it may deem appropriate;
6 (2) upon the basis of the reports so received, pre-
7 pare a report containing a full and complete statement of
8 its findings with respect to such trends;
9 (3) submit such report to the Attorney General for
10 transmittal to the President and to the Congress; and
11 (4) provide for the dissemination of such report to
12 the public.
13 (b) Conferees to the National Conference who shall be
14 invited by the Attorney General in such numbers as the
15 Attorney General may deem appropriate shall include:
16 1. Persons from each State who shall have been
17 designated by their respective Governors to serve as
18 conferees.
19 2. Representative leaders of the bench and the bar.
20 3. Representative leaders from other learned profes-
21 sions, and other scholars from all disciplines of learning.
22 4. Representative leaders from industry, labor, and
23 agriculture, designated by their respective organizations.
24 5. Representative leaders of the clergy.
25 6. Representative leaders from other groups and or-

1 ganizations engaged in the study of social change re-
2 flected in the law who shall have been designated by
3 their respective organizations.

4 7. Such other leaders in American thought as the
5 Attorney General may wish to invite.

6 SEC. 2. (a) To assist in preparing necessary plans for
7 the conduct of the National Conference authorized by this
8 Act, the Attorney General shall establish a General Planning
9 Committee (referred to hereinafter as the "Committee")
10 composed of 25 members selected by the Attorney General,
11 who are specially qualified for the performance of such serv-
12 ice. After consultation with the President of the American
13 Bar Association, the Attorney General shall designate as
14 Chairman of the Committee a recognized scholar of the law
15 who is specially qualified to evaluate the impact of social
16 change upon the law.

17 (b) The Chairman of the Committee shall serve as
18 Chairman of the Conference.

19 (c) Members of the Committee shall receive no com-
20 pensation for their services as such, but shall be reimbursed
21 for travel expenses actually and necessarily incurred in the
22 performance of the duties of the Committee. Each mem-
23 ber of the Committee shall receive, in lieu of reimbursement
24 for subsistence expenses, an allowance at the rate of $50
25 per day for each day devoted to the performance of duties

1 of the Committee, except that the Chairman thereof shall
2 receive such an allowance computed at the rate of $100
3 per day.

4 (d) With the approval of, and subject to such condi-
5 tions as may be prescribed by the Attorney General, the
6 Committee may cause to be incorporated under State law a
7 nonprofit corporation organized to assist in carrying into
8 effect the purposes of this Act. Such corporation shall be
9 authorized to (1) receive from individuals in private life
10 and from public or private organizations unconditional grants
11 and gifts, and (2) expend funds so obtained to defray ex-
12 penses necessarily incurred in preparing plans for the
13 National and State conferences, in conducting the activities
14 of the National Conference, in defraying expenses incurred
15 incident to the conduct of the National Conference, and in
16 publishing and distributing the report of that Conference.

17 SEC. 3. (a) Before the convening of the National Con-
18 ference, and at any time after the enactment of this Act
19 providing for the Conference, the Attorney General shall in-
20 vite the executive authority of each State, to convene within
21 each State a conference of qualified citizens of that State
22 which shall (1) conduct a study of significant social change
23 reflected in the law within that State, and (2) prepare and
24 transmit to the Attorney General, for consideration by the

1 National Conference, its report on the significance of the
2 changes revealed by the study.
3 (b) Each State shall organize and conduct its confer-
4 ences in such a manner and shall make such reports to the
5 National Conference as its Governor shall determine.
6 (c) To defray the expenses actually and necessarily
7 incurred in convening such State conferences and in the
8 preparation and transmittal of their reports, there is hereby
9 authorized to be appropriated to the Attorney General not
10 more than $1,000,000. Any sums appropriated pursuant to
11 this subsection shall be allocated for disbursement, pur-
12 suant to such regulations as the Attorney General shall
13 prescribe, to defray such expenses. The amount so allocated
14 to defray the expenses of each State conference shall bear
15 to the aggregate amount of all sums so appropriated the same
16 relationship as the total adult population of that State bears
17 to the total adult population of the United States (as cer-
18 tified by the Secretary of Commerce on the basis of the most
19 recent decennial census of the United States), except that
20 not less than $15,000 shall be allocated to defray the ex-
21 penses of each State. All sums appropriated under this sub-
22 section shall remain available for obligation until the National
23 Conference is convened pursuant to the first section of this

1 Act. Any such sums then unobligated shall be covered into
2 the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.
3 (d) As used in this section—
4 (1) the term "State" means any State of the
5 United States, the District of Columbia, the Common-
6 wealth of Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands; and
7 (2) the term "executive authority" means the
8 Governor of any State or his designee, except that in
9 the case of the District of Columbia that term means the
10 Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia or
11 the designee of the Board.
12 SEC. 4. (a) In addition to funds authorized to be ap-
13 propriated pursuant to section 3 of this Act, there are here-
14 by authorized to be appropriated to the Attorney General
15 for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1962, and June 30,
16 1963, such funds as may be required to carry into effect the
17 provisions of this Act.
18 (b) The Attorney General is authorized to receive, and
19 to use or expend to carry into effect such provisions, any
20 grant of funds, facilities, or property made to him for that
21 purpose by any individual or organization.

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2635

A BILL

To authorize the Attorney General to call a national conference to study the impact of social change upon Federal and State law, and for other purposes.

By Mr. MORSE

SEPTEMBER 25, 1961

Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

June 3, 1963

The Honorable John Sherman Cooper
U. S. Senate
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Cooper:

It was very good of you to write regarding the Council's public statement of May 26, and your gracious comment about our work is deeply appreciated.

I have read with great interest your schools and public accommodations bills. The daily news from Washington has me beginning to feel that there may, indeed, be some chance for passage of adequate measures, such as those you have introduced, this year.

Last February I was one of 16 or 17 invitees to a conference at the Notre Dame Law School on civil rights legislation in the fields of schools, voting, and employment. I am hopeful that the recommendations of the conference, some of which may be of interest to you, will be in print (or, at least, in finished draft) some time in July.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (SRC Public Statement; May 26, 1963)

ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA., CHAIRMAN
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SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, FLA.
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.
HERMAN E. TALMADGE, GA.
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS.
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MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, OREG.
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J. HOWARD EDMONDSON, OKLA.
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.
MILTON R. YOUNG, N. DAK.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.
J. CALEB BOGGS, DEL.
E. L. MECHEM, N. MEX.
COTYS M. MOUSER, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

May 29, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the New York Times of last Sunday, May 26, I read with interest the statement of the Council in regard to the elimination of segregation in facilities used by the public. I also noted the steps which you suggested be taken by cities facing this question. I was particularly interested in your restatement of the hope that segregated practices will be ended in stores, hotels, restaurants and other businesses serving the public.

I am enclosing copies of bills which I introduced last week in the Senate, and which are directed both to the matter of businesses serving the public and to the implementation of the Brown decision. These bills have received wide bipartisan support, and I thought you might be interested in seeing them.

The work of the Council has long shown the way to better race relations in the South, and I shall continue to follow the good work you are doing.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Sherman Cooper

John Sherman Cooper

mbf
encs

August 19, 1963

The Honorable John Sherman Cooper
U. S. Senate
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Cooper:

As I promised in my letter of June 3, I am enclosingaa pre-publication copy of the Notre Dame Conference report.

With very best wegards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

LISTER HILL, ALA., CHAIRMAN
PAT MCNAMARA, MICH.
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.
RALPH YARBOROUGH, TEX.
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STEWART E. MCCLURE, CHIEF CLERK
JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

VJ
SB
PA
MJ file

Rec'd 9/12/63

September 3, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of August 27, 1963, suggesting that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity compile a report regarding what progress has been made by Government contractors.

I am looking into the matter and will write you further as soon as I receive a full report.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

JKJ:skr

CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

LD
PA
SB
VJ

September 25, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for your letter of September 19th concerning my statement on the Birmingham tragedy. I appreciate your kind remarks of approval on the statement.

There is obviously room for discussion and disagreement in our approaches to how the goal of equal opportunity might best be realized.

I believe that there are a number of means to this end. I look forward to discussing this matter at length with you some time in the near future.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles Longstreet Weltner
Member of Congress

jdr

CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

VJ - fyi
MJ - file
See Carmichael Indy. Hotel business

Rec'd 10/14/63

October 11, 1963

Dear Les:

Glad to help.

Sincerely,

Chas

CLW/rlc

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

VJ

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

MJ - file

October 19, 1963

Dear ~~Mr. Dunbar~~ Dwh:

Thank you for your kind letter regarding my vote for the extension of the Civil Rights Commission. Your expression of approval is deeply appreciated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Chas

Charles Longstreet Weltner
Member of Congress

jdr

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 17, 1963

The Honorable Charles Weltner
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

That was a fine statement you made regarding the extension of the Commission on Civil Rights. Thank you for sending us a copy.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Congressman Charles Longstreet Weltner

Reports from Washington

5th DISTRICT -- GEORGIA (NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

VOL. I, NO. 4 November 1, 1963

Rec'd 11/6/63

HOPE FOR RAPID TRANSIT NOW

As previously reported, there is little chance that the rapid transit bill will be considered this year. However, there is hope that we might begin some form of rapid transit in the near future.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency, responsible for the development of urban transportation, would like to learn more about this possibility. Officials from a number of railroads have expressed interest in discussing such track usage.

The system I envision would utilize self-propelled cars along rail tracks. This would be but a preliminary step towards the comprehensive regional system of new tracks, special equipment, and new rights-of-way.

The establishment of this project demands careful attention and candid evaluation by all concerned.

OCTOBER'S LEGISLATIVE LOG

10/1/63 - Conference Report on H.R. 5555, the pay raise for members of the Armed Services.

I voted for this legislation (Roll Call 160). It will help retain important middle-ranking officers and enlisted personnel. It passed the House 333 to 5, and has been signed into law. (P.L. 88-132).

10/7/63 - H. Res. 541, providing for House agreement to Senate Amendment to H.R. 3369, which would extend the Civil Rights Commission for one year, to September 30, 1964.

I voted for the extension (Roll Call 165). Though I disagree with some of the recommendations of this Commission, I feel its fact-finding function is important.

We spend millions of dollars every year to study almost everything imaginable -- swamp fever in mules, communication between dolphins, even water hyacinths! It seems to me that we can well afford the cost of obtaining facts about one of the most important issues of our history -- how Americans might live together. The extension became P.L. 88-152.

10/8/63 - Conference Report on H.R. 7179, appropriating $47,220,010,000 for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1964.

I voted "aye". (Roll Call 167). It is now P.L. 88-149, and the biggest appropriations bill in history.

10/10/63 - H.R. 8747, the appropriations bill for various independent agencies and bureaus for fiscal year 1964.

Included in this bill are appropriations for NASA and the demonstration grant monies for rapid transit. I voted against cutting space funds. (Roll Call 170). This motion was defeated 192 nays to 145 yeas. I voted for final passage (Roll Call 171).

10/21/63 - Conference Report on S-1576, the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963.

I voted for the passage of this bill (Roll Call 176).

OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

After a slow October, it looks as if the log jam may break up during November. Two important bills, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, have passed both Senate and House, though in different forms. Now in Conference, they should receive final approval during the month.

The Cotton Bill, H.R. 6196, is expected to come to the House around November 8th. Foreign Aid appropriations and the Civil Rights bill may be voted on very late in the month. Extension of the debt limit, remaining appropriations, and the Manpower Retraining Act will probably be completed before December.

BUSINESS INCREASES AT DISTRICT OFFICE

Sara Craig, who is in charge of the District Office, reports a booming business. Information and assistance on governmental matters is no farther away than your telephone. Call 523-5041, or visit 327 Old Post Office Building. The purpose of the office is to serve you. Please call on us.

COTTON

My first speech before the House was directed to the present cotton support program. For weeks, I worked with a mass of statistical data, hoping a proper presentation might tell the real story of cotton supports -- great subsidies to large Western growers, and only a pittance to the small farmer in the South.

A few days afterward, I was discussing the subject with a Rockdale County constituent, one of 358,965 small Southeastern farmers. He said, "I didn't know about all those subsidies, but I know I can't make it growing cotton."

His remark is worth a hundred pages of charts and figures.

There is little hope now that Congress will adjourn before the Christmas holidays. Your comments, opinions, and suggestions will have to serve as a substitute for being home. I will welcome hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Charles Longstreet Weltner

File "Congress, corresp with Senators, et al"

January 2, 1964

Mr. William R. Foley
General Counsel
Committee on the Judiciary
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Foley:

We are very glad to send you the requested three (3) copies of the statement by our Executive Committee of December 30, 1963, enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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BESS E. DICK

GENERAL COUNSEL:
WILLIAM R. FOLEY

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT:
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HERBERT FUCHS
WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK

LAW REVISION COUNSEL:
CHARLES J. ZINN

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL:
WILLIAM H. COPENHAVER

December 31, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It would be appreciated if you would kindly send me three copies of the year-end report issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council on December 30, 1963. This is the end of the year assessment of the racial situation in the United States for 1963.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Very truly yours,

William R. Foley

WILLIAM R. FOLEY by cla
General Counsel

WRF:cla

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JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

File

Congress - Corresp. with Senators, etc., etc.

May 1, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your kind note of April 27, 1964, regarding my remarks on the "White 'Backlash' on Civil Rights."

As you know, of course, I fully support the bipartisan civil rights bill, and I shall also fight to expand and improve it, if at all possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

JKJ:skr

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CONGRESSMEN, ET.AL.

REGARDING:

Re: Housing ~~and~~ NCTI

DATE
July 27, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed - National Committee on Tithing in Investment, Inc.

Vote for

JAMES A. MACKAY

Democratic Candidate for

U.S. CONGRESS

General Election, Tuesday, Nov. 3, 1964. **Polls Open 7 A.M. to 7 P.M.**

Who is James Mackay? You may already know him. He has lived in the district most of his life, and has practiced law here for the past 17 years. He is married, and has two children. The son of a Methodist minister, Mr. Mackay has served his church faithfully.

Why is Mr. Mackay running for Congress? Because he believes this district is dynamic and forward-looking, and he wants to represent it in Washington. James Mackay knows the interests, the problems and the hopes of this district--ask your neighbor about this!

What is James A. Mackay's background as a legislator? He has served 12 years as a DeKalb County representative in the Georgia Legislature. He has been particularly effective in dealing with problems concerning education, youth and good government. This past session he was chairman of the important House Committee on Banks and Banking. Mr. Mackay is well equipped to handle the problems your Congressman will face.

What has James Mackay done for the new Fourth District? One thing stands out above all others: he has strengthened your vote, both in state and federal government. For years, he spoke out for you when it was unpopular to do so. Now, because of reapportionment, this new district has five State senators instead of the former two, the county unit system is gone--and you have a stronger voice in your government. Mr. Mackay and the new fourth district have traveled forward together.

Where does Mr. Mackay stand? Let him say it: "We must see to it that we maintain a favorable and healthy economic climate so that business and labor can be profitably employed...Our nation must be kept strong...The surest way we can contribute to our safety and security is to work...to build a nation in which every man and woman has a full opportunity to be educated, to exercise an effective ballot, and to engage in productive work." Mr. Mackay would like you to ask him questions about specific issues.

What is the new Fourth District? This new district, for which there will be a new Congressman, is made up of parts of the old Fifth District, and includes DeKalb and Rockdale counties, and a sizeable part of Fulton County. It has about 166,000 voters--many of whom have just registered for the first time.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
MINNESOTA

Rec'd 1/11/65

SW - send copy John Wheeler
WB
JW
RJ
SW - file

Done 1/11/65

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your letter was extremely well timed and helpful. I understand your point fully, and it has been emphasized recently by several other persons of national standing in the civil rights movement.

We do understand the importance of these top level appointments and will do everything in our power to find the kind of people who will truly merit widespread support and endorsement.

We will be in touch with you on this in the near future.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John G. Stewart
Assistant to the
Vice President-Elect

December 31, 1964

Mr. John Stewart, Administrative Officer
% Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, U. S. Senator
New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

A well situated federal employee has indirectly approached a member of my staff for support of his application as Regional Director for the Atlanta Office of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission; he has filed at 57. We know nothing but good of this particular man.

Inasmuch as there is as yet no Commission, nor so far as we know any published job descriptions, I would suppose that this man, from his present position within the federal establishment, has been cued and is getting in early with his application. Again, let me say, that from what little we know of him he might well be an excellent choice.

I mention this to you only because it represents a much bigger problem than what happens to this particular job. Negroes for too long have been outside what Secretary Rusk once described as the "chain of conversation - gossip, if you like? by which "top-level people are found." They are, thanks to the Kennedy administration, closer to it now within the federal service; but still not really in it.

I would suggest that the administration in the initial staffing of the EEOC and other such offices be extradordinarily careful not to recruit in routine or usual ways. I do not think that I exaggerate when I say that the initial staff selections will be so important that policy decisions of a high-order should go into determining the criteria for making them. Further, I suggest the crucial importance of appointments which will from the beginning help the EEOC and other new offices enjoy the trust of all elements of the public.

I enjoyed making your making your acquaintance last week. Best of wishes and success for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

Read 3/22/65

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

File
U.S. Govt
Corresp. With
Senators, etc.

March 18, 1965

VJ
SW. file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The two memoranda that Vernon Jordan sent me recently were superb, and the information that they provided me was invaluable. I want you to know that I very deeply appreciate and respect the work that the SRC is doing.

Sincerely Yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay
Member of Commerce

LWD ✓

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

File
Congress —
Corresp. with
Congressmen, Senators,
etc.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

April 8, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Forgive the delay in responding to your letter commenting on my vote on the Supreme Court salaries. Sometimes I make an error of judgment, but I frankly do not believe this was one of them. Under the Constitution, the salaries of Federal Judges cannot be reduced, and when you look at the overall salary scale, I frankly cannot see that the present salary is unfair. I did not like many things that were said on both sides of this particular issue during the debate.

You are such a reasonable and intelligent friend that I feel sure you will allow me some margin for error.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/hf

CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 218 CANNON BUILDING
TELEPHONE: 225-3801

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND CURRENCY
UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES
SMALL BUSINESS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
327 OLD POST OFFICE
ATLANTA 30303
TELEPHONE: 523-5041

Rec'd 4/15/65

File - "CO" Section
Campers, Congressmen, Senators, etc.

✓ I ✓
WB
MI - file

April 13, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of April 8 to Mr. J. B. Fuqua, which I received today.

I appreciate your bringing this letter to my attention.

Please call on me whenever I may be of any assistance to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles Longstreet Weltner
Member of Congress

CLW/sww

file
"CO" - Congress.
Corresp. with Sen
Congressmen, et al.

via air mail

May 18, 1965

The Honorable James Mackay
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmy:

I hope to be at your "gala" Saturday, but if I don't make it, I shall be there in spirit.

If you and Mary Caroline could later Saturday evening (9:00 pm or later) stop by our house for a little while, there will be a party in honor of Vernon Jordan and Wiley Branton; both of them you know have left us -- at least for a while -- to take important jobs with the federal government. I am sure Vernon and Wiley, as well as everyone else would be delighted to see you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Congress of the United States

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Cox
Elliott
Gewin
West
Ellis

24 May 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I took the liberty of inserting in the Congressional Record your excellent memorandum on the federal courts in the South.

I thought you might like to have the enclosed tear sheets for your files.

With best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:gs
enclosure

WASHINGTON: THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 4.—The change in the fortunes of the Johnson administration is startling. At the beginning of the new term, less than 4 months ago, it was concentrating on the homefront, and now it is back in the ruck of the cold war.

From the war on poverty to the war in Vietnam, from the Alliance for Progress to the marines in the Dominican Republic, from common action and collective security to unilateral military force—this has been the melancholy direction of events in the last 120 days.

So swift has been this transformation that it is necessary to pause and review the scene. At the beginning of the year, the President was determined not to go north in Vietnam but went. His principal hope was to concentrate on the development of the Great Society, but he was diverted. His formula for unifying the Alliance was common consultation and, if possible, common action on common problems, but now he is carrying greater burdens with less help from the Allies than ever before.

GO IT ALONE

The Johnson way is changing the use of American power to a significant degree. He is using military power faster now. He is still limiting his retaliatory military moves, but he now seems more ready to go it alone than in the first year of his Presidency.

Last year, he talked a lot about being in Vietnam to help the Vietnamese help themselves; now he is treating Vietnam as a vital national interest to be defended at any cost.

It is not clear whether this represents a carefully calculated change of emphasis, or merely a series of personal Johnsonian responses to increased Communist pressures, but there is at least a change of emphasis.

He has gone back to the Monroe Doctrine in dealing with the uprising in the Dominican Republic. The basic principle of the Organization of American States is that "no state or group of states has the right to intervent, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state. * * *"

After a year of disappointing efforts to get effective cooperation from the allies, however, the President acted first on reports that he faced another Communist conquest in the Caribbean and consulted later.

Moreover, Mr. Johnson's long comments on the Vietnamese crisis today indicates that the Johnson doctrine is to apply the Monroe Doctrine not only in this hemisphere but in other parts of the world threatened by Communist power.

The Communist aim in Vietnam, he said, is to show that the "American commitment is worthless. Once that is done, the gates are down and the road is open to expansion and endless conquest. * * * There are those who ask why this responsibility should be ours. The answer is simple. There is no one else who can do the job."

This goes a step or two beyond the Truman doctrine. Mr. Truman agreed that the United States could not allow changes in the status quo by corecion or subterfuge, but emphasized that the aid should be in concert with others and should be primarily financial and economic. Mr. Johnson seems to be saying that the United States must take on the burden alone if necessary.

THE DEEPENING COMMITMENT

This is a bold and may be a realistic appraisal of the problem, but it is a somber prospect and the Nation should be clear about what it implies. The administration's emphasis has now shifted from a revolutionary situation to a military situation, and and from collective action by the allies to unilateral military action, if necessary, by the United States.

The trend in Vietnam, moreover, is shifting toward larger commitments of American ground troops, and while the offer of a negotiated settlement remains, the political commitment to fight the battle out to an honorable settlement, if necessary, is stronger than ever.

This impression may be misleading, because the President is now talking out off the cuff on these delicate matters, but the more he talks the more he is obliged to make his actions fit his words, and to respond even more to whatever tactics and strategy the Communists use against him.

STEPPED-UP ACTIVITY

As he says, the pace of Communist activity is increasing. They have the power to create disorder, not only in Vietnam and in Santo Domingo, but in many other places. In fact, Mr. Johnson told the congressional leaders that his intelligence reports indicated the likelihood of another uprising in another place this week but he didn't say where.

If this is what we are facing, the need is not going to be for less emphasis on common action by the allies to meet the common danger but for more, for the Johnson doctrine, if carried out, could require more marines than the President has under his command.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: BACK TO BROAD PRINCIPLES

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

WASHINGTON.—During the 20 years since World War II the United States has elaborated several foreign policy doctrines and the nub of his latest speech may yet be known as the Johnson doctrine. The Johnson doctrine is simply that any country can have any kind of revolution it wants, but if such occurs in the Americas and has communistic dictatorship as its aim, hemispheric action is called for. For hemispheric read "United States."

PHILOSOPHICALLY LINKED

Such a flat commitment resembles other regional commitments made under the highly successful Truman doctrine, which protected Greece and Turkey, and the highly unsuccessful Eisenhower doctrine, which failed to line up the Arabs with us against the Soviet Union. There is no fundamental difference between the policies regionally expressed in the Truman, Eisenhower, and Johnson doctrines. All relate to a philosophical pledge made by President Truman on March 12, 1949, when he told Congress:

"It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

The trouble comes when broad concepts are abandoned. Mr. Truman didn't endorse ideological "Holy Wars." His promise, indeed, would be equally valid against aggressive fascism as against aggressive communism. Today it would apply as well to threatened Malaysia as to threatened South Vietnam.

The Johnson doctrine rephrases with unnecessary ideological exactitude previous U.S. policy for Latin America. It errs by limiting its application to communistic dictatorship and by specifying hemispheric action. Current events in the Dominican Republic indicate how hard it is to ascertain that a revolution is indeed Communist led, and also how hard it is to muster swift hemispheric action.

Presidential doctrines beg trouble if they are too narrowly precise. The United States essentially wants to protect its own vital interests and to safeguard global peace when possible, by limiting or preventing any kind of aggression. The U.N. Charter gives sufficient justification for such an approach; there is no reason to embarrass our future actions by being needlessly specific.

When General Eisenhower composed his final report as NATO commander, he asked me to read it and suggest changes. I proposed he amend references to Communist threats in favor of Soviet imperialist or outside aggression. Eisenhower agreed. Later, however the original phraseology was restored. The general's advisers thought his report would thereby have more political appeal in a year when he was running for President.

Our business is neither ideological warfare nor the rigid maintenance of any status quo. Our business is to protect our own national interests from any threat, regardless of its philosophical label, and to try and see that changes in an everchanging world are sufficiently controlled to avoid excessively dangerous explosions. We must get this fact straight.

MATURING CREED

Communism, as a creed, is maturing rapidly. Today there are many kinds of Communism, some of which, such as Marshal Tito's, certainly do not seem to threaten us. Russia, China, Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania are all at odds in one or another respect. In Vietnam it is not at all clear just what the relations are between Peiping, Hanoi, Moscow and the Vietcong partisans.

During his first years as Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles made the mistake of condemning all communism, some socialism and even neutralism. Obviously it is not in our national interest to publish blanket condemnations and to advertise blanket ideological commitments.

A FLEXIBLE POLICY

If we keep insisting that any variety of Communism is automatically our enemy, we risk two consequences. Support for our policies will diminish among our allies who have less interest than ourselves in "holy wars." And, still more important, such an inflexible outlook will push centrifugal communism back upon itself. It is not sensible policy to encourage quarreling opponents to reunite.

Instead we should stick to fundamentals—defend our vital interests; help those of our friends who feel themselves threatened, attacked or undermined, and work to preserve a peace that is always at best tenuous. Under the U.N. Charter, under our alliance commitments registered in U.N., and under widely understood principles of our global policy, this is enough. No limiting precisions are required.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the Southern Regional Council, a reliable research and reporting organization based in Atlanta, has issued a very useful report on the extent to which Negroes participate in the administration of justice under the Federal courts of the South.

The report is particularly relevant to our consideration of the Voting Rights Act. The broad finding of the study—although we already knew it generally, of course—is simply shocking:

> A Negro involved in Federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor.

The council's survey shows that, as far as can be determined, in the 11 States of the South there are no Negroes among the circuit court judges, district court judges, referees in bankruptcy, U.S. commissioners, U.S. clerks, U.S. attorneys,

jury commissioners, and U.S. marshals. Among all these States, there are five assistant U.S. attorneys and nine deputy U.S. marshals who are Negroes. In addition, there are a few Negro clerical and secretarial employees.

I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

The exclusion of Negroes from the administration of justice in the State courts of the South has long been the subject of serious criticism and concern. But little attention has been given to the extent of exclusion of Negroes from the Federal courts of the South.

One obvious reason is that, in the conflict between State and Federal law on basic constitutional questions of the past two decades, the State courts have with frequency appeared as the antagonist of the Negro southerner, and the Federal courts frequently as his protector.

This protection has come, however, largely through the overriding decisions of Federal appellate courts. As Federal jurisdiction is extended, the role of the Federal courts becomes even more vital to the national effort to achieve full justice. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 enlarges the responsibility of the Federal courts, including district courts, many of which in the past have been highly protective of segregation. The voting bill now before Congress seeks to bypass these courts. New Federal legislation to protect citizens against the Klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will, however, almost certainly increase the reliance on the district courts of the South for the protection of individual life and liberty.

Pressures to move civil rights issues out of the streets and into the courts continue. The question has to be asked (and it has always had its pertinency in criminal cases)—what kinds of courts will handle them?

The Federal court system in the South, guided by the Supreme Court and the courts of appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad, crucial questions of race. But now, not just the logic and principles of these very decisions, but all the practical understanding of human dealings that is implied in the term, "jury of his peers," requires a closer look at the racial composition of the courts themselves, as administrators of justice to the individual as well as guardians of principle.

This report deals with employment practices and jury composition of the southern Federal courts. It is based on such documentation as there is available plus interviews with lawyers practicing in the Federal courts of each State.

States covered by the survey are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas in the fifth circuit; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia in the fourth; Tennessee in the sixth; and Arkansas in the eighth circuit. Each State contains from two to four U.S. district courts. Data on the courts of appeals refer only to their offices and operations within these 11 States.

Clerical records of the Federal Government do not designate race of court employees, and there are no compilations of statistics on racial composition of juries. No systematic examination of each court in each State was attempted. Respondents for the most part relied on memory and general knowledge. Results of such a survey are not definitive or finally authoritative; there is room for minor errors and oversights. But such a survey does reveal general patterns, and it is with these that we are concerned. If more detailed and precise research is stimulated, that is good; but the immediate purpose is a new awareness of the need to improve the situation.

I. EMPLOYMENT

The broad patterns regarding the role of Negroes in the Federal courts under study in this survey can be summed up in the following statistical table:

Racial distribution of officers and personnel in southern Federal courts

	Total	White	Negro
Circuit court judges	[1] 12	12	0
District court judges	65	65	0
Referees in bankruptcy	55	55	0
U.S. commissioners	253	253	0
U.S. clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U.S. clerks	321	321	0
U.S. attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U.S. attorneys	158	153	5
Jury commissioners	109	109	0
U.S. marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U.S. marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and clerical	364	([2])	([2])

[1] This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 8th circuits. The numbers respectively are 3, 7, 1, and 1.

[2] Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number from observation, is quite small.

The above table may possibly overlook some Negroes in some positions. But it cannot be far from the exact numerical situation.

The circuit court and district court judges are appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate. So are the U.S. attorneys and marshals. The clerks of the respective courts are appointed by the judges. The judges also appoint U.S. commissioners, jury commissioners, and the referees in bankruptcy. The clerks select their own deputies and clerical assistants, subject to approval of the judges. Assistant U.S. attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General of the United States. The Attorney General authorizes marshals to appoint deputy marshals.

Exclusion of Negroes from the top positions in the system obviously has the practical effect of virtually eliminating them from lesser positions. The influence on appointments and hiring by southern officeholders through political party patronage channels can't be overlooked.

Of the nine Negro deputy marshals there are two in Alabama, one in Mississippi, two in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, two in Tennessee, one in Virginia. Of the five assistant U.S. attorneys, one is in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, two in Texas, one in Virginia. This is at best tokenism.

In no State are Negroes serving in the positions of importance and highest responsibility except in token numbers as deputy marshals and assistant U.S. attorneys, and in four States—Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana—in none of these positions at all.

In lesser positions, a Negro clerical worker was noted in Alabama, a bailiff in both Florida and Georgia, court criers in Virginia and South Carolina, and two secretaries in Texas. Again, some may have been overlooked, but not enough to change the general picture.

In nearly every State, employment of Negroes in custodial jobs was noted. Use of Negro employees designated as "criers" or "messengers" as valets, chauffeurs, and the like was reported. In Georgia, such an employee's duties were described as helping the judge with his robes, bringing his books, and driving for him.

A respondent in Alabama said: "If it were not for the lone Negro deputy marshal, the district court in Birmingham would look like the county courthouse." A respondent in Virginia, when asked if he were describing Negro employment in addition to a deputy marshal and two criers as "negligible," replied: "nonexistent." Instances were cited in Tennessee, Texas, and Georgia of Negroes turning down appointments or jobs. Strenous opposition was encountered to appointment of the three Negroes in responsible jobs in North Carolina. This came from various sources, including political ones.

II. JURY SERVICE

Negroes are called and do serve on petit and grand juries in the southern Federal courts. Estimating and evaluating the degree to which they do is of course not an exact science. One respondent's tokenism might be another's substantial numbers or another's fair amount.

But for the very most part, lawyers interviewed in each of the 11 States were not satisfied that Negroes are serving on juries to the extent that they should be.

In Alabama, a typical jury panel was described as 5 or 6 Negroes among 110; Negroes occasionally serve on grand juries. An Arkansas respondent said he and others estimated that out of double panels of 40 to 50 persons, 3 or 4 might be Negroes, and out of a single panel of 24, 1 or 2 might be Negroes. In most cases in Arkansas, lawyers consider Negroes as ciphers who will go along with the majority, but they are said to dismiss Negroes when opposing counsel has been active in civil rights. There is a general understanding in Arkansas, a respondent said, of the need to avoid the appearance of systematic exclusion. In Florida, one sees as many Negroes as women on jury panels; their service was termed more than token, but less than reflective of Negro population. Negroes were said to be called fairly for jury duty in Louisiana, but more than average numbers are eliminated by challenge or excuse from serving on the jury. The same was said of South Carolina. Mississippi's situation was described as token. So was Tennessee's, Georgia's, and North Carolina's, with recognition in the latter of some improving efforts. In Texas, the estimate ranged from token to substantial numbers, with more of a conflict of opinion among respondents over whether enough Negroes serve than in other States. A Virginia respondent said that from 5 to 7 Negroes might be on a panel of 30, from 2 to 5 on a grand jury. A respondent said the number serving on Federal juries throughout the State is not sufficient.

The respondents described two problems involved in getting satisfactory numbers of Negroes on Federal juries. One is whether or not enough Negroes are called for jury service in the first place. The other is whether among those called, even if it is a fair number, enough Negroes get through the various processes of attrition to do what really counts—actually serve on a jury.

One often cited reason for a smaller number of Negroes called for jury duty is the lack of knowledge of the Negro community on the part of the mostly white court personnel. (All southern jury commissioners are white.) Prospective jurors are generally selected by a procedure described by the Judicial Conference of the United States in "The Jury System in the Federal Courts," September 1960. It involves getting persons of substance to recommend those who might be selected. Often, only white persons make these recommendations. Even the Negroes who make them might not be persons of knowledgeable acquaintanceship in the Negro community. They are often the Negroes who happen to come into contact with white persons.

A Tennessee respondent said officials go to persons such as the presidents of chambers

of commerce for names for jury lists. Use of State jury lists was reported in parts of Georgia and Virginia. Use of voter registration lists—which are notoriously low in the number of Negroes—was reported in Mississippi.

Some respondents singled out individual district courts where genuinely conscientious efforts seem to be made, with varying degrees of success, to get representative numbers of Negroes on the jury lists. These included the middle district of Florida, the Atlanta division of the northern district of Georgia, and the middle district of North Carolina.

The lawyers interviewed were inclined to attribute the high amount of attrition among prospective Negro jurors mostly to racial circumstances, partly to other causes.

Peremptory challenges by opposing attorneys account for some of the attrition, particularly where the case involves Negroes. Negroes, in the view of defense attorneys, value Negro life and welfare, it seems, more highly than whites. Another reason often cited is economic, and it applies to large numbers of whites as well. Hourly wage earners (unless they have a union contract or other agreement guaranteeing compensatory pay) and persons of low income generally are unable to give up the working time (and pay) that jury service entails. So they get excused if they can. Negroes in disproportionately large numbers, compared with whites, are hourly wage earners and low-income workers in the South. A respondent in Mississippi commented that most Negro hourly workers there could probably earn more serving on a Federal jury.

The broad findings of the study show that a Negro involved in Federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor.

The problem of the personnel of the courts seems easily and obviously remediable. More Negro appointments and hiring are needed. There are reports of political and other opposition when conscientious efforts are made to accomplish this. There are also reports of instances where Negroes turned down appointments or jobs. Negro attorneys are in short supply in the South, but the survey does not indicate by any means that their number or that of other qualified persons has been fully called upon.

The courts seem out of line with the fair employment hiring practices of Federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute.

But the employment practices of the court system is not the only, or even the largest, issue. The responsibility for the appointment of Federal judges and the U.S. attorneys is the President's. At its 1964 annual meeting (November 20–21) the Southern Regional Council adopted and conveyed to the President a resolution which said in part:

"It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing Federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications however strongly urged by State or congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South, both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national, and democratic interests."

The problem of jury service is more complex. If the impressions of respondents in this survey are correct, then a great many more Negroes need to be called and to serve on southern Federal juries. The widespread reports of nonuse of low-income and hourly income workers on southern juries raise questions beyond racial considerations. One may not only ask if it is possible under present circumstances to get a Federal jury of peers for people who are not white, but also for persons who, regardless of race, are not middle class.

Proposals have been made to select jury lists as much as public opinion poll samples are chosen—at random in such numbers from lists of all qualified persons so as to get a true cross-section of the community in terms of the various socioeconomic factors, including race and income level. Some such fresh approach seems needed.

There is an urgency to this. The goal of nondiscriminatory selection of juries is to assure that only the facts and evidence of the case will affect outcome of a trial. It would be just as much a tragedy if public clamor and legal maneuvering over exclusion of Negroes from juries were to become a factor in the outcome of a trial as when this results from discriminatory bias in the composition of a jury.

Reform of the basic institutions of American society is compelled by the logic of the civil rights movement. What began as an effort to correct the most glaring inequities of racial discrimination requires that the general structure of inequity be overhauled looking toward the ideal of liberty and justice for all.

SENATOR RANDOLPH'S AMENDMENT TO THE PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965 WILL HELP WIN PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, accelerated public works projects provide the best means to restore a sagging economy quickly; and full employment is our No. 1 national goal.

The funding for the Accelerated Public Works Act was used up long before the needs of the States were met. When accelerated public works money ran out in midyear 1963, more than $700 million in proposed projects were backlogged. Left unfunded were such projects as public buildings and sewage-treatment plants.

Testimony received last month by the Senate Public Works Committee during hearings on Senate bill 1648 has documented the need for increased accelerated public works funding.

Therefore, I am pleased to join as a cosponsor of the amendment—offered by the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH]—increasing from $250 million to $500 million, annually, the authorization for public facilities matching funds under title I of Senate bill 1648.

My good friend from West Virginia is correct. More funding is essential if the backlog is to be met.

On March 25, 1965, I wrote to the Governors of the 50 States, asking for a list of economically sound and needed public works projects which could be started immediately in each State, were Federal matching funds available.

Responses to date from but 11 States dramatically endorse the need for increased funding. The Governors of 11 States have advised me they can put to good use, immediately, a total of $335,159,285. Other States are preparing their reports.

I have received the following responses:

State:	Amount
Iowa	$25,627,800
Maryland	20,275,000
Wyoming	625,000
Maine	1,478,105
Massachusetts	21,334,000
Illinois	28,851,568
Louisiana	43,002,900
New Mexico	11,432,321
California	147,000,000
West Virginia	25,000,000
Missouri	10,532,591
Total	335,159,285

Early in this session, I introduced Senate bill 110, to increase by $1.5 billion, the amount authorized to be appropriated for the accelerated public works program. That bill was cosponsored by the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH].

Poverty is fought on many battlefields. Some victories are immediate, others are long range. We can have our Great Society if we build and educate.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my letter of March 25, 1965, to the Governors of the States be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 25, 1965.

Because full employment opportunity for every American is our number one national goal, ways must be found to put the unemployed to work immediately. The poverty program is long range, but the need for jobs is immediate.

A revival of the accelerated public works program will open up job opportunities quickly. When accelerated public works funds ran out in midyear 1963, processing was underway at the Federal level on submitted worthwhile State projects totaling more than $700 million.

Sound public works projects represent good investments, and I have introduced a bill to increase the amount authorized for the Accelerated Public Works program by $1.5 billion. My bill, S. 110, is cosponsored by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, of West Virginia, and Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, of Texas.

I believe need exists for the revitalization of the accelerated public works program. If you share my belief and can send me a list of economically sound and needed public works projects which could be started immediately in your State, were Federal matching funds available, I will press for action on S. 110 by the Senate Public Works Committee of which I and Senator RANDOLPH are members.

For your information, I enclose a copy of S. 110.

With best wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

ERNEST GRUENING.

THE WORLD POPULATION EXPLOSION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, for few subjects is the need for discussion so pressing as it is for the problem of population control. Every day, throughout the world, there are 192,000 births—8,000 an hour, 60 million a year.

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Read 6/11/65
U.S. Govt
Congress-
confer with
Senators, etc.

June 4, 1965

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I apologize for not having responded before now. We were worn out after the Gala, and as you know, I have been trying to get Mary Caroline to gear herself to a less strenuous routine. I would like very much to have attended your open house for Vernon Jordan and Wiley Branton.

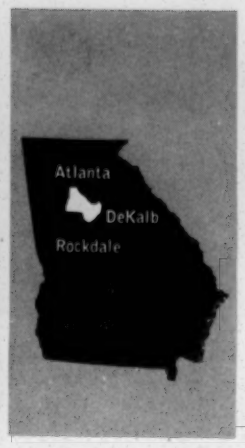
I hope I can see you again before long. I was pleased with the response to the enclosed statement which I prepared and released at the time of the Governors conference.

Sincerely yours,

Jamie

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/hf
Enclosure



A REPORT TO THE NEW 4th DISTRICT

from your Congressman

JAMES A. MACKAY

ONE MAN'S MANIFESTO
(Some thoughts on the Governors Meeting, Washington, D.C.
May 18, 1965)

I do not presume to speak for the South for the simple reason that no single individual, no matter what office he might hold, can speak for all of the people in our region.

But I can speak for a point of view and reflect an attitude that is widely present in our part of the nation.

There are some things we believe with all our heart and there are other things we reject with all of our mind.

We believe that our boys and girls of whatever race, creed or color have a birthright to an opportunity for as much education as they are willing and able to accomplish. We believe that the emphasis ought to be placed on discovering the potential of each child, not on trying to classify him on the basis of accident of birth.

We believe that the right of every qualified citizen to vote should be a reality and not something he or she has to hire a lawyer and file a lawsuit to enjoy.

We believe our legislatures should be made representative and responsive to the pressing needs of our day and time without delay because the unrepresentative structure and irresponsible actions of some of them have caused citizens to seek redress in Washington when they should be able to find it at home.

We believe in the principle of local control. We believe that each school district and each state is unique and that the ultimate achievement of good schools will be accomplished by the finest leaders of both races working together with respect for the law and with re-

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

gard for the practical problems in each community.

We believe that this is One Nation under God and that we should strive for the unity of our people, for the freedom of our people not only to enjoy their constitutional rights but also to accept and discharge the reponsibilities of citizenship.

These things we believe with all our hearts.

We reject with all of our minds the counsel of those who deliberately cultivate disrespect for our federal government and for our courts and whose utterances have invited ignorant and misguided people to resort to violence, intimidation and murder by ambush.

We reject the counsel of those who would make the schoolhouse and the schoolyard a battle ground.

We reject those who would heap scorn on any man, woman or child because of the color God made him or who would judge a man because of the condition of his pocketbook or the county, state or region in which he lives.

We reject the leadership of those who justify conditions that are wrong in our own region just because it is easy to point to similar wrongs in other regions.

We reject the leadership of those who seek to make short term political capital by arguing that we should postpone efforts to solve our long term problems.

We condemn those who by their contempt for the flag of the United States show that they have no pride in the glory of our past and have no appreciation for the fact that it is the symbol of our hope for the future.

The South is entering a new century of progress, of power, of prosperity. Good human relations between all of her people can flourish and grow under the leadership of men and women who love God, their country, and their fellow man. It could wither and perish if it chose any other course.

Georgia has chosen the high road and will not take the low.

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Congress of the United States

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Rec'd 6/16/65

file - U.S. Congress - corresp. with Senators, et. al.

June 14, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I agree completely with your letter and am showing it confidentially to certain well-placed friends.

With all best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:mfd

File - U.S. Congress - Correspondence with Congressmen et al.

June 1, 1965

The Honorable Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Douglas:

Thank you so much for thinking to write on May 24, and for enclosing the pages of the Congressional Record where you had inserted our report on federal courts in the South. We are, of course, very pleased that you did that. As you noted in the Record, the situation is "simply shocking."

You may also be interested to have the enclosed memorandum which, at the instruction of the entire membership of the Council, was submitted to the White House and the Department of Justice last December. Many in the South are waiting anxiously for appointment by the President and the Senate of judges to fill vacancies that now exist in the South. Although he has been in office now for a year and a half, and although the crucial vacancy caused by the death of Judge Cameron has existed for about a year, President Johnson has not yet demonstrated what policies will guide him in his judicial appointments in the South. We have, and I have personally, the greatest respect for the accomplishments of the Kennedy administration in civil rights. To a serious extent, however, those accomplishments were compromised by five or six district and circuit courts appointments in the area of the Fifth Circuit.

We now have, in addition to the vacancy caused by Judge Cameron's death, another vacancy on the Fifth Circuit through the retirement of Judge Hutcheson of Texas, and a crucially important district court appointment in Mississippi caused by the death of Judge Mize. All three of the former judges had been men deeply reluctant to enforce civil rights vigorously. A great opportunity is now presented to the Administration and to the Senate to replace them with men who are supporters of Constitutional rights. Recently, authoritative sources have indicated that former Governor Coleman of Mississippi is to be nominated to the Fifth Circuit. I believe a year ago this nomination would have been greeted warmly. Since then Mr. Coleman has voluntarily identified himself with the defense of the Mississippi delegation to Congress, a defense which has required him to come very close to maintaining that unconstitutional voter discrimination does not exist in Mississippi.

I suppose you may have seen the newspaper publicity recently of the suggestion of Mr. Paul O'Dwyer of New York, that Mrs. Constance Motley be appointed to the District Court vacancy in Mississippi. While I think Mr. O'Dwyer's suggestion may have a certain value as a stimulus, it by-passes the essential point, which is that there are qualified and deserving Negro lawyers in the South. We shall not really meet the problems described in the SRC report on court discrimination until some of these men are appointed to the federal bench. In a region where judicial competence is so urgently required, no responsible person would suggest that men without first-rate qualifications should be appointed to the courts. But such men are available in the ranks of both Negro and white Constitutional-minded lawyers of the Deep South, and we can only trust that they will not continue to be overlooked by Democratic administrations.

With all best regards,

Sincerely yours,

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

cc: Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach
John Doar, Assistant Attorney General

bc: Wiley Branton, Frank Smith, McNeill Smith, John Wheeler, Howard Meyer, Claude Sitton, Charles Morgan, John Macy (Civil Rights Commission), Kenneth Dean (MCHR), Paul Johnston

MJ - file

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General Subcommittee on Labor

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D.C.

Rec'd 6/21/65
file Congress
U.S. corresp. w/
Congressmen
et al

LE - phone

June 18, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have introduced the enclosed bill, H.R. 8109, to extend to agricultural laborers many of the legislative benefits now provided other workers in America. It is presently my hope that we shall be able to begin hearings on this subject in the late summer. For this reason, I am drawing the proposed legislation to your attention.

You might wish to draw it to the attention of other persons, including legislators, who might be interested. I would appreciate any comments that you would wish to make and, also, an indication of whether you would desire to be represented in public hearings when scheduled.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

James Roosevelt

JAMES ROOSEVELT
Chairman

JR:cw

File
~~Congress~~
U.S. Govt -
Corresp. w/ Congressman
Or. ref - Potomac Institute - Mrs. Clapp's ltr to p.A.

October 29, 1965

The Honorable Robert W. Kastenmeier
Member of Congress
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman Kastenmeier:

While I have been out of the office most of the time since your letter of October 23 arrived, I do not believe we have heard further about your meeting. During the next several weeks it will be extremely difficult for me to get to Washington, though I would certainly like to share in your deliberations, and would be happy to be of any assistance that I can to your Ad Hoc Advisory Committee.

Mrs. Clapp, of the Potomac Institute, has written and suggested that we send you certain of our materials. These are being sent to you under separate cover. Also we have just received a grant which will enable us to do some work in the region in assistant government programs, the implementation of the Civil Rights Law, etc. We also hope to do a number of studies on the effectiveness of government policy and administration in implementation in these areas. One of our first efforts along these lines is the report on school integration, September 1965, included in the materials we are sending.

I will be in Washington on Friday, November 19th and free during that afternoon if it develops you are in the city and would like to discuss this. Or, at some date thereafter I would be happy to come to Washington to meet with your Committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

bc: Mrs. Clapp (Potomac Institute)

Separate mailing:

"The Negro Voter in the South," Price
"The Negro and the Ballot," Price
"School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law", Sept. 1965
"Racial Discrimination in the Southern Fed. Courts", April 1965
"Southern Justice, An Indictment," October 1965
"The Fed. Executive and Civil Rights," January 1961
E&&&
"Executive Support...,"
Southern Negro Voter Statistics to 1/1/65 (prepared by VEP, 12/15/64)

EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 23, 1965

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BESS E. DICK

GENERAL COUNSEL:
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COUNSEL:
GARNER JAMES CLINE
MURRAY DRABKIN
HERBERT FUCHS
WILLIAM P. SHATTUCK

LAW REVISION COUNSEL:
CHARLES J. ZINN

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL:
MARTIN R. HOFFMANN

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forthsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As you know the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Voting and Civil Rights was established on October 13th by Chairman Celler and House Judiciary Sub-Committee No. 5. This three-man Advisory Committee composed of myself, Congressman James Corman and Congressman Charles McC. Mathias has been instructed by Sub-Committee No.5 to make a preliminary evaluation of compliance with existing voting and civil rights laws and to make findings of fact and recommendations to it on whether continuing oversight by the House Judiciary Committee would contribute to the fulfillment of the Congressional intent of this legislation.

As chairman and on behalf of the members of this three-man advisory committee, I am writing to you to invite you to meet with us for an executive, off-the-record, conference on your assessment of the effectiveness of existing civil rights laws and compliance with them, with particular emphasis on the 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1965 Civil rights and Voting Laws.

All three members of the committee plan to be in Washington on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of next week and hope to have the opportunity to meet with as many representatives of groups interested in civil rights as is possible. The conferences will take place in the House Judiciary Committee Room, Room 2141, in the Rayburn House Office Building. My staff will be contacting your office by telephone to arrange a specific time at your convenience when we can get together on this subject.

Sincerely,

Rob Kastenmeier

ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
Chairman
Ad Hoc Advisory Committee
on Voting and Civil Rights

RWK:ff

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

File - U.S. Govt - "Correspondence with Congressmen, Senators et al."

MS

November 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of the program for our November 15 meeting. I will try to look in on your meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

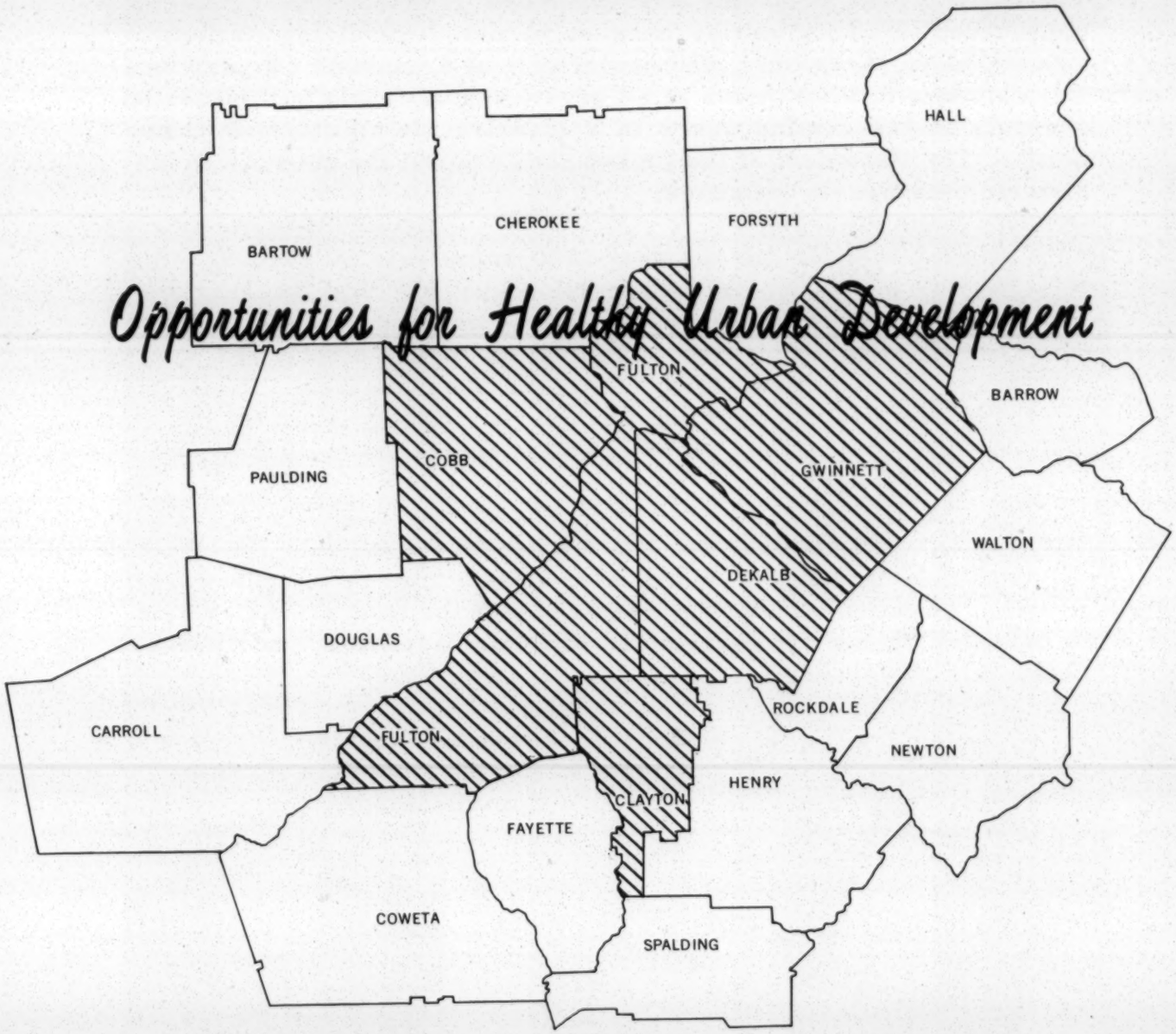
JAM/hf
Enclosure

ATLANTA REGION URBAN CONFERENCE

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel

Atlanta, Georgia

November 15, 1965



Sponsored by:

The Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission

The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

The Metropolitan Council of Local Governments

WHY THE CONFERENCE

Our region is experiencing unprecedented growth. It now has unprecedented opportunities because of new federal legislation, a new General Assembly, and new efforts at area-wide cooperation. Our democratic institutions at all governmental levels will be tested severely in the coming years in a massive attempt to meet urban needs. The President of the United States posed the question in his historic message on the cities:

> "Between today and the year 2000, more than 80 percent of our population increase will occur in urban areas. During the next fifteen years, thirty million people will be added to our cities -- equivalent to the combined population of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit and Baltimore. Each year in the coming generation, we will add the equivalent of 15 cities of 20,000 each."

This region, with its over two million people and its vast resources, will gain tremendously if we are wise enough to properly guide our growth. To fulfill our destiny requires that the hand of cooperation be extended among our government officials, agencies, and citizens. Hence this conference.

- Glenn E. Bennett, Executive Director
Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning
Commission

REGIONAL CONGRESSMEN

Hon. John W. Davis
United States Congressman
Seventh District

Hon. James Flynt, Jr.
United States Congressman
Sixth District

Hon. Phil Landrum
United States Congressman
Ninth District

Hon. James A. Mackay
United States Congressman
Fourth District

Hon. Robert Stephens
United States Congressman
Tenth District

Hon. Charles L. Weltner
United States Congressman
Fifth District

PROGRAM

8:30 - 9:30 - REGISTRATION

9:30 - 10:00 - WELCOME FROM SPONSORING AGENCIES:

Mr. Nelson Severinghaus, Chairman
Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission

Mr. James Furniss, Chairman
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

Mr. Harold McCart, Chairman
Metropolitan Atlanta Council of Local Governments

10:00 - 10:20 - ORIENTATION - Hon. James A. Mackay
United States Congressman, 4th District

10:20 - 10:30 - GREETINGS - Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor of Atlanta

10:30 - 11:00 - LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN AREAS - Hon. Charles L. Weltner
United States Congressman, 5th District

11:00 - 11:15 - COFFEE BREAK

11:15 - 11:45 - LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN AREAS - Hon. Phil Landrum
United States Congressman, 9th District

11:45 - 12:15 - LEGISLATION AFFECTING HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS -
Hon. Robert Stephens
United States Congressman, 10th District

12:15 - 12:45 - LOCAL, STATE, AND FEDERAL COOPERATION -
Dr. Norman Beckman
Assistant Director of the Advisory
Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

Introduction by:

Mr. Edward H. Baxter
Regional Administrator,
Department of Housing
and Urban Development

PROGRAM

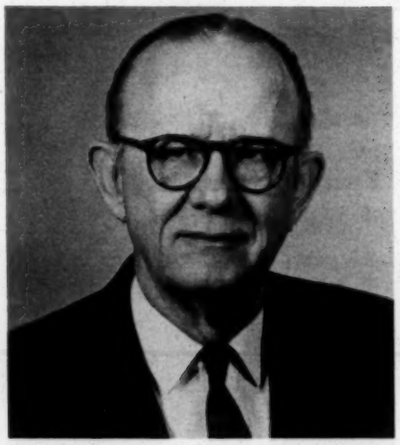
1:00 - 2:00 - LUNCH

Invocation - Dr. William H. Littleton, Rector
Holy Trinity Church
Decatur, Georgia

Introduction of Speaker -
Hon. John W. Davis
United States Congressman, 7th District

Luncheon Speaker:

Hon. Brooks Hays
National Known Statesman



Brooks Hays was born August 9, 1898 near Russellville, Arkansas. He was educated in Russellville public schools, received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of Arkansas in 1919 and his bachelor of laws degree from George Washington University at Washington, D. C. in 1922.

He was elected to Congress in 1942, and served with distinction until 1959. In 1937 he was called to Washington to assist in a legislative program under which tenant families could become independent farm owners. He considers his assistance in drafting the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to be one of the most gratifying incidents in his legislative career. In the 83rd and 84th Congresses he was a member of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (Kestenbaum Commission).

A layman, he was awarded the Doctor of Divinity Degree by John Brown University in January, 1965. He was the first recipient of the award given by the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention for distinguished service in the field of social ethics and served as President of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1957.

Mr. Hays presently serves as the Arthur Vanderbilt Professor of Government, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, and as a White House Consultant.

PANELS ON SOCIAL LEGISLATION

2:15 - 3:15 P. M.

3:15 - 4:15 P. M.

EDUCATION

What is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act?
How can communities develop new programs under it?

Room 1008 - Tenth Floor

Chairman: Mrs. Harry Pfiffner, President
League of Women Voters of Georgia

Panelists: Dr. C. J. Martin, Acting Regional Representative,
Officer of the Commissioner of Education, Region 4

Dr. Jarvis Barnes, Assistant Superintendent for Research
and Development, Atlanta Public Schools

PUBLIC WELFARE

Discussion of 1965 Social Security Amendments affecting
special assistance grants to children and other needy persons

Room 1015 - Tenth Floor

Chairman: Bradley Currey, Jr., Vice President
Trust Company of Georgia

Panelists: Wade Perry, Regional Representative, Bureau of Family Services,
Welfare Administration, Health, Education and Welfare

Philip Cawthon, Deputy Director, State Department of Family
and Children Services

HEALTH AND HOSPITALS

What legislation can help us plan for future health and
hospital needs?

Room 1016 - Tenth Floor

Chairman: Glenn M. Hogan, Executive Director
Georgia Hospital Association

Panelists: Dr. James P. Ward, Program Director of Hospital and Medical
Facilities, Region Office, Region 4, Public Health Service

Dr. Napier Burson, Chairman, Health and Hospital Committee,
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

PANELS ON PHYSICAL LEGISLATION

2:15 - 3:15 P. M.
3:15 - 4:15 P. M.

URBAN RENEWAL

Discussion of Procedures - Redevelopment and Slum Clearance

Green Room (Arcade)

Chairman: E. Bruce Wedge, Regional Director for Urban Renewal Department of Housing and Urban Development

Panelists: Ledford Austin, Executive Director
Decatur Housing Authority

Philip Lauria, Urban Renewal Director
City of East Point Urban Renewal Department

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Advance Loans for Engineering of Capital Improvements such as Water and Sewer Facilities

Room 10 (Mezzanine)

Chairman: John Paul Harris, Community Facilities Director
Department of Housing and Urban Development

Panelists: Elmer George, Executive Director
Georgia Municipal Association

William J. Greene, Jr., Partner
Wiedeman and Singleton

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Federal Assistance for Community Planning and Acquisition of Park Lands and Nature Preserves

Room 6 (Mezzanine)

Chairman: Leo Zuber, Assistant Regional Director for Special Programs, Department of Housing and Urban Development

Panelists: Thomas H. Roberts, Planning Director, Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission

V. R. Stuebing, Planning Division, Georgia Department of Industry & Trade

Gayle L. Harder, Regional Planner, Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission

PLANNING COMMITTEE FOR THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Glenn E. Bennett, Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission

Mr. Harold F. McCart, Chairman, Metropolitan Atlanta Council of Local Governments

Mr. Duane Beck, Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

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Mr. Hollis L. Cobb, Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission

Miss Sarah Craig, Congressman Weltner's Office

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Mr. Elmer George, Georgia Municipal Association

Mrs. Marian Glustrom, Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

Mr. Frank Hood, Georgia Power Company

Mr. Hill Healan, Association County Commissioners of Georgia

Mr. Jim King, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

Mrs. Betty Vinson, Congressman Mackay's Office

Mr. Leo Zuber, Department of Housing and Urban Affairs

BOB KASTENMEIER
2D DISTRICT, WISCONSIN
1203 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

HOME OFFICE:
300½ MAIN STREET
WATERTOWN, WISCONSIN
PHONE: 261-6050

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEE ON
JUDICIARY

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PATENTS AND REVISION OF LAWS
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON
STATE TAXATION OF INTERSTATE
COMMERCE

See U.S. Govt. "Corresp. with Senators Congressmen, et al"

November 8, 1965

224
3121
393-3111-ERC
382-1686
1701 Penn Ave
4th

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of October 29 and the materials you send under separate cover detailing your Council's activities.

No definite plans have been made for further conferences by the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee. I will be back in Washington by November 19, however, and I hope that when you are in town you will contact my office so that we can get together to discuss this matter at further length.

Sincerely,

Bob Kastenmeier

ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
Member of Congress

RWK:mkz

JBR -

2027 Mass NW

387-7050

File: U.S. Govt - "Corresp. with Senators, Congressmen, et al"

November 23, 1965

The Hon. Robert W. Kastenmeier
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Kastenmeier:

While I was in Washington on the 19th following the White House Conference, things did not go as planned. I went by the offices of the Peace Corps to discuss a proposed SRC sponsored volunteer training program, which we approach cautiously and reluctantly.

Some hours later, at 6:30 P.M., I emerged with some appreciation of the energy and determination of that staff. For this reason I was unable to call your office to determine if you were available.

At your convenience I will be happy to arrange a visit to Washington to meet with you.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

MS

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CHIEF CLERK
EXTENSION 5934

EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS

Committee on Education and Labor

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Washington, D.C.

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LEON ABRAMSON,
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MINORITY COUNSEL FOR EDUCATION AND LABOR
EXTENSION 3725

CHARLES W. RADCLIFFE,
SPECIAL EDUCATION COUNSEL FOR MINORITY
EXTENSION 3725

File U. S. Congress

December 15, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It goes rather well up here--interesting, but hectic! I'll give you some detail, if you'll bear up under the burden, next week.

I'll be in Atlanta next week, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 21st and 22nd, clearing up loose ends in our Atlanta OEO investigation file. Will want to talk to you, Vernon, and Al at SRC. Also will want to see some or all of the following: John Hood, Benny Smith, Otis Cochran, Samuel Williams, Leroy Johnson, Reverend Colbert, Q.V. Williamson, and some of the EOA and regional OEO people. I don't expect you to line up these people for me, not at all. I know damned well you wouldn't, anyway. Would appreciate, though, your thoughts on how to get in touch with them, and who is in town and who is not, via the Vernon Jordan grapevine.

See you and/or SRC early Tuesday.

Sincerely,

Lloyd

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist,
Anti-Poverty Task Force

P.S. Dig that letterhead!

P.P.S. Mrs. Knox, I'll bring two.

File
U.S. Govt
- Corresp. with Congressmen et al.

377-6486
Betty Vinson

March 22, 1966

The Honorable James Mackey
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Jim:

This letter should have been written much earlier, but I hope you will understand its timing as well as the spirit of it.

Some of us here were very concerned to see the report of your comments about the new Office of Education guidelines that appeared in the March 14th Atlanta Journal.

There is throughout the region a great feeling of disappointment and disillusionment on the part of many Negro parents and pupils with the slow pace of school desegregation. In district after district the so-called "Freedom of Choice" plan was badly abused. There are innumerable reports of administrative delay and outright violence and intimidation that have prevented the will of the Congress as expressed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. For these reasons many of the civil rights organizations have been very critical of the Office of Education. Many of these groups have seen the educational establishment

acting in poor faith and the Office of Education acting incompetently if not in direct conflict with the instructions from Congress.

Many of us here were pleased with the new guidelines. Some civil rights groups felt they were not strong enough, and indeed an argument could be made to support this view. I felt that they were good and fair. They attempted, for the first time since 1954, to remove the burden from the individual parent and child. On the matter of freedom of choice they attempted to preserve that concept while placing the responsibility for proof on the results of the operation. This is essential if we are ever to achieve any degree of school integration.

It is very disturbing to see the reactions of professional educators. This reaction gives no indication that we are 12 years after the decision of the Supreme Court, and 2 years after the decision of the Congress. Our schools remain overwhelmingly segregated; this in spite of the efforts of Negro parents to change the situation. Public opinion is being influenced again in the belief of an arbitrary carpet bagger government. This is a serious matter for the health of our communities and the future of public education.

For these reasons your comments, as reported in the Journal, were disturbing to me and to many of your friends.

Should you find the time when in Atlanta, and wish to do so, I would welcome an opportunity to have a few people from DeKalb County, who have a special interest in education, meet with you to go more thoroughly into this serious and complicated question.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MACKAY SCORES 'ARBITRARY' RULES

By KELLY MANSFIELD

Rep. James A. Mackay of Decatur says the recent federal desegregation guidelines are arbitrary and "arbitrary rules just don't work in an educational system."

Rep. James Mackay

The congressman's comments came in response to a reporter's question after a speech in Atlanta Monday to Fulton Democrats.

When asked to comment on the recent guidelines, Rep. Mackay pulled a copy of the 1964 Democratic national platform from his pocket and referred to a paragraph reading:

"True democracy of opportunity will not be served by establishing quotas based on the same false distinctions we seek to erase, nor can the effects of prejudice be neutralized by the expedient of preferential practices."

He said, "That is from the Democratic national platform and we intend to hold them to it."

Also, he said, "The whole (congressional) delegation will be in there pitching for wisdom and sanity," regarding the desegregation guidelines.

Rep. Mackay said the primary question in the educational field is: What effect would any action have upon the educational opportunities of each child?

"Guidelines can't be arbitrarily imposed," he said, "without doing violence to the educational values." He stressed the word "arbitrarily."

Also, he continued, "I feel that our effort has to be to respect but to argue the application of the law. . . .

"We're through kidding ourselves that there is anywhere for us to go outside the law."

In his remarks to the Fulton Democrats, the freshman congressman predicted the passage of highway safety legislation he has sponsored and which has been endorsed by the administration. He also predicted failure for the President's move to get four-year terms for House members.

"This idea," he said, "is doomed to failure. It might get through the House but it will not get through the Senate. . . . The Senate could care less about a four-year term."

EVEN IF THE measure did get through the House and Senate, Rep. Mackay continued, the proposed constitutional amendment would have a very difficult time being approved by the legislatures of the states.

He said he differed with the President about the effect of running for office every two years and in effect being in a continuous campaign. This is good, he said, and "I don't mind running for office."

The congressman also objected to charges that Congress is a rubber stamp for the President. "Anybody that tells you the Congress of the United States acts irresponsibly has eyes that can't see and ears that can't hear," he said. "You can trust Congress to act deliberately."

He described President Johnson as a man who "appeals to you to respond to this time of imminent need in this country." The President, he continued, "doesn't twist your arm, he twists your heart."

The President uses "persuasive leadership," he said, and is "a man who understands the correct source of power in a political democracy."

Rep. Mackay also predicted that "the state papers of Lyndon B. Johnson will be a shining volume of literature in American state history."

MJ

JED JOHNSON, JR.
6TH DISTRICT, OKLAHOMA

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CUSTER	ROGER MILLS
DEWEY	STEPHENS
ELLIS	TEXAS
GRADY	TILLMAN
WASHITA	

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

File U.S. Govt Corresp. with Senators, et. al.

July 29, 1966

attach to PAP ltr. of July 26

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks ever so much for your letter of July 26 and the enclosed clipping. I appreciate your sending it.

Whenever you are in Washington, please be sure and let me know so we can get together for lunch.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jed

Jed Johnson, Jr.
Member of Congress

JJJ/m

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

cc: Mary Green
4/1/66

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

March 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In reply to your letter, I will be delighted to meet with you and any others interested in discussing the public school situation. I have issued no blast at the Guidelines, but simply answered a reporter's questions at a meeting of the Fulton County Democratic Committee. I don't have the privilege of writing stories for the newspapers and often they convey to the reader something other than that which is intended.

I told Supt. Nix that the government was not interested in what the Superintendent could not do but that it was interested in finding out what they are doing to eliminate discrimination. Regretably, the professional school leadership for the most part has been silent for most of the last twelve years when it should have participated in the fight for important educational values which are at stake.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Mackay
Member of Congress

JAM/hf

LISTER HILL, ALA., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

File

Rec'd 2/27/67

February 23, 1967

File U.S. Govt "Corresp. With Senators, Congressmen et al."

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atalanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As I indicated by telephone, the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty is undertaking a study of the poverty program during this session of Congress. As part of this study, we intend to gather descriptive and analytical material on the operation of the poverty program in communities throughout the United States. In order to obtain such information as quickly and effectively as possible, we are seeking in each of the OEO regions a research agency or team of consultants which can undertake field work for us.

Specifically, we will be asking the regional consultants to prepare a report on the operation of the Community Action Program and related activities in the region. One part of this report would describe the various types of community action agencies by defining the roles they are playing in their communities; this would be based upon conferences with staff of the OEO regional office and the State technical assistance agencies, supplemented by data we expect to obtain from the national headquarters of OEO. A second part would consist of a description of programs in a sample of five to ten communities, based upon field visits; particular attention would be paid to program accomplishments, methods of resident participation, and ways in which various Federal, State and local programs have been coordinated. A third part would identify key issues and problems which have emerged within the region.

Because of the necessity of using these reports in the consideration of legislative recommendations, they would have to be completed by the end of May, 1967. We have a modest budget through which we will be able to contract for consultative services.

I look forward to seeing you in Washington at 3:00 p.m., Thursday, March 2 to discuss this further.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Hallman

Howard W. Hallman

HWH:smg

See U.S. Congress - Corresp. With Congressmen, Senators, et al.

April 26, 1967

Paul,

Connie called today and gave me the following names of Congressmen to whom you should direct your letter re: hearings on school desegregation in Washington. (She says they should be asked to come South to get Negro families to testify on school desegregation here in Atlanta.)

The Hon. Emanuel Celler
Chairman
House Judiciary Committee
Room 2126
Ryburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

The Hon. Clark MacGregor
House of Representatives
Room 1021
Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

The Hon. Byron Rogers
Ruburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

(NOTE: Connie wants blind copies of each of the above letters sent to:

Mr. Paul Zurkowski
Legal Assistant to Mr. Robert Kastenmeier
1203 Longworth Office Building
Washington, D. C.)

MMJ

May 1, 1967

The Honorable Byron Rogers
Ryburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Representative Rogers:

We note the decision to hold hearings in Washington on the developments in school desegregation in the southern region.

This is to respectfully urge your consideration of holding an additional hearing, or hearings, in the region so that Negro parents and students can appear before the Committee. While it is by no means universal, in all too many instances the burden of compliance and affirmative action continues to rest with these people; those least able to bear it. Reports of continued harassment and intimidation are widespread.

We recommend no specific action on the part of the Committee, but urge that you have

access to the testimony of a number of Negro parents and pupils before reaching any conclusions.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Bc: Mr. Paul Jurkowski
Legal Assistant to Mr. Robt. Kastenmeier
1203 Longworth Office Building
Washington, D.C.

May 1, 1967

The Honorable Emanuel Celler
Chairman
House Judiciary Committee
Room 2126
Ryburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Celler:

We note the decision to hold hearings in Washington on the developments in school desegregation in the southern region.

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With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

May 1, 1967

The Honorable Clark MacGregor
House of Representatives
Room 1021
Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Representative MacGregor:

We note the decision to hold hearings in Washington on the developments in school desegregation in the southern region.

This is to respectfully urge your consideration of holding an additional hearing, or hearings, in the region so that Negro parents and students can appear before the Committee. While it is by no means universal, in all too many instances the burden of compliance and affirmative action continues to rest with these people; those least able to bear it. Reports of continued harassment and intimidation are widespread.

We recommend no specific action on the part of the Committee, but urge that you have

access to the testimony of a number of Negro parents and pupils before reaching any conclusions.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

NINETIETH CONGRESS

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File U.S. Congress Corresp. with Senators etc.

May 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Southern
Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I appreciate having before me your letter of May 1, 1967, concerning the contemplated school desegregation guidelines hearings.

No decision has been made as to where these hearings will be held. I shall be pleased to discuss this with Representative Byron Rogers who is chairman of that special subcommittee.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Celler

Emanuel Celler
Chairman

EC:dm

House Bill
H.R. 12962
re: U.S. Commission on
Negro History & Culture
(Filed in Research)

file Letter in Govt
U.S. Corresp. with Senators,
Congressmen, etc

March 5, 1968

The Honorable James H. Scheuer
House of Representatives
Congress of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman Scheuer:

You are to be commended on your efforts to create a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

I am in complete agreement with the need for such a commission and feel a sense of urgency about it. There is a great amount of culture and history that is important to the nation and the longer we wait the more difficult it will be to remedy this situation. Indeed, unless we act soon much of this rich heritage which has done so much to shape all of us will be lost forever.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

JAMES H. SCHEUER
21ST DISTRICT, NEW YORK

339 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3816

RICHARD A. BROWN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

DISTRICT OFFICE:
159 EAST 165TH STREET
BRONX, NEW YORK 10452
TELEPHONE: LU 8-6790

JOHN DELANEY
CONGRESSIONAL SECRETARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

SUBCOMMITTEES:
SELECT EDUCATION
SPECIAL LABOR
ANTIPOVERTY

February 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
1728 Morris Mill Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

One of the tragic but less dramatic consequences of the Negro experience in America has been the almost complete submergence of the American Negro's historical and cultural heritage. Neither the African heritage nor the achievements of the American Negro have been properly represented in our history texts or in our museums. This void is a significant loss for Americans of all races.

I have introduced legislation that would be a first step in remedying this situation. H.R. 12962, which is enclosed, would create a Presidentially-appointed Commission on Negro History and Culture that would consider all aspects of this area of neglect.

The Select Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor is holding hearings on this bill in New York City on March 18, 1968.

Unfortunately, one day of hearings does not permit the Subcommittee to have the testimony of all those individuals and groups it would like to hear. However, the Subcommittee would be very grateful for your comments on the proposed legislation. Your statement would be included in the printed record as part of those hearings.

I look forward to receiving your statement.

Sincerely,

James H. Scheuer

James H. Scheuer, M.C.

JHS/mg

file
U.S. Govt.
Corresp. with
Congressmen, Senators, et. al.

May 15, 1968

The Honorable Charles Percy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Percy:

Thank you for sharing with me your comments before the Senate on May 7th. Your comments are excellent and deserve to be repeated often.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

December 9, 1969

The Honorable Allard Lowenstein
U. S. House of Representatives
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Al:

Thank you for the very helpful information on the Administration and school desegregation. Although it only came this morning I, and several othere here, have already read it.

Interestingly, your document comes on the same day that we have gotten from the printers our report for the year on school desegregation. This will be released on Sunday. Enclosed is a copy.

You are doing a great job. Carry on!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

LWD ✓
JC
PA ✓
PR ✓
MF

Background Memorandum Prepared
by Senator Kennedy's Office

THE FACTS ON GRANT TO AFRICAN STUDENTS AIRLIFT

SUMMARY

On July 26 when Tom Mboya of Kenya visited Senator Kennedy at Hyannis Port, the State Department, despite intervention by Mr. Nixon, had with finality turned down a request to provide an airlift for over 200 African students who had received U.S. scholarships.

Senator Kennedy arranged for the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation, established in the memory of his brother who was killed in World War II, to finance the airlift when other foundations were not prepared to do so. In order to keep this project out of politics, it was provided that no public announcement be made of the grant.

After the Kennedy Foundation had decided to provide the money and just before the meeting was held to make final plans, Mr. James Shepley of Mr. Nixon's office, learning of the Kennedy Foundation action and intervening with the State Department on behalf of Mr. Nixon, achieved--in a matter of hours over one weekend and one Monday morning--a reversal of the State Department's long-established negative position. Mr. Shepley's role in this has now been confirmed by the State Department's answer to Senator Fulbright.

The African-American Students Foundation, weighing the Kennedy Foundation's interest in the whole project, the value of non-governmental financing, and the Government's general hostility to the project but for Mr. Shepley's last-minute efforts, decided not to reject the private foundation grant which had already been made. It urged the State Department to use the newly-allotted funds to expand its own African scholarship program.

The next day, after Mr. Shepley and the State Department had been informed of the decision to go ahead with the Kennedy Foundation grant, Senator Scott, a member of Mr. Nixon's campaign board of strategy and of the Republican "Truth Squad", announced and hailed the State Department grant, making no mention of the prior Kennedy Foundation action. Then the following day Senator Scott alleged that since his announcement the Kennedy Foundation had "outbid" the U.S. Government and "attempted to pluck this project away from the U.S. Government" for blatant political purposes."

Even after the facts had been disclosed by Senator Kennedy and the African-American Students Foundation, and were acknowledged by Mr. Nixon's office and by the State Department, Senator Scott went on nationwide TV to repeat and compound his wholly false charges.

The following memorandum gives a chronological account of the facts in detail. The key facts are supported by the accompanying documents.

I. 1959 Airlift Africa

Through the efforts of Tom Mboya of Kenya and the African-American Students Foundation, 81 students from Kenya were granted scholarships in the U.S. and a plane was chartered to bring them here.

Repeatedly the State Department was asked to help finance this project and repeatedly it turned the project down. Copies of the correspondence on this are available from the files of Congressman Diggs. The money was raised by a direct appeal to the public.

II. 1960 Airlift Africa

In response to letters from Mrs. Ralph Bunche, a director of the African-American Students Foundation (AASF), some 230 scholarships valued at over $1 million were offered for African Students by Class I accredited colleges in the U.S.

This 1960 program included not only Kenya as in 1959, but also Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. About 230 students were selected, and money was raised in Africa from Africans to provide about $1,000 per student for living expenses in the U.S.

A. STATE DEPARTMENT'S DECISION NOT TO FINANCE PROJECT

Repeatedly, beginning in November 1959, the State Department was asked to finance the air transportation of this, the largest student travel scholarship program ever to be undertaken in Africa. The chronology of these requests and the State Department's negative responses follows, with full documentation available:

1. On November 18, 1959, Mr. Scheinman, the Vice President of the African-American Students Foundation (AASF), wrote to the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. J.C. Satterthwaite, outlining the program for the 1960 airlift of some 250 students from Central and East Africa, and asking for transportation assistance.

2. On December 10, Assistant Secretary of State Satterthwaite replied saying that he regretted "to have to respond ... in the negative," and adding that "Perhaps you will wish to send a copy of this letter to Mr. Mboya so that he will not have any unfounded expectations regarding this matter."

3. On January 15, 1960, Mr. Scheinman wrote to Mr. Satterthwaite asking for reconsideration. No reply was received by AASF.

4. On June 9, 1960 Mr. Jackie Robinson, on AASF letterhead, wrote to Vice President Nixon asking for his assistance in the matter.

5. On June 23, Mr. Nixon replied that he was urging the State Department to give the project serious consideration.

6. On July 7, Assistant Secretary of State Satterthwaite, wrote AASF taking note of Mr. Nixon's interest but advising that it would not be possible for the U.S. Government to finance the air transportation.

7. On July 13, in an effort to persuade the Department to change its negative decision, Mr. Frank Montero, the President of AASF and Mr. Scheinman, met in Washington with several State Department Officials, including Mr. C. Kenneth Snyder, Program Officer for Africa, Policy and Plans Staff, Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs. After about a three-hour conference, the Department officers had not changed their position and in fact had given additional reasons why the Department could not be involved in the project. They said the project had gone up to the "top" and been finally rejected.

8. On July 21, Mr. Mboya telephoned from Africa to express his alarm about the failure to secure transportation for the students. It was decided he would fly to the U.S. to make a direct appeal.

9. On July 23, telegrams were sent to all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by AASF telling of Mr. Mboya's trip and asking for appointments for him.

10. On July 25, Mr. Mboya attended a conference called by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York of some 50 representatives of organizations concerned with higher education in East and Central Africa. The African Airlift program was discussed. Mr. Snyder represented the State Department. Also present were representatives of the Institute of International Education, the Carnegie Foundation, the Foreign Policy Association, the African-American Institute, the American Society of African Culture, the American Council on Education, and the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. Snyder explained why the State Department was not in a position to support the project: It could not operate on a "crash" basis, and was limited in its work in colonial territories such as East Africa.

11. On July 27, Senator Wiley, in response to the telegram requesting an appointment for Mr. Mboya, wrote to Mr. Montero as follows:

> "I have your telegram requesting an appointment for the purpose of discussing the airlift of 250 African students to the United States this coming September.
>
> After consulting with our State Department, which is not unaware of your problem, I have been advised it does not look with favor on an airlift of foreign students at government expense. You can readily understand that if an exception were made in one instance, a precedent would be established which would not only be difficult of control but would subject the United States to criticism at home, and abroad by those not so favored. Therefore, much as I approve of encouraging exchange of foreign students, I cannot be of assistance to the Foundation in this instance."

B. THE KENNEDY FOUNDATION'S SUPPORT OF THE PROJECT

1. In response to the telegram about Mr. Mboya's visit, Senator Kennedy invited him to come to Hyannis Port. They met on July 26 for a long discussion of the African situation. Mr. Mboya described the great opportunity of filling over 200 scholarships for Africans which was about to be lost because of lack of transportation. He asked Senator Kennedy, as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, to intercede with the State Department. Senator Kennedy said that if Mr. Nixon had already tried and failed, he could do little there. He suggested, however, that the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation might be able to help.

After consulting with the Executive Director of the Kennedy Foundation, Sargent Shriver, Jr., on the telephone, Senator Kennedy informed Mr. Mboya that the Kennedy Foundation would contribute at least $5,000 and would take the initiative in securing the rest of the funds needed from other foundations, perhaps on a matching basis with the Kennedy foundation.

2. On July 27 and 28, and later, Mr. Shriver called a number of other private foundations, including Carnegie, Ford, Phelps-Stokes, Rockefeller, the Institute of International Education, and the Foundation for All-Africa (of which Mr. Robert Kennedy is president). While some of the foundations were interested, none was prepared to move immediately.

3. On July 29, upon learning that no progress had been made in securing other financing, Senator Kennedy asked that Mr. Shriver be advised that in his opinion, as a trustee of the Kennedy Foundation, the whole project should be financed by the Kennedy Foundation, so that the planes could be chartered and the students could arrive here in time to take up their scholarships in September. Senator Kennedy said that a condition of the grant should be that there be no announcement of it, in order to keep the project out of politics.

4. On August 5, 1960, Mr. Shriver wrote to Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy as follows:

> "Last week, Jack met with Tom Mboya ... up at the Cape, Mboya told Jack that there was a million dollars worth of scholarships awaiting students of Kenya in the United States, but that Mboya did not have the money to transport these students to the United States. Jack offered to help in a modest way and asked me to find out if other foundations would be willing to join our foundation in providing money for the transportation of these Kenya students to this country.
>
> "While I was in the process of contacting the Foundations (none of which were flexible enough to move quickly on this urgent matter), Jack decided he would like us to go ahead with the project on our own.
>
> "Approximately $90,000 is required for the transportation since 250 to 350 students are involved, and I am recommending to Jack that another $10,000 be appropriated so that we may have the expert services of the Institute for International Education or the Phelps-Stokes Fund to select the students and make sure they are assigned to institutions in the United States where they are capable of doing a good job.

"Over this weekend I will be talking to Jack and presumably getting his final OK. Jack's theory is that we would have no publicity about this matter."

5. On August 10, in Washington, D. C., the AASF officers, Montero and Scheinman, were informed that the Kennedy Foundation would assure the transportation costs of the student airlift. They were also informed that a condition of the grant was that there be no public announcement about it. They agreed to this. While details remained to be worked out, Messrs. Montero and Scheinman left with the assurance that the commitment was made.

6. On the same day, August 10, Mr. Shriver invited Congressman Diggs to serve on an advisory committee, which the Kennedy Foundation intended to establish to see that the best possible arrangements were made for the students both in their travel and in their studies here.

7. On August 12, Mr. Shriver called a meeting for Monday, August 15, at 2:30 P.M. at which final details would be worked out and the advisory committee established, and to which the AASF president, Mr. Montero, would be invited, along with representatives of the Institute of International Education, the African-American Institute, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Foundation for All-Africa, and the Ford Foundation. At the time Mr. Montero received this invitation on Saturday morning, and agreed to be in Washington Monday to complete the plans, he says that he had received no indication that the State Department was considering reversing itself.

C. MR. SHEPLEY'S ROLE

1. On Saturday, August 13, after the Monday plans had been agreed upon, Mr. Jackie Robinson called Montero to say that Mr. James Shepley of Mr. Nixon's office wanted to talk to him. When Montero then called Shepley, Shepley expressed his interest in getting the State Department to support the project. Either in this call or in a call the following day, or in both calls, and Montero believes it was in both, Shepley stated that he knew that the Kennedy Foundation had offered up to $100,000 to finance the airlift. Montero says he neither confirmed nor denied this because of his agreement that there be no publicity, but he did tell Shepley that a private foundation was prepared to finance the airlift. Shepley urged him to let him try to get an offer from the Government andsaid he would call back the next day. According to Montero, Jackie Robinson, as a member of the board of the AASF, was informed of the Kennedy Foundation decision; Robinson denies he knew any more than that the Kennedy Foundation would give $5,000 and seek to raise the rest from other foundations. Senator Scott's account is that in this Saturday telephone talk Montero related to Shepley "that during the period immediately after the Democratic National Convention the Kennedy people had offered to make $100,000 available for Airlift African, 1960." (Cong. Rec. Aug. 17, p. 15442.) This is in accord with the Washington Star's article (Aug. 14) in which Mr. Nixon's press secretary, Herbert Klein, is quoted as saying that Shepley found out that the Kennedy Foundation was involved on Sunday "when Mr. Montero called him to say the financing had been guaranteed." However he found out, it appears evident that at least by Saturday Mr. Shepley knew of the Kennedy Foundation grant.

2. On Saturday, August 14, despite his knowledge that the airlift financing had already been arranged privately, Shepley called Montero to

say that although he still had nothing firm to offer he hoped the Department would reverse itself before Montero's meeting with the Kennedy Foundation representative on Monday. He said he was taking the issue up with Under-secretary of State Dillon. He made arrangements to reach Montero on Monday before the meeting. Later the same day, Montero and Jackie Robinson talked about the situation and, according to Montero, agreed that it didn't matter who financed the airlift if the students got here in time for school.

3. On Monday, August 15, Montero and Shepley talked on the phone several times, with Shepley each time saying that he hoped within a matter of minutes to get an affirmative answer from the State Department. During the noon period Shepley called to say that he would speak with Dillon as soon as Dillon finished testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. A few minutes later, Shepley called to say that he had been authorized to make a definite offer that the Government would provide transportation costs up to $100,000 for the airlift. He asked that Montero contact Mr. Robert Thayer, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs, for further details. Montero said he would talk with Thayer but that there was already, as Shepley knew, a prior commitment agreed upon with the Kennedy Foundation.

Mr. Shriver, as Executive Director of the Kennedy Foundation, told Montero and Scheinman that they were entirely free to accept the Government's offer. The latter decided that in view of the Government's reluctance about the whole project, the preference of many Africans for non-governmental support, and the Kennedy Foundation's concern for the interest of the students while in this country, the AASF should not reject the Kennedy Foundation grant. Rather, it should urge the Government to apply the proffered $100,000 to an expansion of its own scholarship program for East and Central Africa. (Last year the Government's academic scholarship programs for <u>all</u> Africa amounted to 142 students.)

At the 2:30 P.M. meeting the following persons were present in addition to Shriver, Montero and Scheinman: Dr. Fred Patterson, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Mr. Gordon Hagberg of the African-American Institute; the Rev. Gordon H. Fournier, Executive Vice President of the Foundation for All-Africa; and Mr. Albert Sims of the Institute of International Education. Mr Shriver explained that the Kennedy Foundation had decided to finance the airlift and hoped they and Congressman Diggs would serve as an advisory committee to the project. It was agreed that several members of the advisory committee would shortly go to Africa to study the procedures used in selecting students and to accompany the students to this country in early September.

Later Montero called Shepley and Thayer to inform them of the decision. Montero says that Shepley protested their action in "turning down the United States Government" and that he implied that efforts might be made by his side to suggest in the press that this was a politically motivated act by Senator Kennedy.

D. SENATOR SCOTT'S ROLE

1. The next day, Tuesday, August 16, Senator Scott announced that the State Department had granted $100,000 to finance the African student's airlift. Senator Scott is a member of Mr. Nixon's campaign board of strategy. He has stated that although Mr. Shepley knew of the Kennedy Foundation grant on Saturday, the 13th, and the Department of State knew at least by Monday, the 15th, he (Senator Scott) did not know of it when he made this announcement on Tuesday. Who gave him the information about the State Department's offer or authorized him to announce it, or why such person did not tell him of the Kennedy Foundation's prior grant, is not known. One possible source is suggested by the Senator's references in the text of his release to Jackie Robinson, a strong supporter of Mr. Nixon.

2. Early on the same day, August 16, Montero informed Jackie Robinson of what had happened Monday and of the decision to go ahead with the Kennedy grant. Robinson read Montero the draft of a column he had written for publication in the New York Post on Wednesday, August 17. The column essentially followed the line of Senator Scott's announcement, mentioning only the State Department's offer and not the Kennedy Foundation grant. It read in part:

> "Good news is all too rare these days, but on Monday I received a call from Washington which added up to just that. Jim Shepley an aide to Vice President Nixon, called to tell me the State Department has decided to pick up the tab for the three planeloads of African students which the African-American Students Foundation is bringing over this year to study at American universities.
>
> * * *
>
> "Incidentally, it is no accident that an aide of the Vice President was the one to call me about this. When I conferred with Mr. Nixon in Washington several weeks ago, one of the points we discussed was this project.... Shepley was assigned to follow up on the matter, and Monday's phone call was the happy result.
>
> "*** And I congratulate Vice President Nixon, Undersecretary Dillon and Jim Shepley for the vital roles they played in bringing it about."

After hearing this read, Montero told Robinson that this was unfair and inaccurate reporting. He says Robinson told him he was going to print it anyway.

3. After Senator Scott's announcement Montero and Scheinman sent a telegram to Congressman Diggs stating that the State Department's "belated offer" was "only made after the Foundation, which had repeatedly requested help during the past twelve months and was finally turned down late last month, was successful in obtaining a grant of $100,000 from a private foundation. *** The fact is the State Department has repeatedly turned a cold

shoulder to the airlift-Africa program." They suggested that the funds allocated by the Government should "be made immediately available to other African students on a continuing basis." As agreed upon with Senator Kennedy and Mr. Shriver, they did not identify the Kennedy Foundation.

Congressman Diggs released this telegram to the press with an accusation that the State Department was playing politics by announcing a grant which it knew had been made too late. The Department "showed interest in the matter," said Congressman Diggs, who had tried diligently since 1959 to persuade the State Department to act,"only when their inaction was about to prove embarrassing to the Republican Party."

4. On Wednesday, August 17, Senator Scott on the Senate Floor stated that "since"the time (the previous day)when he had been "privileged" to announce the State Department grant(the day after it had already been turned down), he had "been informed that the long arm of the family of the junior Senator from Massachusetts has reached out and attempted to pluck this project away from the U.S. Government." He said he was "surprised" at the decision of the African-American Students Foundation but he could "understand the pressures brought by the Kennedy people and their anxiety to take over the functions of the Government in advance of an election." He said he was concerned "at the apparent misuse of tax-exempt foundation money for blatant political purposes." He asked why "the Kennedy people" were so anxious to commit themselves to this expenditure "just one day after learning of the action of the Department of State."

5. In reply to Senator Scott on the Senate floor, August 17, Senator Kennedy outlined the facts in this memorandum, calling Senator Scott's statement "the most unfair, distorted, and malignant attack I have heard in 14 years in politics." He said in conclusion:

> "... the Kennedy Foundation went into this quite reluctantly. I am chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa. I think this is a most important program. ... Mr. Mboya came to see us and asked for help, when none of the other foundations could give it, when the Federal Government had turned it down quite precisely. We felt something ought to be done. To waste 250 scholarships in this country, to waste $200,000 these people had raised, to disappoint 250 students who hoped to come to this country, it certainly seemed to me, would be most unfortunate and so we went ahead."

He urged the State Department at this late date to use the funds "to bring other students to the United States."

6. On August 18, Senator Fulbright addressed 13 questions to Secretary of State Herter on the role of Mr. Shepley and the Department in this whole matter, asking for answers by Monday, August 22. To the press Senator Fulbright stated that: "If the facts are like they appear to be, I think it is an outrageous distortion of the facts on the part of Senator Scott. If it is true that the State Department was pressured into allocating funds, it was an unacceptable interference with the orderly conduct of our foreign policy by the State Department for partisan, political

purposes."

7. Later on August 18, Lincoln White, Director of the State Department's Office of News, stated that the Department had turned down the African Airlift when it was originally proposed early in July because it was confined only to Kenya, because the specific request was for free transportation through MATS, because it felt the project should be conducted through the Institute of International Education, and because there was inadequate provision for the students' expenses in the U.S. Mr. White stated that the project had been finally approved after assurances were given meeting all these Department objections. He stated that the Department was informed on Monday that its offer was not accepted, because the airlift had already received private financing.

8. On August 19, Vice-President Scheinman of AASF wired Senator Fulbright that the Department's explanation that the decision was reversed "because we finally met requirements laid down by the Department is patently incorrect because the Department never laid down any requirements at all." Specifically, Scheinman said that the 1960 Airlift was never designed just for Kenya alone and that the other countries involved were listed in his letter to Assistant Secretary Satterthwaite on January 15, 1960. Nor was the request ever confined to Air Force transport. Nor had the other alleged objections been met, he said, unless the Department was counting on the support of the Kennedy Foundation for expenses of the students in the U.S. Mr. Lincoln White conceded that he had been in error as to the original proposal for 1960 being limited to Kenya. But he insisted that the other conditions had been met, although he would not disclose the source of any such assurances.

9. On August 19, Jackie Robinson published a second column on the matter, stating: "I don't mind admitting it: I was wrong." He said he would not dispute the account by the African-American Students Foundation that the Kennedy Foundation had already committed itself to support of the full project by the time the State Department offer was made. He stated that "as late as the time my column was written on Tuesday I was not told the State Dept. offer had been rejected." He did not add that after writing the column but before it went to press Montero had told him this and the other relevant facts refuting the main theme of that column.

10. On Sunday, August 21, on ABC's television "College News Congerence," Senator Scott was asked whether in view of the fact that the Kennedy Foundation had kept its grant quiet until he brought it to the forefront, wasn't he the one who was making it a political issue? Despite all of the above facts and the State Department's acknowledgment of them, Senator Scott replied:

> "Well, I wouldn't think so, since the Foundation did not move in this matter until after they had learned of the decision of the State Department last Saturday to make these funds available. *** so the truth is that the Kennedy Foundation offered nothing until they had heard of the State Department offer."

Instead of conceding his error, as Jackie Robinson finally did, Senator Scott repeated as a "fact" that "the Kennedy people had no interest in this whatever until Monday of this week."

Saying "we are going to have an awful lot of questions of abuse of money in this campaign, and this is one of them," Senator Scott went on to make further charges such as "millions more" of Kennedy money "will be used if means can be found to evade the election laws."

III. Questions Remaining on African Students Airlift

A. AS TO SENATOR SCOTT'S ROLE

1. Did Senator Scott know on Tuesday when he announced and hailed the State Department's grant what the State Department and Mr. Shepley of Mr. Nixon's office knew at least by Monday: that the Kennedy Foundation had already granted the necessary funds and that State Department funds were not needed for this project?

2. Who informed Senator Scott of the State Department grant and who authorized him to announce it?

3. Did such person or persons not know that the Department's offer was turned down because the Kennedy Foundation had already granted the funds?

4. If this person knew, why didn't he tell Senator Scott? If he didn't know, why didn't he?

5. Did James Shepley or anyone else in Mr. Nixon's office know that Senator Scott was planning to make his statement on Tuesday announcing the State Department grant?

6. If he did, why didn't he set Senator Scott straight on the facts before this Tuesday statement?

7. In any case, why didn't Shepley or someone else set Senator Scott straight on the facts at least before the Senator's Wednesday statement?

8. Why did Senator Scott, after Senator Kennedy and the African-American Students Foundation had given the facts in detail and after the confession of error by both Jackie Robinson and the State Department, repeat and compound his inaccurate charges over nation-wide TV?

B. AS TO MR. SHEPLEY'S ROLE

1. When did Mr. Shepley first hear of the possibility that Senator Kennedy or the Kennedy Foundation would support, in full or in part, the African airlift?

2. From whom did he hear this?

3. When did he hear that the Kennedy Foundation was going to finance the whole airlift?

4. From whom did he hear this?

C. AS TO MR. NIXON'S ROLE

1. Did Mr. Nixon or anyone in his office know in general what Senator Scott intended to say in advance on Tuesday or Wednesday or on the Sunday TV show?

2. If so, is delegation of political dirty-work to be Mr. Nixon's campaign strategy?

3. If not, does Mr. Nixon approve and condone the course of action in this matter taken by Senator Scott?

4. Does Mr. Nixon want on his board of campaign strategy or on his Party's self-styled "Truth Squad" a man who has chosen this low road of political hit-and-run, and who has shown such a reckless disregard for the facts?

~~Make file~~ file W. B. Goal — Corresp. With Senators, Congressmen, etc.

File

On October 1st, I made the following statement:

"As all Democratic candidates, I signed a pledge to support on November 8 the nominees of the Democratic primary. And though I have always opposed Mr. Maddox in the past, I cannot violate my oath."

Today, the one man in our State who exists as the very symbol of violence and oppression is the Democratic nominee for the highest office in Georgia. His entire public career is directly contrary to my deepest convictions and beliefs.

And while I cannot violate my oath, neither can I violate my principles.

I cannot compromise with hate.

I cannot vote for Lester Maddox.

Therefore, I am withdrawing as the Democratic nominee for the House of Representatives.

I do so with abiding gratitude for the many friends who have sustained me -- and with deep regret.

I love the Congress. But I will give up my office before I give up my principles.

Chas Weltner

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file: U.S. Govt. Executive Branch

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:
U. S. ~~CONGRESS~~: Govt: The Congress
"TAX REFORM ACT OF 1969" HR 13270

REGARDING:

House of Representatives - Bill #13270 passed House on August 7, 1969 and sent to the Senate Finance Committee.

DATE(S):
U. S. GOVERNMENT:
See: House Ways and Means Cttee

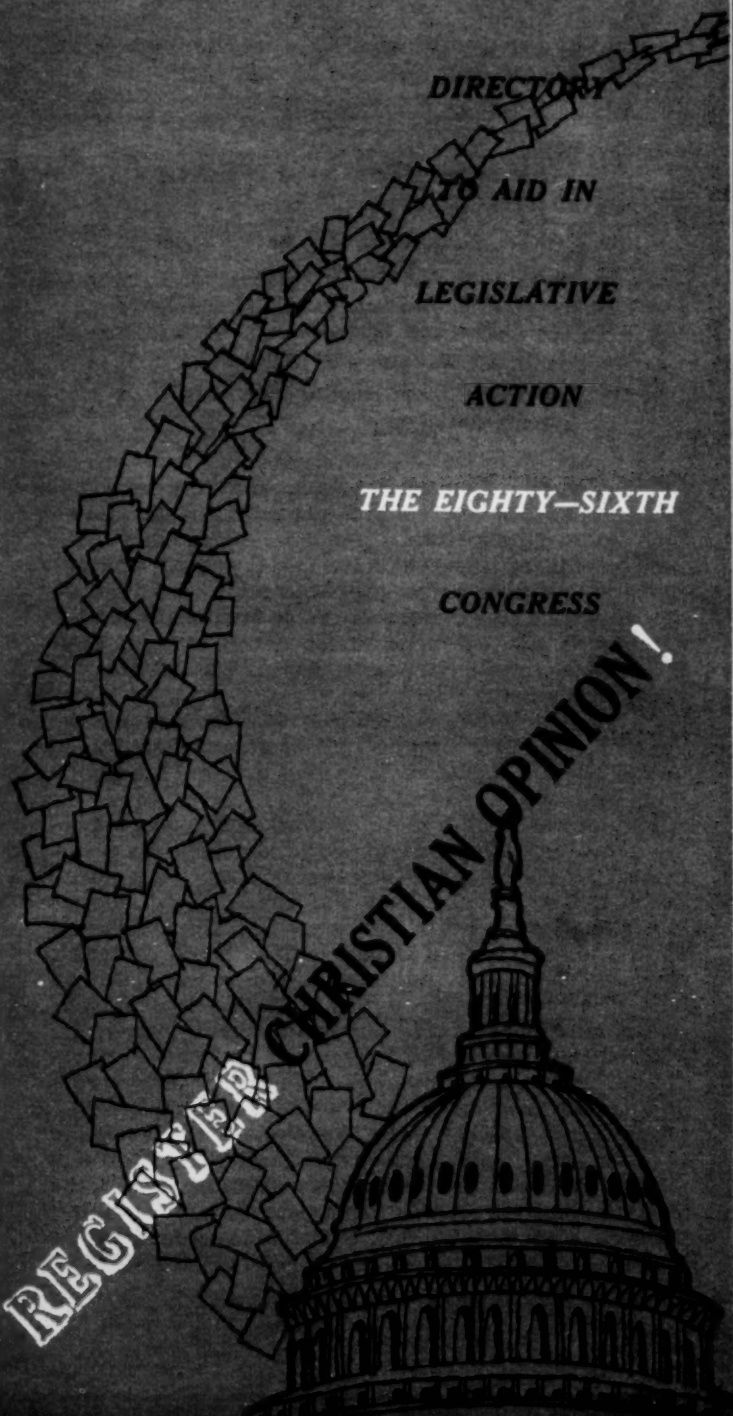
SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

SEE ALSO:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

U. S. GOVERNMENT: Senate Finance Committee

A CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY TO AID IN LEGISLATIVE ACTION

THE EIGHTY—SIXTH CONGRESS



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TODAY the American people and their government are confronted with many significant issues. Our increasingly interdependent world multiplies social contacts between individuals, groups and nations, giving rise to new problems and new functions of government. Decisions on these issues affect each community and every home. No citizen escapes their impact. The intelligent person desires his rightful part in shaping events.

National policy never moves very far beyond the general outlook of the people. It leans heavily on public opinion. Legislation seldom outruns the public mind nor long lags behind.

Those interested in sound policies and good government must be prepared to work for them. In a democracy no segment of government functions effectively if it is isolated from the minds of the people. It is as true of domestic issues as it is of international affairs, about which a Department of State pamphlet declares, "certainly no foreign policy can succeed unless our people are informed of it, have a clear understanding of it, and out of their own knowledge and free will support it." [1]

Your influence counts even when you express no opinion. In your failure to do so, you strengthen opposing views, weaken those who support views similar to your own, and lessen the likelihood that the policies you want will be adopted. Too often, also, we forget to approve policies we commend; but critics and opponents are never silent. "At all times your opinion counts—but it counts for *more* if you register it." [2]

1. "Your Opinion Counts," Department of State, p. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Preparing for Intelligent Action

Often people are urged to express their opinions as part of their citizenship responsibility. It is just as important to have an opinion worth reporting.

Keep informed. This means thoughtful reading and careful listening. Some radio and television commentators are fair, objective and above sensationalism. The better newspapers give a broad and thorough news coverage. Reliable magazines expound various points of view. In addition, the more specific information of newsletters and specialized journals of church and social organizations should supplement other channels of understanding.

Thoughtful consideration of these ideas will lead to definite convictions. Test your insights by conversation and discussion with members of your family, friends, fellow employees, members of various groups and organizations. Share your opinions, giving and gaining mutual enrichment. Occasions for further molding your insights are afforded by participation in study and discussion groups, public affairs forums, panels and seminars.

Christian citizens in a democracy have real concern for the social well-being of all their fellowmen. On the domestic scene major challenges confront the moral progress of our republic. Meanwhile, we have a new and major role in world affairs where international justice and good will must be diligently sought. Therefore, as solutions are offered, the Christian examines their effect on freedom, human dignity, respect for persons and the spiritual purpose that distinguishes our heritage at its best.

Action and Expression

Effective social action begins where you are. This means work in community or neighborhood groups and organizations, activity in civic agencies or political parties. See that your conclusions reach and affect local and state politicians and influential citizens.

Express your convictions. Occasionally visit your congressman or see him at public gatherings. On urgent issues you will want to telephone or wire him in Washington.

Always the opportunity of writing is available. Initiate and continue a regular correspondence. Write a useful, friendly, positive letter, keeping it to one page. Avoid form letters.

Begin by establishing a common interest or point of contact, perhaps recalling your last visit or conversation. Commend him if possible.

State the purpose at the beginning of your letter. Concisely set forth the reason for writing. If possible relate the matter by title and number to a specific legislative bill. Deal with only one issue in each letter.

In a paragraph or two develop your viewpoint with valid reasons. It is especially helpful to give personal information and experience that bears on the matter and which your congressman otherwise might not receive.

Conclude by asking questions that will obligate him to give a reasoned reply to your position. On some issues ask him where he stands.

Don't forget other public leaders in your writing plan. When desirable this might include the President, cabinet members, department and agency heads, as well as members of congressional committees. Except when encouraging the presidential veto of an undesirable bill, such letters should be sent before Congress acts. Sometimes you will write to urge introduction of a bill; at other times to ensure favorable hearing and passage. Interest early in the legislative process is usually most effective. "Over 90% of all bills pass Congress in the exact form they are approved by the committee."[3] Successful legislative action operates at each critical point in the congressional consideration of a measure. Keep at it. Incidentally, short versions of your letters to legislators usually make good letters to editors.

Whatever Your Opinion—Express It!

This pamphlet does not presume to dictate *what* policy you should support or oppose. It seeks only to give information to aid you in expressing *your* opinion to leaders in government. Use it and encourage others to do the same.

Christians can play a large part in formulating public opinion. Their action has, at times, proved to be decisive. This result has been achieved when well-informed Christians have registered their views effectively with the President, members of Congress, and local political representatives.

3. "Beliefs Into Action," Friends Committee on National Legislation, p. 9.

FORM OF ADDRESS

The President:

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.
My dear Mr. President:

Senators:

The Honorable _____ _____ _____
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.
My dear Senator _____:

Members of the House of Representatives:

The Honorable _____ _____ _____
House of Representatives Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.
My dear Mr. _____:

The Secretary of State:

The Honorable _____ _____ _____
Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.
My dear Mr. Secretary:

CONGRESSIONAL PARTY LEADERS

SENATE:

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE
Vice-President Richard M. Nixon
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE ..... Carl Hayden, Ariz.
MAJORITY LEADER ..... Lyndon B. Johnson, Tex.
MAJORITY WHIP ..... Mike Mansfield, Mont.

DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE

Lyndon B. Johnson, *Chairman* ..... Tex.
Richard B. Russell ..... Ga.
Theodore Francis Green ..... R. I.
Lister Hill ..... Ala.
Robert S. Kerr ..... Okla.
James E. Murray ..... Mont.
Carl Hayden ..... Ariz.
Mike Mansfield *(ex-officio)* ..... Mont.
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. *(ex-officio)* ..... Mo.

MINORITY LEADER ..... *Everett McKinley Dirksen*, Ill.
MINORITY WHIP ..... *Thomas H. Kuchel*, Calif.

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

Styles Bridges, Chairman ..... N. H.
Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.)
Milton R. Young (N. Dak.)
Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)
Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.)
Andrew F. Schoeppel (Kan.)
Barry Goldwater (Ariz.)
Margaret Chase Smith (Me.)
George D. Aiken (Vt.)
Karl E. Mundt (S. Dak.)
Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)
Thomas E. Martin (Ia.)
John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)
Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE ..... Sam Rayburn, Tex.
MAJORITY FLOOR LEADER ..... John W. McCormack, Mass.
MAJORITY WHIP ..... Carl Albert, Okla.
CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS ..... Melvin Price, Ill.
MINORITY FLOOR LEADER ..... *Charles A. Halleck*, Ind.
MINORITY WHIP ..... *Leslie C. Arends*, Ill.
CHAIRMAN, REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
Charles B. Hoeven, Ia.

* * * *

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE ..... Felton M. Johnston
CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Ralph R. Roberts

NAMES OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARRANGED BY STATES AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic;* Resident Commissioner in **bold face.**)

ALABAMA

Senators:

Lister Hill
John J. Sparkman

House of Representatives:

	Congressional District
Frank W. Boykin	1
George M. Grant	2
George W. Andrews	3
Kenneth A. Roberts	4
Albert Rains	5
Armistead I. Selden, Jr.	6
Carl Elliott	7
Robert E. Jones, Jr.	8
George Huddleston, Jr.	9

ALASKA

Senators:

E. L. (Bob) Bartlett
Ernest Gruening

House of Representatives:

Ralph J. Rivers ..... At L.

ARIZONA

Senators:

Carl Hayden
Barry Goldwater

House of Representatives:

John J. Rhodes	1
Stewart L. Udall	2

ARKANSAS

Senators:

John L. McClellan
J. W. Fulbright

House of Representatives:

E. C. Gathings	1
Wilbur D. Mills	2
James W. Trimble	3
Oren Harris	4
Dale Alford	5
W. F. Norrell	6

CALIFORNIA

Senators:

Thomas H. Kuchel
Clair Engle

House of Representatives:

Clement W. Miller	1
Harold T. Johnson	2
John E. Moss	3
William S. Mailliard	4
John F. Shelley	5
John F. Baldwin, Jr.	6
Jeffery Cohelan	7
George P. Miller	8
J. Arthur Younger	9
Charles S. Gubser	10
John J. McFall	11
B. F. Sisk	12
Charles M. Teague	13
Harlan Hagen	14
Gordon L. McDonough	15
Donald L. Jackson	16
Cecil R. King	17
Craig Hosmer	18
Chet Holifield	19
H. Allen Smith	20
Edgar W. Hiestand	21
Joe Holt	22
Clyde Doyle	23
Glenard P. Lipscomb	24
George A. Kasem	25
James Roosevelt	26
Harry R. Sheppard	27
James B. Utt	28
D. S. (Judge) Saund	29
Bob Wilson	30

COLORADO

Senators:

Gordon Allott
John A. Carroll

House of Representatives:

Byron G. Rogers	1
Byron L. Johnson	2
J. Edgar Chenoweth	3
Wayne N. Aspinall	4

CONNECTICUT

Senators:

Prescott S. Bush
Thomas J. Dodd

House of Representatives:

Emilio Q. Daddario	1
Chester Bowles	2
Robert N. Giaimo	3
Donald J. Irwin	4
John S. Monagan	5
Frank Kowalski	At L.

DELAWARE

Senators:

John J. Williams
J. Allen Frear, Jr.

House of Representatives:

Harris B. McDowell, Jr. ..... At L.

FLORIDA

Senators:

Spessard L. Holland
George A. Smathers

House of Representatives:

William C. Cramer	1
Charles E. Bennett	2
Robert L. F. Sikes	3
Dante B. Fascell	4
A. S. (Syd) Herlong, Jr.	5
Paul G. Rogers	6
James A. Haley	7
D. R. (Billy) Matthews	8

	Congressional District

GEORGIA

Senators:

Richard B. Russell
Herman E. Talmadge

House of Representatives:

Prince H. Preston	1
J. L. Pilcher	2
E. L. (Tic) Forrester	3
John J. Flynt, Jr.	4
James C. Davis	5
Carl Vinson	6
Erwin Mitchell	7
Iris Faircloth Blitch	8
Phil M. Landrum	9
Paul Brown	10

IDAHO

Senators:

Henry Dworshak
Frank Church

House of Representatives:

Gracie Pfost	1
Hamer H. Budge	2

ILLINOIS

Senators:

Paul H. Douglas
Everett McKinley Dirksen

House of Representatives:

William L. Dawson	1
Barratt O'Hara	2
William T. Murphy	3
Edward J. Derwinski	4
John C. Kluczynski	5
Thomas J. O'Brien	6
Roland V. Libonati	7
Dan Rostenkowski	8
Sidney R. Yates	9
Harold R. Collier	10
Roman C. Pucinski	11
Charles A. Boyle	12
Marguerite Stitt Church	13
Elmer J. Hoffman	14
Noah M. Mason	15
Leo E. Allen	16
Leslie C. Arends	17
Robert H. Michel	18
Robert B. Chiperfield	19
Edna (Mrs. Sid) Simpson	20
Peter F. Mack, Jr.	21
William L. Springer	22
George E. Shipley	23
Melvin Price	24
Kenneth J. Gray	25

INDIANA

Senators:

Homer E. Capehart
R. Vance Hartke

House of Representatives:

Ray J. Madden	1
Charles A. Halleck	2
John Brademas	3
E. Ross Adair	4
J. Edward Roush	5
Fred Wampler	6
William G. Bray	7
Winfield K. Denton	8
Earl Hogan	9
Randall S. Harmon	10
Joseph W. Barr	11

IOWA

Senators:

Bourke B. Hickenlooper
Thomas E. Martin

House of Representatives:

Fred Schwengel	1
Leonard G. Wolf	2
H. R. Gross	3
Steven V. Carter	4
Neal Smith	5
Merwin Coad	6
Ben F. Jensen	7
Charles P. Hoeven	8

KANSAS

Senators:

Andrew F. Schoeppel
Frank Carlson

House of Representatives:

William H. Avery	1
Newell A. George	2
Denver D. Hargis	3
Edward H. Rees	4
J. Floyd Breeding	5
Wint Smith	6

KENTUCKY

Senators:

John S. Cooper
Thruston B. Morton

House of Representatives:

Frank A. Stubblefield	1
William H. Natcher	2
Frank W. Burke	3
Frank Chelf	4
Brent Spence	5
John C. Watts	6
Carl D. Perkins	7
Eugene Siler	8

LOUISIANA

Senators:

Allen J. Ellender
Russell B. Long

House of Representatives:

F. Edward Hébert	1
Hale Boggs	2
Edwin E. Willis	3
Overton Brooks	4
Otto E. Passman	5
James H. Morrison	6
T. A. Thompson	7
Harold B. McSween	8

MAINE

Senators:

Margaret Chase Smith
Edmund S. Muskie

House of Representatives:

James C. Oliver	1
Frank M. Coffin	2
Clifford G. McIntire	3

	Congressional District

MARYLAND

Senators:

John Marshall Butler
J. Glenn Beall

House of Representatives:

Thomas F. Johnson	1
Daniel B. Brewster	2
Edward A. Garmatz	3
George H. Fallon	4
Richard E. Lankford	5
John R. Foley	6
Samuel N. Friedel	7

MASSACHUSETTS

Senators:

Leverett Saltonstall
John F. Kennedy

House of Representatives:

Silvio O. Conte	1
Edward P. Boland	2
Philip J. Philbin	3
Harold D. Donohue	4
Edith Nourse Rogers	5
William H. Bates	6
Thomas J. Lane	7
Torbert H. Macdonald	8
Hastings Keith	9
Laurence Curtis	10
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	11
John W. McCormack	12
James A. Burke	13
Joseph W. Martin, Jr.	14

MICHIGAN

Senators:

Pat McNamara
Phillip A. Hart

House of Representatives:

Thaddeus M. Machrowicz	1
George Meader	2
August E. Johansen	3
Clare E. Hoffman	4
Gerald R. Ford, Jr.	5
Charles E. Chamberlain	6
James G. O'Hara	7
Alvin M. Bentley	8
Robert P. Griffin	9
Elford A. Cederberg	10
Victor A. Knox	11
John B. Bennett	12
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.	13
Louis C. Rabaut	14
John D. Dingell	15
John Lesinski	16
Martha W. Griffiths	17
William S. Broomfield	18

MINNESOTA

Senators:

Hubert H. Humphrey
Eugene J. McCarthy

House of Representatives:

Albert H. Quie	1
Ancher Nelsen	2
Roy W. Wier	3
Joseph E. Karth	4
Walter H. Judd	5
Fred Marshall	6
H. Carl Andersen	7
John A. Blatnik	8
Odin Langen	9

MISSISSIPPI

Senators:

James O. Eastland
John Stennis

House of Representatives:

Thomas G. Abernethy	1
Jamie L. Whitten	2
Frank E. Smith	3
John Bell Williams	4
Arthur Winstead	5
William M. Colmer	6

MISSOURI

Senators:

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.
Stuart Symington

House of Representatives:

Frank M. Karsten	1
Thomas B. Curtis	2
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan	3
	4
Richard Bolling	5
W. R. Hull, Jr.	6
Charles H. (Charlie) Brown	7
A. S. J. Carnahan	8
Clarence Cannon	9
Paul C. Jones	10
Morgan M. Moulder	11

MONTANA

Senators:

James E. Murray
Mike Mansfield

House of Representatives:

Lee Metcalf	1
LeRoy H. Anderson	2

NEBRASKA

Senators:

Roman L. Hruska
Carl T. Curtis

House of Representatives:

Phil Weaver	1
Glenn Cunningham	2
Lawrence Brock	3
Donald F. McGinley	4

NEVADA

Senators:

Alan Bible
Howard W. Cannon

House of Representatives:

Walter S. Baring	At L.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senators:

Styles Bridges
Norris Cotton

House of Representatives:

Chester E. Merrow	1
Perkins Bass	2

NEW JERSEY

	Congressional District
Senators:	
Clifford P. Case	
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.	
House of Representatives:	
William T. Cahill	1
Milton W. Glenn	2
James C. Auchincloss	3
Frank Thompson, Jr.	4
Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr.	5
Florence P. Dwyer	6
William B. Widnall	7
Gordon Canfield	8
Frank C. Osmers, Jr.	9
Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	10
Hugh J. Addonizio	11
George M. Wallhauser	12
Cornelius E. Gallagher	13
Dominick V. Daniels	14

NEW MEXICO

Senators:	
Dennis Chavez	
Clinton P. Anderson	
House of Representatives:	
Joseph M. Montoya	At L.
Thomas G. Morris	At L.

NEW YORK

Senators:	
Jacob K. Javits	
Kenneth B. Keating	
House of Representatives:	
Stuyvesant Wainwright	1
Steven B. Derounian	2
Frank J. Becker	3
Seymour Halpern	4
Albert H. Bosch	5
Lester Holtzman	6
James J. Delaney	7
Victor L. Anfuso	8
Eugene J. Keogh	9
Edna F. Kelly	10
Emanuel Celler	11
Francis E. Dorn	12
Abraham J. Multer	13
John J. Rooney	14
John H. Ray	15
Adam C. Powell	16
John V. Lindsay	17
Alfred E. Santangelo	18
Leonard Farbstein	19
Ludwig Teller	20
Herbert Zelenko	21
James C. Healey	22
Isidore Dollinger	23
Charles A. Buckley	24
Paul A. Fino	25
Edwin B. Dooley	26
Robert R. Barry	27
Katharine St. George	28
J. Ernest Wharton	29
Leo W. O'Brien	30
Dean P. Taylor	31
Samuel S. Stratton	32
Clarence E. Kilburn	33
Alexander Pirnie	34
R. Walter Riehlman	35
John Taber	36
Howard W. Robison	37
Jessica McC. Weis	38
Harold C. Ostertag	39
William E. Miller	40
Thaddeus J. Dulski	41
John R. Pillion	42
Daniel A. Reed	43

NORTH CAROLINA

Senators:	
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	
B. Everett Jordan	
House of Representatives:	
Herbert C. Bonner	1
L. H. Fountain	2
Graham A. Barden	3
Harold D. Cooley	4
Ralph J. Scott	5
Carl T. Durham	6
Alton Lennon	7
A. Paul Kitchin	8
Hugh Q. Alexander	9
Charles Raper Jonas	10
Basil L. Whitener	11
David M. Hall	12

NORTH DAKOTA

Senators:	
William Langer	
Milton R. Young	
House of Representatives:	
Quentin Burdick	At L.
Don L. Short	At L.

OHIO

Senators:	
Frank J. Lausche	
Stephen M. Young	
House of Representatives:	
Gordon H. Scherer	1
William E. Hess	2
Paul F. Schenck	3
William M. McCulloch	4
Delbert L. Latta	5
James G. Polk	6
Clarence J. Brown	7
Jackson E. Betts	8
Thomas L. Ashley	9
Walter H. Moeller	10
Robert E. Cook	11
Samuel L. Devine	12
A. D. Baumhart, Jr.	13
William H. Ayres	14
John E. Henderson	15
Frank T. Bow	16
Robert W. Levering	17
Wayne L. Hays	18
Michael J. Kirwan	19
Michael A. Feighan	20
Charles A. Vanik	21
Frances P. Bolton	22
William E. Minshall	23

OKLAHOMA

Senators:	
Robert S. Kerr	
A. S. Mike Monroney	
House of Representatives:	
Page Belcher	1
Ed Edmondson	2

	Congressional District
Carl Albert	3
Tom Steed	4
John Jarman	5
Toby Morris	6

OREGON

Senators:

Wayne Morse
Richard L. Neuberger

House of Representatives:

Walter Norblad	1
Al Ullman	2
Edith Green	3
Charles O. Porter	4

PENNSYLVANIA

Senators:

Joseph S. Clark, Jr.
Hugh Scott

House of Representatives:

William A. Barrett	1
Kathryn E. (Mrs. William T.) Granahan	2
James A. Byrne	3
Robert N. C. Nix	4
William J. Green, Jr.	5
Herman Toll	6
William H. Milliken, Jr.	7
Willard S. Curtin	8
Paul B. Dague	9
Stanley A. Prokop	10
Daniel J. Flood	11
Ivor D. Fenton	12
John A. Lafore, Jr.	13
George M. Rhodes	14
Francis E. Walter	15
Walter M. Mumma	16
Alvin R. Bush	17
Richard M. Simpson	18
James M. Quigley	19
James E. Van Zandt	20
John H. Dent	21
John P. Saylor	22
Leon H. Gavin	23
Carroll D. Kearns	24
Frank M. Clark	25
Thomas E. Morgan	26
James G. Fulton	27
William S. Moorhead	28
Robert J. Corbett	29
Elmer J. Holland	30

RHODE ISLAND

Senators:

Theodore Francis Green
John O. Pastore

House of Representatives:

Aime J. Forand	1
John E. Fogarty	2

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senators:

Olin D. Johnston
Strom Thurmond

House of Representatives:

L. Mendel Rivers	1
John J. Riley	2
W. J. Bryan Dorn	3
Robert T. Ashmore	4
Robert W. Hemphill	5
John L. McMillan	6

SOUTH DAKOTA

Senators:

Karl E. Mundt
Francis Case

House of Representatives:

George S. McGovern	1
E. Y. Berry	2

TENNESSEE

Senators:

Estes Kefauver
Albert Gore

House of Representatives:

B. Carroll Reece	1
Howard H. Baker	2
James B. Frazier, Jr.	3
Joe L. Evins	4
J. Carlton Loser	5
Ross Bass	6
Tom Murray	7
Robert A. Everett	8
Clifford Davis	9

TEXAS

Senators:

Lyndon B. Johnson
Ralph Yarborough

House of Representatives:

Wright Patman	1
Jack Brooks	2
Lindley Beckworth	3
Sam Rayburn	4
Bruce Alger	5
Olin E. Teague	6
John Dowdy	7
Albert Thomas	8
Clark W. Thompson	9
Homer Thornberry	10
W. R. Poage	11
Jim Wright	12
Frank Ikard	13
John Young	14
Joe M. Kilgore	15
J. T. Rutherford	16
Omar Burleson	17
Walter Rogers	18
George Mahon	19
Paul J. Kilday	20
O. C. Fisher	21
Bob Casey	22

UTAH

Senators:

Wallace F. Bennett
Frank E. Moss

House of Representatives:

Henry Aldous Dixon	1
David S. King	2

VERMONT

Senators:

George D. Aiken
Winston L. Prouty

House of Representatives:

William H. Meyer	At L.

	Congressional District

VIRGINIA

Senators:

Harry Flood Byrd
A. Willis Robertson

House of Representatives:

Thomas N. Downing	1
Porter Hardy, Jr.	2
J. Vaughan Gary	3
Watkins M. Abbitt	4
William M. Tuck	5
Richard H. Poff	6
Burr P. Harrison	7
Howard W. Smith	8
W. Pat Jennings	9
Joel T. Broyhill	10

WASHINGTON

Senators:

Warren G. Magnuson
Henry M. Jackson

House of Representatives:

Thomas M. Pelly	1
Jack Westland	2
Russell V. Mack	3
Catherine May	4
Walt Horan	5
Thor C. Tollefson	6
Don Magnuson	7

WEST VIRGINIA

Senators:

Jennings Randolph
Robert C. Byrd

House of Representatives:

Arch A. Moore, Jr.	1
Harley O. Staggers	2
Cleveland M. Bailey	3
Ken Hechler	4
Elizabeth Kee	5
John M. Slack, Jr.	6

WISCONSIN

Senators:

Alexander Wiley
William Proxmire

House of Representatives:

Gerald T. Flynn	1
Robert W. Kastenmeier	2
Gardner R. Withrow	3
Clement J. Zablocki	4
Henry S. Reuss	5
William K. Van Pelt	6
Melvin R. Laird	7
John W. Byrnes	8
Lester R. Johnson	9
Alvin E. O'Konski	10

WYOMING

Senators:

Joseph C. O'Mahoney
Gale W. McGee

House of Representatives:

Keith Thomson ..... At L.

HAWAII

House of Representatives:

Delegate
John A. Burns

PUERTO RICO

House of Representatives:

Resident Commissioner
Antonio Fernós-Isern

LIST OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES of the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

As of January 27, 1959, 86th Congress

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic.*)

AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

Lyndon B. Johnson
Chairman ..... Tex.
Richard B. Russell ..... Ga.
Warren G. Magnuson ..... Wash.
Clinton P. Anderson ..... N. Mex.
Robert S. Kerr ..... Okla.
Stuart Symington ..... Mo.
John Stennis ..... Miss.
Stephen M. Young ..... Ohio
Thomas J. Dodd ..... Conn.
Howard W. Cannon ..... Nev.
Styles Bridges ..... N. H.
Alexander Wiley ..... Wis.
Margaret Chase Smith ..... Me.
Clifford P. Case ..... N. J.
Thomas E. Martin ..... Ia.

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Allen J. Ellender
Chairman ..... La.
Olin D. Johnston ..... S. C.
Spessard L. Holland ..... Fla.
James O. Eastland ..... Miss.
Hubert H. Humphrey ..... Minn.
Stuart Symington ..... Mo.
Herman E. Talmadge ..... Ga.
William Proxmire ..... Wis.
B. Everett Jordan ..... N. C.
Stephen M. Young ..... Ohio
Philip A. Hart ..... Mich.
George D. Aiken ..... Vt.
Milton R. Young ..... N. Dak.
Bourke B. Hickenlooper ..... Ia.
Karl E. Mundt ..... S. Dak.
John J. Williams ..... Del.
Andrew F. Schoeppel ..... Kan.

APPROPRIATIONS

Carl Hayden
Chairman ..... Ariz.
Richard B. Russell ..... Ga.
Dennis Chavez ..... N. Mex.
Allen J. Ellender ..... La.
Lister Hill ..... Ala.
John L. McClellan ..... Ark.
A. Willis Robertson ..... Va.
Warren G. Magnuson ..... Wash.
Spessard L. Holland ..... Fla.
John Stennis ..... Miss.
Lyndon B. Johnson ..... Tex.
John O. Pastore ..... R. I.
Estes Kefauver ..... Tenn.
A. S. Mike Monroney ..... Okla.
Alan Bible ..... Nev.
Robert C. Byrd ..... W. Va.
Thomas J. Dodd ..... Conn.
Gale W. McGee ..... Wyo.
Styles Bridges ..... N. H.
Leverett Saltonstall ..... Mass.
Milton R. Young ..... N. Dak.
Karl E. Mundt ..... S. Dak.
Margaret Chase Smith ..... Me.
Henry Dworshak ..... Ida.
Thomas H. Kuchel ..... Calif.
Roman L. Hruska ..... Neb.
Gordon Allott ..... Colo.

ARMED SERVICES

Richard B. Russell
Chairman ..... Ga.
Harry Flood Byrd ..... Va.
Lyndon B. Johnson ..... Tex.
John Stennis ..... Miss.
Stuart Symington ..... Mo.
Henry M. Jackson ..... Wash.
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. ..... N. C.
Strom Thurmond ..... S. C.
Clair Engle ..... Calif.
E. L. Bartlett ..... Alaska
Howard W. Cannon ..... Nev.
Styles Bridges ..... N. H.
Leverett Saltonstall ..... Mass.
Margaret Chase Smith ..... Me.
Francis Case ..... S. Dak.
Prescott Bush ..... Conn.
J. Glenn Beall ..... Md.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

J. W. Fulbright
Chairman ..... Ark.
A. Willis Robertson ..... Va.
John Sparkman ..... Ala.
J. Allen Frear, Jr. ..... Del.
Paul H. Douglas ..... Ill.
Joseph S. Clark ..... Pa.
William Proxmire ..... Wis.
Robert C. Byrd ..... W. Va.
Harrison A. Williams, Jr. ..... N. J.
Edmund S. Muskie ..... Me.
Homer E. Capehart ..... Ind.
Wallace F. Bennett ..... Utah
Prescott Bush ..... Conn.
J. Glenn Beall ..... Md.
Jacob K. Javits ..... N. Y.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Alan Bible
Chairman ..... Nev.
Wayne Morse ..... Ore.
J. Allen Frear, Jr. ..... Del.
Vance Hartke ..... Ind.
J. Glenn Beall ..... Md.
Francis Case ..... S. Dak.
Winston L. Prouty ..... Vt.

FINANCE

Harry Flood Byrd
Chairman ..... Va.
Robert S. Kerr ..... Okla.
J. Allen Frear, Jr. ..... Del.
Russell B. Long ..... La.
George A. Smathers ..... Fla.
Clinton P. Anderson ..... N. Mex.
Paul H. Douglas ..... Ill.
Albert Gore ..... Tenn.
Herman E. Talmadge ..... Ga.
Eugene J. McCarthy ..... Minn.

Vance Hartke ..... Ind.
John J. Williams ..... Del.
Frank Carlson ..... Kan.
Wallace F. Bennett ..... Utah
John Marshall Butler ..... Md.
Norris Cotton ..... N. H.
Carl T. Curtis ..... Neb.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Theodore Francis Green
Chairman ..... R. I.
J. W. Fulbright ..... Ark.
John Sparkman ..... Ala.
Hubert H. Humphrey ..... Minn.
Mike Mansfield ..... Mont.
Wayne Morse ..... Ore.
Russell B. Long ..... La.
John F. Kennedy ..... Mass.
Albert Gore ..... Tenn.
Frank J. Lausche ..... Ohio
Frank Church ..... Ida.
Alexander Wiley ..... Wis.
Bourke B. Hickenlooper ..... Ia.
William Langer ..... N. Dak.
George D. Aiken ..... Vt.
Homer E. Capehart ..... Ind.
Frank Carlson ..... Kan.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

John L. McClellan
Chairman ..... Ark.
Henry M. Jackson ..... Wash.
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. ..... N. C.
Hubert H. Humphrey ..... Minn.
Ernest Gruening ..... Alaska
Edmund S. Muskie ..... Me.
Karl E. Mundt ..... S. Dak.
Carl T. Curtis ..... Neb.
Homer E. Capehart ..... Ind.

INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

James E. Murray
Chairman ..... Mont.
Clinton P. Anderson ..... N. Mex.
Henry M. Jackson ..... Wash.
Joseph C. O'Mahoney ..... Wyo.
Alan Bible ..... Nev.
Richard L. Neuberger ..... Ore.
John A. Carroll ..... Colo.
Frank Church ..... Ida.
Ernest Gruening ..... Alaska
Frank E. Moss ..... Utah
Henry Dworshak ..... Ida.
Thomas H. Kuchel ..... Calif.
Barry Goldwater ..... Ariz.
Gordon Allott ..... Colo.
Thomas E. Martin ..... Ia.

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Warren G. Magnuson
Chairman ..... Wash.
John O. Pastore ..... R. I.
A. S. Mike Monroney ..... Okla.
George A. Smathers ..... Fla.
Strom Thurmond ..... S. C.
Frank J. Lausche ..... Ohio
Ralph Yarborough ..... Tex.
Clair Engle ..... Calif.
E. L. Bartlett ..... Alaska
Vance Hartke ..... Ind.
Gale W. McGee ..... Wyo.
Andrew F. Schoeppel ..... Kan.
John Marshall Butler ..... Md.
Norris Cotton ..... N. H.
Clifford P. Case ..... N. J.
Thruston B. Morton ..... Ky.
Hugh Scott ..... Pa.

JUDICIARY

James O. Eastland
Chairman ..... Miss.
Estes Kefauver ..... Tenn.
Olin D. Johnston ..... S. C.
Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. ..... Mo.
John L. McClellan ..... Ark.
Joseph C. O'Mahoney ..... Wyo.
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. ..... N. C.
John A. Carroll ..... Colo.
Thomas J. Dodd ..... Conn.
Philip A. Hart ..... Mich.
Alexander Wiley ..... Wis.
William Langer ..... N. Dak.
Everett McKinley Dirksen ..... Ill.
Roman L. Hruska ..... Neb.
Kenneth B. Keating ..... N. Y.

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Lister Hill
Chairman ..... Ala.
James E. Murray ..... Mont.
John F. Kennedy ..... Mass.
Pat McNamara ..... Mich.
Wayne Morse ..... Ore.
Ralph Yarborough ..... Tex.
Joseph S. Clark ..... Pa.
Jennings Randolph ..... W. Va.
Harrison A. Williams, Jr. ..... N. J.
Barry Goldwater ..... Ariz.
John Sherman Cooper ..... Ky.
Everett McKinley Dirksen ..... Ill.
Clifford P. Case ..... N. J.
Jacob K. Javits ..... N. Y.
Winston L. Prouty ..... Vt.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Olin D. Johnston
Chairman ..... S. C.
A. S. Mike Monroney ..... Okla.
Richard L. Neuberger ..... Ore.
Ralph Yarborough ..... Tex.
Joseph S. Clark ..... Pa.
B. Everett Jordan ..... N. C.
Frank Carlson ..... Kan.
William Langer ..... N. Dak.
Thruston B. Morton ..... Ky.

PUBLIC WORKS

Dennis Chavez
Chairman ..... N. Mex.
Robert S. Kerr ..... Okla.
Pat McNamara ..... Mich.
Richard L. Neuberger ..... Ore.
Jennings Randolph ..... W. Va.
Eugene J. McCarthy ..... Minn.
Stephen M. Young ..... Ohio
Edmund S. Muskie ..... Me.
Ernest Gruening ..... Alaska
Frank E. Moss ..... Utah
Francis Case ..... S. Dak.
Thomas E. Martin ..... Ia.
John Sherman Cooper ..... Ky.
Hugh Scott ..... Pa.
Winston L. Prouty ..... Vt.

RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.
Chairman ..... Mo.
Carl Hayden ..... Ariz.
Theodore Francis Green ..... R. I.
Mike Mansfield ..... Mont.
B. Everett Jordan ..... N. C.
Howard W. Cannon ..... Nev.
Carl T. Curtis ..... Neb.
Thruston B. Morton ..... Ky.
Kenneth B. Keating ..... N. Y.

LIST OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

As of January 22, 1959, 86th Congress

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic;* Resident Commicsioner in bold face.)

AGRICULTURE

Harold D. Cooley
Chairman ..... N. C.
W. R. Poage ..... Tex.
George M. Grant ..... Ala.
E. C. Gathings ..... Ark.
John L. McMillan ..... S. C.
Thomas G. Abernethy ..... Miss.
Carl Albert ..... Okla.
Watkins M. Abbitt ..... Va.
James G. Polk ..... Ohio
Clark W. Thompson ..... Tex.
Paul C. Jones ..... Mo.
Harlan Hagen ..... Calif.
Lester R. Johnson ..... Wis.
Ross Bass ..... Tenn.
W. Pat Jennings ..... Va.
D. R. (Billy) Matthews ..... Fla.
George S. McGovern ..... S. Dak.
Merwin Coad ..... Ia.
J. Floyd Breeding ..... Kan.
Frank A. Stubblefield ..... Ky.
Harold B. McSween ..... La.
Earl Hogan ..... Ind.
Charles B. Hoeven ..... Ia.
Paul B. Dague ..... Pa.
Page Belcher ..... Okla.
Clifford G. McIntire ..... Me.
Henry Aldous Dixon ..... Utah
Wint Smith ..... Kan.
Charles M. Teague ..... Calif.
Albert H. Quie ..... Minn.
Don L. Short ..... N. Dak.
Catherine May ..... Wash.
Alexander Pirnie ..... N. Y.
Delbert L. Latta ..... Ohio
John A. Burns ..... Hawaii
A. Fernós-Isern ..... Puerto Rico

APPROPRIATIONS

Clarence Cannon
Chairman ..... Mo.
George H. Mahon ..... Tex.
Harry R. Sheppard ..... Calif.
Albert Thomas ..... Tex.
Michael J. Kirwan ..... Ohio
W. F. Norrell ..... Ark.
Jamie L. Whitten ..... Miss.
George W. Andrews ..... Ala.
John J. Rooney ..... N. Y.
J. Vaughan Gary ..... Va.
John E. Fogarty ..... R. I.
Robert L. F. Sikes ..... Fla.
Prince H. Preston ..... Ga.
Otto E. Passman ..... La.
Louis C. Rabaut ..... Mich.
Sidney R. Yates ..... Ill.
Fred Marshall ..... Minn.
John J. Riley ..... S. C.
Joe L. Evins ..... Tenn.
John F. Shelley ..... Calif.
Edward P. Boland ..... Mass.
Don Magnuson ..... Wash.
William H. Natcher ..... Ky.
Daniel J. Flood ..... Pa.
Winfield K. Denton ..... Ind.
Tom Steed ..... Okla.
Hugh Q. Alexander ..... N. C.
Charles A. Boyle ..... Ill.
Alfred E. Santangelo ..... N. Y.
Joseph M. Montoya ..... N. Mex.
John Taber ..... N. Y.
Ben F. Jensen ..... Ia.
H. Carl Andersen ..... Minn.
Walt Horan ..... Wash.
Gordon Canfield ..... N. J.
Ivor D. Fenton ..... Pa.
Gerald R. Ford, Jr. ..... Mich.
Harold C. Ostertag ..... N. Y.
Frank T. Bow ..... Ohio
Charles Raper Jonas ..... N. C.
Melvin R. Laird ..... Wis.
Elford A. Cederberg ..... Mich.
Glenard P. Lipscomb ..... Calif.
John J. Rhodes ..... Ariz.
John R. Pillion ..... N. Y.
Phil Weaver ..... Neb.
William E. Minshall ..... Ohio
Keith Thomson ..... Wyo.
Robert H. Michel ..... Ill.
Silvio O. Conte ..... Mass.

ARMED SERVICES

Carl Vinson
Chairman ..... Ga.
Paul J. Kilday ..... Tex.
Carl T. Durham ..... N. C.
L. Mendel Rivers ..... S. C.
Philip J. Philbin ..... Mass.
F. Edward Hébert ..... La.
Arthur Winstead ..... Miss.
Melvin Price ..... Ill.
O. C. Fisher ..... Tex.
Porter Hardy, Jr. ..... Va.
Clyde Doyle ..... Calif.
Charles E. Bennett ..... Fla.
Richard E. Lankford ..... Md.
George Huddleston, Jr. ..... Ala.
James A. Byrne ..... Pa.
Toby Morris ..... Okla.
A. Paul Kitchin ..... N. C.
LeRoy H. Anderson ..... Mont.
Daniel B. Brewster ..... Md.
Frank Kowalski ..... Conn.
Fred Wampler ..... Ind.
Samuel S. Stratton ..... N. Y.

Jeffery Cohelan ..... Calif.
Leslie C. Arends ..... Ill.
Leon H. Gavin ..... Pa.
Walter Norblad ..... Ore.
James E. Van Zandt ..... Pa.
William H. Bates ..... Mass.
William E. Hess ..... Ohio
Alvin E. O'Konski ..... Wis.
William G. Bray ..... Ind.
Bob Wilson ..... Calif.
Frank C. Osmers, Jr. ..... N. J.
Katharine St. George ..... N. Y.
Charles S. Gubser ..... Calif.
Frank J. Becker ..... N. Y.
Charles E. Chamberlain Mich.
John A. Burns ..... Hawaii
A. Fernós-Isern ..... Puerto Rico

BANKING AND CURRENCY

Brent Spence
Chairman ..... Ky.
Paul Brown ..... Ga.
Wright Patman ..... Tex.
Albert Rains ..... Ala.
Abraham J. Multer ..... N. Y.
Hugh J. Addonizio ..... N. J.
William A. Barrett ..... Pa.
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan ..... Mo.
Henry S. Reuss ..... Wis.
Martha W. Griffiths ..... Mich.
Thomas L. Ashley ..... Ohio
Charles A. Vanik ..... Ohio
James C. Healey ..... N. Y.
J. T. Rutherford ..... Tex.
Joseph W. Barr ..... Ind.
James A. Burke ..... Mass.
William S. Moorhead ..... Pa.
Clement W. Miller ..... Calif.
Byron L. Johnson ..... Colo.
Clarence E. Kilburn ..... N. Y.
Gordon L. McDonough ..... Calif.
William B. Widnall ..... N. J.
Edgar W. Hiestand ..... Calif.
Perkins Bass ..... N. H.
Eugene Siler ..... Ky.
Paul A. Fino ..... N. Y.
Florence P. Dwyer ..... N. J.
Edward J. Derwinski ..... Ill.
Seymour Halpern ..... N. Y.
William H. Milliken, Jr. ..... Pa.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

John L. McMillan
Chairman ..... S. C.
Thomas G. Abernethy ..... Miss.
Howard W. Smith ..... Va.
James C. Davis ..... Ga.
James H. Morrison ..... La.
William L. Dawson ..... Ill.
John Bell Williams ..... Miss.
Roy W. Wier ..... Minn.
Abraham J. Multer ..... N. Y.
John Dowdy ..... Tex.
D. R. (Billy) Matthews ..... Fla.
J. Carlton Loser ..... Tenn.
Randall S. Harmon ..... Ind.
John R. Foley ..... Md.
Donald J. Irwin ..... Conn.
Thomas G. Morris ..... N. Mex.
James C. Auchincloss ..... N. J.
Carroll D. Kearns ..... Pa.
Joel T. Broyhill ..... Va.
William L. Springer ..... Ill.
Ancher Nelsen ..... Minn.

EDUCATION AND LABOR

Graham A. Barden
Chairman ..... N. C.
Adam C. Powell ..... N. Y.
Cleveland M. Bailey ..... W. Va.
Carl D. Perkins ..... Ky.
Roy W. Wier ..... Minn.
Carl Elliott ..... Ala.
Phil M. Landrum ..... Ga.
Edith Green ..... Ore.
James Roosevelt ..... Calif.
Herbert Zelenko ..... N. Y.
Frank Thompson, Jr. ..... N. J.
Stewart L. Udall ..... Ariz.
Elmer J. Holland ..... Pa.
Ludwig Teller ..... N. Y.
John H. Dent ..... Pa.
Roman C. Pucinski ..... Ill.
Dominick V. Daniels ..... N. J.
John Brademas ..... Ind.
Robert N. Giaimo ..... Conn.
James G. O'Hara ..... Mich.
Carroll D. Kearns ..... Pa.
Clare E. Hoffman ..... Mich.
Albert H. Bosch ..... N. Y.
Joe Holt ..... Calif.
Stuyvesant Wainwright ..... N. Y.
Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr. ..... N. J.
William H. Ayres ..... Ohio
Robert P. Griffin ..... Mich.
John A. Lafore, Jr. ..... Pa.
Edgar W. Hiestand ..... Calif.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Thomas E. Morgan
Chairman ..... Pa.
A. S. J. Carnahan ..... Mo.
Clement J. Zablocki ..... Wis.
Omar Burleson ..... Tex.
Edna F. Kelly ..... N. Y.
Wayne L. Hays ..... Ohio
Armistead I. Selden, Jr. ..... Ala.
J. L. Pilcher ..... Ga.
Barratt O'Hara ..... Ill.
L. H. Fountain ..... N. C.
Dante B. Fascell ..... Fla.
Frank M. Coffin ..... Me.
Leonard Farbstein ..... N. Y.
D. S. (Judge) Saund ..... Calif.
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. ..... Mich.
Lindley Beckworth ..... Tex.
Harris B. McDowell, Jr. ..... Del.
William T. Murphy ..... Ill.
William H. Meyer ..... Vt.
Cornelius E. Gallagher ..... N. J.
Chester Bowles ..... Conn.
Robert B. Chiperfield ..... Ill.
Frances P. Bolton ..... Ohio
Chester E. Merrow ..... N. H.
Walter H. Judd ..... Minn.
James G. Fulton ..... Pa.
Donald L. Jackson ..... Calif.
Marguerite Stitt Church ..... Ill.
E. Ross Adair ..... Ind.
Alvin M. Bentley ..... Mich.
Laurence Curtis ..... Mass.
Stuyvesant Wainwright ..... N. Y.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

William L. Dawson
Chairman ..... Ill.
Chet Holifield ..... Calif.
John W. McCormack ..... Mass.
Jack Brooks ..... Tex.

L. H. Fountain ..... N. C.
Porter Hardy, Jr. ..... Va.
John A. Blatnik ..... Minn.
Robert E. Jones ..... Ala.
Edward A. Garmatz ..... Md.
John E. Moss ..... Calif.
Joe M. Kilgore ..... Tex.
Dante B. Fascell ..... Fla.
Martha W. Griffiths ..... Mich.
Henry S. Reuss ..... Wis.
Overton Brooks ..... La.
Elizabeth Kee ..... W. Va.
Kathryn E. (Mrs. William T.) Granahan ..... Pa.
John S. Monagan ..... Conn.
Neal Smith ..... Ia.
Clare E. Hoffman ..... Mich.
R. Walter Riehlman ..... N. Y.
George Meader ..... Mich.
Clarence J. Brown ..... Ohio
Florence P. Dwyer ..... N. J.
Joe Holt ..... Calif.
Robert P. Griffin ..... Mich.
George M. Wallhauser ..... N. J.
Jessica McC. Weis ..... N. Y.
Odin Langen ..... Minn.

HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Omar Burleson
Chairman ..... Tex.
Samuel N. Friedel ..... Md.
Robert T. Ashmore ..... S. C.
Wayne L. Hays ..... Ohio
Paul C. Jones ..... Mo.
George M. Rhodes ..... Pa.
John Lesinski ..... Mich.
Frank E. Smith ..... Miss.
Frank Thompson, Jr. ..... N. J.
Watkins M. Abbitt ..... Va.
Carl Elliott ..... Ala.
Edith Green ..... Ore.
Robert A. Everett ..... Tenn.
John M. Slack, Jr. ..... W. Va.
Bob Casey ..... Tex.
Steven V. Carter ..... Ia.
Paul F. Schenck ..... Ohio
Robert J. Corbett ..... Pa.
John B. Bennett ..... Mich.
Glenard P. Lipscomb ..... Calif.
Charles A. Halleck ..... Ind.
John H. Ray ..... N. Y.
William S. Mailliard ..... Calif.
Willard S. Curtin ..... Pa.
Edna (Mrs. Sid) Simpson ..... Ill.

INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Wayne N. Aspinall
Chairman ..... Colo.
Leo W. O'Brien ..... N. Y.
Walter Rogers ..... Tex.
Gracie Pfost ..... Ida.
James A. Haley ..... Fla.
Adam C. Powell ..... N. Y.
Ed Edmondson ..... Okla.
B. F. Sisk ..... Calif.
Stewart L. Udall ..... Ariz.
J. T. Rutherford ..... Tex.
Walter S. Baring ..... Nev.
Al Ullman ..... Ore.
LeRoy H. Anderson ..... Mont.
D. S. (Judge) Saund ..... Calif.
Donald F. McGinley ..... Neb.
Thomas G. Morris ..... N. Mex.
Ralph J. Rivers ..... Alaska
Quentin Burdick ..... N. Dak.
John P. Saylor ..... Pa.
J. Ernest Wharton ..... N. Y.
E. Y. Berry ..... S. Dak.
Jack Westland ..... Wash.
Craig Hosmer ..... Calif.
J. Edgar Chenoweth ..... Colo.
Harold R. Collier ..... Ill.
Gardner R. Withrow ..... Wis.
Bob Wilson ..... Calif.
Glenn Cunningham ..... Neb.
Odin Langen ..... Minn.
Edna (Mrs. Sid) Simpson ..... Ill.
John A. Burns ..... Hawaii
A. Fernos-Isern ..... Puerto Rico

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Oren Harris
Chairman ..... Ark.
John Bell Williams ..... Miss.
Peter F. Mack, Jr. ..... Ill.
Kenneth A. Roberts ..... Ala.
Morgan M. Moulder ..... Mo.
Harley O. Staggers ..... W. Va.
Isidore Dollinger ..... N. Y.
Walter Rogers ..... Tex.
Samuel N. Friedel ..... Md.
John J. Flynt, Jr. ..... Ga.
Torbert H. Macdonald ..... Mass.
George M. Rhodes ..... Pa.
John Jarman ..... Okla.
Leo W. O'Brien ..... N. Y.
John E. Moss ..... Calif.
John D. Dingell ..... Mich.
Joe M. Kilgore ..... Tex.
Paul G. Rogers ..... Fla.
Robert W. Hemphill ..... S. C.
Dan Rostenkowski ..... Ill.
Lawrence Brock ..... Neb.
John B. Bennett ..... Mich.
William L. Springer ..... Ill.
Alvin R. Bush ..... Pa.
Paul F. Schenck ..... Ohio
Steven B. Derounian ..... N. Y.
J. Arthur Younger ..... Calif.
William H. Avery ..... Kan.
Harold R. Collier ..... Ill.
Milton W. Glenn ..... N. J.
Samuel L. Devine ..... Ohio
Ancher Nelsen ..... Minn.
Hastings Keith ..... Mass.

JUDICIARY

Emanuel Celler
Chairman ..... N. Y.
Francis E. Walter ..... Pa.
Thomas J. Lane ..... Mass.
Michael A. Feighan ..... Ohio
Frank Chelf ..... Ky.
Edwin E. Willis ..... La.
Peter W. Rodino, Jr. ..... N. J.
E. L. Forrester ..... Ga.
Byron G. Rogers ..... Colo.
Harold D. Donohue ..... Mass.
Jack Brooks ..... Tex.
William M. Tuck ..... Va.
Robert T. Ashmore ..... S. C.
John Dowdy ..... Tex.
Lester Holtzman ..... N. Y.
Basil L. Whitener ..... N. C.
Roland V. Libonati ..... Ill.
J. Carlton Loser ..... Tenn.

Herman Toll ..... Pa.
Robert W. Kastenmeier ..... Wis.
George A. Kasem ..... Calif.
William M. McCulloch ..... Ohio
William E. Miller ..... N. Y.
Richard H. Poff ..... Va.
William C. Cramer ..... Fla.
Arch A. Moore, Jr. ..... W. Va.
H. Allen Smith ..... Calif.
George Meader ..... Mich.
Albert H. Bosch ..... N. Y.
John E. Henderson ..... Ohio
John V. Lindsay ..... N. Y.
William T. Cahill ..... N. J.

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Herbert C. Bonner
Chairman ..... N. C.
Frank W. Boykin ..... Ala.
Edward A. Garmatz ..... Md.
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan ..... Mo.
T. A. Thompson ..... La.
George P. Miller ..... Calif.
Herbert Zelenko ..... N. Y.
Frank M. Clark ..... Pa.
Thomas L. Ashley ..... Ohio
John D. Dingell ..... Mich.
L. Mendel Rivers ..... S. C.
Torbert H. Macdonald ..... Mass.
Alton Lennon ..... N. C.
Robert N. C. Nix ..... Pa.
Victor L. Anfuso ..... N. Y.
James C. Oliver ..... Me.
Thomas N. Downing ..... Va.
Gerald T. Flynn ..... Wis.
Bob Casey ..... Tex.
Thomas F. Johnson ..... Md.
Thor C. Tollefson ..... Wash.
William K. Van Pelt ..... Wis.
John H. Ray ..... N. Y.
William S. Mailliard ..... Calif.
Francis E. Dorn ..... N. Y.
Thomas M. Pelly ..... Wash.
A. D. Baumhart, Jr. ..... Ohio
H. R. Gross ..... Ia.
Willard S. Curtin ..... Pa.
Milton W. Glenn ..... N. J.
Elmer J. Hoffman ..... Ill.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Tom Murray
Chairman ..... Tenn.
James H. Morrison ..... La.
James C. Davis ..... Ga.
John Lesinski ..... Mich.
Chet Holifield ..... Calif.
Kathryn E. (Mrs. William T.) Granahan ..... Pa.
Charles O. Porter ..... Ore.
Ralph J. Scott ..... N. C.
George E. Shipley ..... Ill.
Robert W. Levering ..... Ohio
Thaddeus J. Dulski ..... N. Y.
Stanley A. Prokop ..... Pa.
John R. Foley ..... Md.
Donald J. Irwin ..... Conn.
Randall S. Harmon ..... Ind.
Dale Alford ..... Ark.
Edward H. Rees ..... Kan.
Robert J. Corbett ..... Pa.
H. R. Gross ..... Ia.
Joel T. Broyhill ..... Va.
August E. Johansen ..... Mich.
Glenn Cunningham ..... Neb.
George M. Wallhauser ..... N. J.
Robert R. Barry ..... N. Y.

PUBLIC WORKS

Charles A. Buckley
Chairman ..... N. Y.
George H. Fallon ..... Md.
Clifford Davis ..... Tenn.
John A. Blatnik ..... Minn.
Robert E. Jones ..... Ala.
Frank E. Smith ..... Miss.
John C. Kluczynski ..... Ill.
T. A. Thompson ..... La.
Iris Faircloth Blitch ..... Ga.
Jim Wright ..... Tex.
W. R. Hull, Jr. ..... Mo.
Kenneth J. Gray ..... Ill.
Frank M. Clark ..... Pa.
Ed Edmondson ..... Okla.
John J. McFall ..... Calif.
Charles H. (Charlie) Brown ..... Mo.
Gracie Pfost ..... Ida.
John Young ..... Tex.
Denver D. Hargis ..... Kan.
Frank W. Burke ..... Ky.
Harold T. Johnson ..... Calif.
Robert E. Cook ..... Ohio
James C. Auchincloss ..... N. J.
Russell V. Mack ..... Wash.
Gordon H. Scherer ..... Ohio
Gardner R. Withrow ..... Wis.
William C. Cramer ..... Fla.
John F. Baldwin, Jr. ..... Calif.
Fred Schwengel ..... Iowa
Edwin B. Dooley ..... N. Y.
William S. Broomfield ..... Mich.
Howard W. Robison ..... N. Y.
Dean P. Taylor ..... N. Y.
Walter M. Mumma ..... Pa.

RULES

Howard W. Smith
Chairman ..... Va.
William M. Colmer ..... Miss.
Ray J. Madden ..... Ind.
James J. Delaney ..... N. Y.
James W. Trimble ..... Ark.
Homer Thornberry ..... Tex.
Richard Bolling ..... Mo.
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. ..... Mass.
Leo E. Allen ..... Ill.
Clarence J. Brown ..... Ohio
B. Carroll Reece ..... Tenn.
Hamer H. Budge ..... Idaho

SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

Overton Brooks
Chairman ..... La.
John W. McCormack ..... Mass.
George P. Miller ..... Calif.
Olin E. Teague ..... Tex.
Victor L. Anfuso ..... N. Y.
B. F. Sisk ..... Calif.
Erwin Mitchell ..... Ga.
James M. Quigley ..... Pa.
David M. Hall ..... N. C.
Leonard G. Wolf ..... Iowa
Joseph E. Karth ..... Minn.
Ken Hechler ..... W. Va.
Emilio Q. Daddario ..... Conn.
Walter H. Moeller ..... Ohio
David S. King ..... Utah
J. Edward Roush ..... Ind.

Joseph W. Martin, Jr. ..... Mass.
James G. Fulton ..... Pa.
Gordon L. McDonough ..... Calif.
J. Edgar Chenoweth ..... Colo.
Frank C. Osmers, Jr. ..... N. J.
William K. Van Pelt ..... Wis.
A. D. Baumhart, Jr. ..... Ohio
Perkins Bass ..... N. H.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Francis E. Walter
Chairman ..... Pa.
Morgan M. Moulder ..... Mo.
Clyde Doyle ..... Calif.
Edwin E. Willis ..... La.
William M. Tuck ..... Va.
Donald L. Jackson ..... Calif.
Gordon H. Scherer ..... Ohio
William E. Miller ..... N. Y.
August E. Johansen ..... Mich.

VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Olin E. Teague
Chairman ..... Tex.
W. J. Bryan Dorn ..... S. C.
Elizabeth Kee ..... W. Va.
Frank W. Boykin ..... Ala.
George H. Christopher ..... Mo.
James A. Haley ..... Fla.
Walter S. Baring ..... Nev.
Erwin Mitchell ..... Ga.
Robert A. Everett ..... Tenn.
Robert N. C. Nix ..... Pa.
James M. Quigley ..... Pa.
John M. Slack, Jr. ..... W. Va.
Gerald T. Flynn ..... Wis.
Thaddeus J. Dulski ..... N. Y.
Steven V. Carter ..... Iowa
Newell A. George ..... Kan.
Edith Nourse Rogers ..... Mass.
William H. Ayres ..... Ohio
E. Ross Adair ..... Ind.
Paul A. Fino ..... N. Y.
John P. Saylor ..... Pa.
H. Allen Smith ..... Calif.
Charles M. Teague ..... Calif.

WAYS AND MEANS

Wilbur D. Mills
Chairman ..... Ark.
Aime J. Forand ..... R. I.
Cecil R. King ..... Calif.
Thomas J. O'Brien ..... Ill.
Hale Boggs ..... La.
Eugene J. Keogh ..... N. Y.
Burr P. Harrison ..... Va.
Frank M. Karsten ..... Mo.
A. S. Herlong, Jr. ..... Fla.
Frank Ikard ..... Tex.
Thaddeus M. Machrowicz ..... Mich.
James B. Frazier, Jr. ..... Tenn.
William J. Green, Jr. ..... Pa.
John C. Watts ..... Ky.
Lee Metcalf ..... Mont.
Daniel A. Reed ..... N. Y.
Richard M. Simpson ..... Pa.
Noah M. Mason ..... Ill.
John W. Byrnes ..... Wis.
Howard H. Baker ..... Tenn.
Thomas B. Curtis ..... Mo.
Victor A. Knox ..... Mich.
James B. Utt ..... Calif.
Jackson E. Betts ..... Ohio
Bruce Alger ..... Tex.

October 6, 1953

Mr. James C. Evans,
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

In the absence of Dr. Mitchell, I am replying to your letter of October 1, 1953.

The statement made in NEW SOUTH for January 1953 and attributed to the Secretary of State was made by the incumbent at the time that the brief of the Attorney Ge[illegible] school cases was prepared and submitted. [illegible]t the source of the statement was not [illegible]

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

F:s

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

RECEIVED
OCT 5
Southern Regional Council

1 October 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
NEW SOUTH
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In the NEW SOUTH for January 1953, there is a lengthy statement by the Secretary of State as to the inimical effects of racial laws and customs in this country as bearing upon our foreign relations. No name is given and the statement does not seem attributable to the incumbent of that time.

Can you inform us as to whether this statement was made by the present Secretary from the post which he held at that time. The statement is being used as background in certain War College studies on this subject.

We hope that all goes well.

Sincerely yours,

JOE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

November 23, 1953

Mr James C Evans
Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D C

Dear Mr Evans:

[illegible] Observe my praise of what the Depa[illegible] Defense has done.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures: Progress in Race Relations - 2

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

7 December 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 10
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We greatly appreciate your continuing portrayal of what is being accomplished in the armed services. Some of this we are well aware of.

Of equal interest was the note on the back page of the item taken from Social Order, November 1953, bearing upon the Rhodes Scholar who is still going strong. I have always held out for the type of well grounded and well oriented approach which you continue to make to what many people have thought was an impossible situation.

Was glad to see you in Minneapolis and hope to see you in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

December 7, 1954

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant
Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

Many thanks for the revised and up-dated copies of the Integration Report. Unfortunately the New South version was already in print; you have perhaps received copies of it by now. Certainly the promotion of General Davis would have warrented prominent mention. In any case, we are glad to have the revised Report for our information and use.

"Integration in the Armed Services" Jan. 1, 1955 See A.H.

I hope you will find the New South version as useful as we expect to find it.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

1 December 1954

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are glad to learn from you and Dr. Mitchell of the acceptability of the Integration Report. Returns from all directions have been more gratifying than might have been anticipated. Accordingly, we are encouraged, and the more interested in your plans for extracting and reproducing.

In response to similar demands from other quarters, it has been deemed necessary to date the document forward to January 1, 1955. This permits the inclusion, for example, of the recent promotion of Brigadier General B. O. Davis, Jr. You may desire to compare the new version with the advance copy furnished you earlier with a view to having our materials more nearly current with your publication date for the extracts.

As indicated earlier, we hope you will make twenty-five (25) copies of your work available to us. We recall how useful were the earlier copies of the New South, carrying the abstract of the Fahy Committee report.

We hope to maintain contact.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Inclosures

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

1 December 1954

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Inclosures

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

22 March 1955

MAR 25 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your attention is invited to the enclosed Project report of Mr. James A. Madison of the National Recreation Association. Already significant results have accrued for the Air Force, the Negro personnel, and the communities concerned.

We are requesting that this communication be referred to staff personnel who may have direct interest and concern as regards problem situations centering around Negro military personnel and the civilian community. Observations and reactions to the report would be of value to all concerned.

We would appreciate also suggestions as to how some civilian fund or organization might undertake the reproduction and wider distribution of this report. Such would help resolve problem situations which, while adversely affecting our personnel, are beyond the sphere of the military services.

Our report on "Integration in the Armed Services" is enclosed for reference. Please give us the benefit of your counsel in responding to this request.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures
cc: Dr. George Mitchell

April 1, 1955

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Assistant Secretary of
Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the excellent Project report by Mr. Madison. You have no doubt sent it to the various community service agencies which are most directly concerned with facilitating off-post recreation for service men. They should find it extremely helpful.

At the moment, I see no way for us to reproduce it for wider circulation. However, if some agency does undertake this, we should very much like to secure additional copies for distribution to our key people throughout the South.

Meanwhile, we will find it a very useful addition to our guidance materials in this field.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

22 March 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures
cc: Dr. George Mitchell

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

JUN 23 1955

20 June 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

May we call again to your attention the continuing favorable developments under the program of integration in the Armed Forces.

The brief summary report, now enclosed, is available at ten cents (10¢) per copy through the Government Printing Office. It may be found useful as your office proceeds with efforts to assure equity outside the uniform for those who have participated so effectively while in uniform.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosure

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

23 June 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our Armed Forces are still out front in providing example of complete integration.

We propose to keep it that way especially since this victory in human relations was achieved through valiant effort and sacrifice at the council table and at the battlefront.

It is inspiring for our fighting forces to note that the school, the church, and the community are beginning to find strength through integration, and to add example to precept.

In March we requested your assistance with the analysis and dissemination of the James A. Madison report for the National Recreation Association centering around Negro military personnel and the community. We still hope for your further observations and help in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

December 9, 1955

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

Perhaps you have seen the enclosed news story reporting Gov. Timmerman's charge that integration in the armed forces is adversely affecting voluntary enlistments. This charge, which I have no doubt is baseless, promises to become an important part of the propaganda of Southern pro-segregation groups.

Has any authorized spokesmen issued a statement of refutation? If not, I should like to suggest that a factual and persuasive public answer be considered. It would be of help to those of us in the south who are trying to further acceptance of desegregation.

I had a pleasant hour with Lee Nichols when he was researching his recent UP articles on integrated schools at Southern military bases. He spoke most warmely of you and the help you have given him.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

3 February 1956

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your note indicating that the Gallup Poll findings which we furnished will assist in counteracting the rumors generated to the effect that integration in the Armed Forces is serving to retard enlistment and reenlistment. Rumor is difficult to combat but fact fully disseminated is the best remedy.

We were happy to see Miss Irene Osborne in a meeting at Jacksonville at the weekend and to find her in such good spirits about her work in the area. I took occasion to urge that she neither conclude nor draw conclusions in Florida until after making contacts in the Miami area, including the Social Science Center at the University of Miami.

Our greetings to Dr. Mitchell and other members of the staff.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

38

February 1, 1956

Mr. Evans
Minority Problems Section
Department of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Someone gave me your name as one to write to about the problem here in Montgomery, Alabama.

As you know, there has already been trouble here in Montgomery with attacks on the Negro Airmen and it was stopped by the Commandant of the Air Field making Montgomery off limits and in no time at all the Police had caught the boys that were doing it and the attacks have stopped completely.

Now an even worse situation is developing here on account of the fact that the White Citizen's Councils are stirring up racial feeling and the local newspapers are also joing in and a Negro ministers house has been bombed and Senator Eastland is coming here on the 9th of this month and he is , as you know, the worse one.

The local Negroes are carrying on a boycott of the busses on account of the abusive treatment that they have received and so far there is no sign of any settlement.

The people here in Montgomery are curious people. They come out to the Air base and work and do not seem to mind working with Negroes, eating in the cafeteria with them and sometimes even using the same swimming pool. They are often friendly. The same thing is true in the Veterans Hospital. The Airport is not segregated and no trouble has arisen there nor are the railroads any more. There is a Catholic Hospital here that is integrated to a large degree and no trouble there, but the local politicians are sitting there stirring trouble up for the sake of votes I do believe and I wish you would see that our Negro Airmen are protected and kept on the base, and then I believe all this foolishness would stop.

I am afraid to give my name, but what I say is true.

Sincerely yours,

Friend of Airman

February 13, 1956

Mr. James C. Evans,
Civilian Assistant
Manpower and Personnel
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

We have received a copy of your letter of February 8 sent to Harry Alston of the Urban League. I am passing the word on to our staff people in Florida about the situation in Key West and I will ask them to contact Phil Waring in Jacksonville for further information. Any assistance we can be please let us know.

You might want to correspond directly with our staff people in Florida. The two staff members are William K. Williams, Executive Director and Howard D. Roberts, Assoc. Dir. Their address is 324 S. Beach Street, Daytona Beach, Florida.

Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Send info to Fla. Staff

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

8 February 1956

Dear Mr. Alston:

We are attempting to further coordinate assistance for the needs of the Navy personnel and others at Key West, Florida as set forth in your field report of December 17-20, 1955. In the interim, I have been as far as Jacksonville where I talked with your fellow alumnus, Phillip Waring, now installed as Jacksonville Urban League Secretary, Miss Irene Osborne, presently on the staff of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and Mr. I. H. Burney, Secretary of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company, who has general concern with human welfare councils throughout the area.

In addition, we have attempted to maintain contact with Dr. David F. DeMarche, Director, Community Organization and Research, United Service Organizations, and with officials of NAACP, and of the National Recreation Association in the hope that one or more of the organizations would find it possible to direct specific attention to the Key West situation while working with outpost problems in other sections of the country.

While a solution is not yet apparent, we hope for your continuing attention to the situation at Key West. We hope that all goes well.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Harry L. Alston, Director
Southern Field Division
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Dr. David F. DeMarche
Mr. Noble Sissle
Mr. Phillip Waring
Mr. I. H. Burney
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

27 February 1956

RECEIVED MAR 1 1956

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Increasingly we are in need of your counsel and assistance in connection with housing for Negro military personnel returning from overseas duty as members of large integrated units. The current problems become increasingly severe in areas far removed from large centers of Negro population.

Some of the personnel, — Army, Navy, Air Force Marine Corps, — officer and enlisted, — men and women, — desire fully integrated housing to which they have become accustomed overseas. Others desire simply adequate housing.

It is to be noted that, despite our best efforts, on-post housing is not adequate for large troop movements by the nature of the case. Then too, rank and seniority are likely to stand against those who, because of their minority status are impeded from getting any type of housing when they make efforts in the civilian community.

We understand that if you will make inquiry, you will have no difficulty in ascertaining that in numerous cases and localities, so called private housing carries federal underwriting of various types. In Dayton examples have been brought to our attention where large-scale off-base housing projects have been developed with such federal assistance and including Negro military and civilian personnel in the surveys, only to rigorously exclude all Negroes and advertise any remaining space for all comers except Negroes.

You are familiar with the record of this office and of the entire military establishment in going to great lengths to secure for you and for your constituency great

masses of detail in response to complaints about racial discrimination in the Armed Forces. One result has been a steady decline in incidents of this type.

We now call upon you in the face of our increasing need to arrange for us to have through your various offices and branches a survey or a summary made to fully portray for us the nature of the obstacle in the civilian community and the steps and procedures being taken in the civilian community for providing remedy. Feeling that findings will not be propitious except in rare cases, even such will be useful in giving us for our service personnel indications as to what may and may not be presently possible as basis for further approaches on behalf of all personnel who wear the uniform of our fighting forces.

May we urge upon you the immediacy of this problem as large-scale troop rotation now on schedule goes into action. We hope we may receive not only your assistance and cooperation, but some detailed, factual, objective information upon which may be predicated through the democratic process further approaches to equality of treatment and opportunity.

Please be assured that your continuing interest is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Reginald Johnson
Branch Services
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

April 7, 1956

Mr. James C. Evans, Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

In the last few days we have had occasion to get someone to dig fairly far into the practices in racial segregation in the various Reserve units in this general area. Thus far we are convinced that the Navy is behaving in the Southeast as a whole. And the Marine Corps is behaving in the Southeast as a whole. We run into strong evidence in Georgia that the Army has no integration in Reserve units. The Georgia Military District tells us that until the present crop of draftees begins to come through to them in 1957 they will not have faced the problem of integration or segregation in Reserve Army units. Thus far, say the Georgia Army Reserve people, all Negro persons in Reserve status have chosen to train with Negro units. The Third Army professes to have no racial breakdown statistics. The several Military Districts under the Third Army we suspect do as Georgia does - which is have a Negro and white units of the Georgia District. We suspect, but we don't know.

These matters are of interest to us and I am sure will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

10 April 1956

RECEIVED APR 13 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As usual, you are in the vanguard. We have occasion to mention you and your work regularly in connection with the current scene.

Your findings and observations as regards the racial situation in reserve units are indeed pertinent. I think it is correct to observe that this situation has not been overlooked. While we have gone all out in the effort to develop a strong Reserve Program, it has not been necessary to bring emphasis upon race to the fore.

The information furnished is being placed before appropriate officials here against such a time as action may be indicated. I can assure you that every item furnished us will find appropriate usage.

I am spending many weekends far to the South and find reassurance in the midst of the many items which make the headlines. We hope that all goes well.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 16 1956

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL

15 March 1956

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We read with appreciation, and with the close attention which we usually give to the editorials in EBONY, the one appearing in the current issue treating good will ambassadors of color abroad. Certainly it is pointed in the right direction, as regards government and otherwise, and portrays an area of our international situation carrying great need, and great promise.

This editorial is to be related to some of your earlier observations, and those now beginning to appear more generally in the press, to the effect that the Negro citizen in the uniform of the Armed Forces has made pioneering contributions in this field. Even now we have thousands overseas,—civilian and military personnel of the Armed Forces,—who in addition to evincing and engendering good will in their daily duties, constitute America's outstanding example of democracy inasmuch as they operate upon a completely integrated basis. In a favorable and significant obverse, the situation at home continues to improve as the horizon of the Negro citizen and his dependents, and all others, is broadened through extended travel and residence abroad on Armed Forces missions.

Thus in great numbers, and in the clear portrayal of democracy at its best, including integration, they are performing dual patriotic duty and paving the way for others who are proceeding overseas through the increasing number of channels so well set forth in the current EBONY editorial.

We shall continue to read with interest.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. John H. Johnson, Publisher
EBONY Magazine
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

COPY

Lists

REGIONAL DIRECTORS OF AFL-CIO - APRIL, 1956

AREAS	DIRECTOR
Texas	Lester Graham Majestic Building 1107 Commerce Street Fort Worth, Texas
Louisiana and Mississippi	Lige Williams 1919 St. Claude Avenue New Orleans, La.
Tennessee and Kentucky	Paul Christopher
North Carolina and South Carolina	Carey Haigler 1023 Independence Building Charlotte, North Carolina
Arkansas and Oklahoma	Woodrow Pendergrass 725 Enterprise Building Tulsa, Oklahoma
Georgia, Florida and Alabama	Lew Rhodes 1026 Hurt Building Atlanta, Georgia
Virginia	Joe Heath Labor Temple Richmond, Virginia

4/19/56
Research Department

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

This resume' is forwarded in view of your interest.

JAMES C. EVANS

RECEIVED JAN 4 1957

B17998

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

1 January 1957

Dear Mr. Spiegler:

"Negro soldiers today are the first Negroes in American history to have equal opportunities to show what they can do," states Dr. Eli Ginzberg on page 91 of the current report, The Negro Potential.

We take occasion as another year begins to emphasize these findings in responding now to the Review of the Year, -- Intergroup Relations in 1956, which constitutes the November 1956 issue of the NAIRO REPORTER as published by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

In this response we wish to emphasize the affirmative aspects of Armed Forces developments under integration. We assure you that, while these far overshadow the items introducing the passage in THE REPORTER, continuing attention is being given to correcting even the most remote and minor variance from established policies. It should be recalled here that in response to your request this office submitted an account for this issue. We offered a ten-year resumé in lieu of the one-year summary requested, and can understand why you deferred such for a later issue.

The introductory quotation above continues, --

> "No sensible man can anticipate that the Negro will be able to free himself completely from his past within the next few years. But integration in the services has demonstrated the remarkable ability of both whites and Negroes to adjust to new relations with each other in such a manner that the potential of each can be more fully realized. In demonstrating this fact, the armed service have not only strengthened the nation by strengthening themselves, but have taken the leadership in showing the nation what good will and determination can accomplish."

The authoritative study now quoted was carried out under the Conservation of Human Resources Project and resulted in the above volume issuing from the Columbia University Press in 1956.

The Scientific American for December 1956 presents as its lead article Attitudes on Desegregation. In this issue the Columbia University Press takes occasion to announce, regarding The Negro Potential, --

> "Here, at last, is the long-awaited Columbia Report on the progress of American Negroes in business and education since 1940, and on the remarkable transformation resulting from integration in the Armed Forces."

Some statements taken from the more recent years during which refinements were being effected in the Armed Forces integration program may be found pertinent.

In a radio broadcast on 17 February 1954 President John A. Hannah, of Michigan State University, then serving as Assistant Secretary of Defense stated, --

> " . . . It should be a real gratification to all thinking Americans to know that our Armed Forces are leading the way in demonstrating both at home and abroad that America provides opportunities for all of her people . . . We are demonstrating in action as well as words that we really believe in Social Justice, Economic Justice, and Political Justice for all people of all races and colors . . ."

Another statement of the same period is offered:

> " . . . The impact on civilian life is yet to be measured . . . this book, filled with the drama of official fact rather than exhortation and oratory, is a significant contribution to the continuing effort to build a dynamic and meaningful democracy in terms of human relations."

This statement appeared in the New York Herald Tribune Book Review of 14 February 1954 with reference to Breakthrough on the Color Front by Lee Nichols, the authentic unofficial account of integration in the Armed Forces.

Our own reports through the years have delineated how Armed Forces personnel of all ranks and complexions have served and

sacrificed in developing a modern model of human relations. We have shown how, starting with military operations, it has extended, without untoward incident, to all areas of the life of military personnel and their families. An official report of 1 January 1955 states, --

> "The Armed Forces, within their own sphere, have developed notable examples of racial coordination and integration in housing, transportation, religious worship, schooling, recreation, and other aspects of community life for service personnel and their families."

Returning now to more recent items, the Pittsburgh Courier of December 22, 1956 states, --

> "Ever since World War II, Perry H. Young has been trying to obtain an airline pilot's job with an American line. He met all requirements but the doors were shut because he is colored.
>
> "Young, now 37, finally hit the jackpot when he was hired last week by New York Airways, the city's helicopter airline, as a flight crewman.
>
> "Monday he became the first Negro pilot in any of this country's scheduled passenger airlines . . . total flying time more than 7,100 hours with 200 hours in helicopters.
>
> "Mr. Young was an instructor at the Tuskegee Air Force School during World War II. . ."

Like Mr. Young, hundreds of Negro pilots have been trained and assigned to regular duties by the Armed Forces in this country and in many parts of the world. Some of these still aspire for commercial transport service despite the continuing disappointments.

Fortune Magazine for September 1956 devotes attention to The Negro's New Economic Life. Herein it is asserted, --

> "Compulsory military service, in armed forces that have been integrated, has spelled opportunity for the Negro. Military training programs give to all qualified Negro youths a chance to learn those skills on which their future may depend. Beyond this, the fact of integration of the services has

given astonishing evidence of the speed with which racial discrimination can be removed. In the summer of 1951, when the European command was instructed to get ready for integration, the senior staff observed that the process could take from fifty to one hundred years to complete. By the summer of 1952 the job was virtually done."

A notable 1956 contribution of general and affirmative import is The Progress Memorandum Integration North and South recently issued through the Fund for the Republic. This gives valuable details and specifics in directions so important for our national and international situation.

For this report as for others, -- borrowing an integration concept from the calculus, -- for every particular solution presented, the Armed Forces can present the general solution as mission already accomplished. Only minor refinements still require attention.

Regarding the elimination of segregation in schools on military posts the NAIRO REPORTER mentioned above says, --

" . . . these segregated operations have been ended either by integration or withdrawal of military support for their continuance. In the area of higher education . . . Off duty extension courses, available to military personnel, were conducted . . . on a non-segregated basis."

We hope that between this resumé-response and the longer ten-year review submitted earlier, you may find excerpts for use in the REPORTER from time to time. We hope also that you will consider it in the interest of intergroup relations, and therefore agreeable, for us to make a copy of this letter available to a number of those assisting with our Armed Forces integration program.

We believe you will agree that it reflects great credit upon our democracy that the Armed Forces have received and made good use of the opportunity to demonstrate that, without depriving anyone of any just right or privilege, the opportunities of every individual can be further enhanced by eliminating segregation.

The validity of this tenet is attested by both civilian and military officials of the Department and of the Services and by social science research findings of assured validity.

In the entire program for improved utilization of the nation's manpower, personnel and reserve resources now being so actively led by The Honorable Carter L. Burgess, Assistant Secretary of Defense, specific cognizance is always taken of the role of the Negro citizen. The official Annual Reports of the Secretary of Defense outline the advances in this respect.

Further support of this program on the part of all citizens is in the national interest, is consonant with NAIRO objectives, and will contribute directly to national strength, safety and security. Hence our hope for more general emulation in 1957 and the years to follow of the splendid examples of racial coordination now being so clearly set forth by Armed Forces personnel. Such will increase the significance of their victories at home and abroad.

We hope for your continuing interest.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Samuel Spiegler, Editor
THE NAIRO REPORTER
Box 246 Madison Square Station
New York 10, New York

03764

Information - Integration

March 15, 1957

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Aide to
The Secretary of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

Thank you very much for your pamphlet, "Integration in the Armed Services," which you co-authored with Lieut. Colonel Lane. I found the pamphlet interesting and helpful. I wonder if it would be possible to secure additional copies - say 25 - for distribution to our state offices and a few other key people in the South.

Jim, there's a question I would like to explore with you sometime in more detail, when I personally receive more details from several members of the armed forces who have written me. The problem is off-base educational facilities for servicemen. In several instances it has been reported to me that the colleges offer courses with the cooperation and even in conjunction with one of the branches of the armed forces for enlisted men. In the South, this is meant for white enlisted men. I question the wisdom, and indeed, the practicability of such policy. If it is not possible to offer integrated classes in the various colleges that are close by the various bases of the armed forces in the South, would it not be far better to conduct those courses on the base and bring the professor in to teach the class? In this way you could hold integrated classes. I do not believe the armed forces of the United States should be a party to maintaining segregation. Since I know you feel that way too, I would like to discuss it further with you as I ascertain some of the facts involved and receive some specific examples of where this has happened.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

December 9, 1958

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Manpower, Personnel and Reserve
Office of the Assistant Secretary of
Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

My apologies for this tardy acknowledgment of your recent letter calling my attention to the article in the Army Times on Frank Newett's achievement. I agree with you wholeheartedly that this is an important example of the strides being made within the Defense establishments to further the full development of talents regardless of race.

I shall appreciate your calling similar items to my attention as they occur.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

20 November 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It seems almost agreed that our country can no longer afford to waste talent, potential, and brain power, particularly where the aptitude is in the direction of science and technology.

The enclosed article concerning Frank Newett is appearing in military periodicals and elsewhere. This gives another example of the contribution of the defense establishment, even at the elementary school level, toward the strengthening of our nation, -- sometimes despite local customs and mores.

Your continuing interest is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

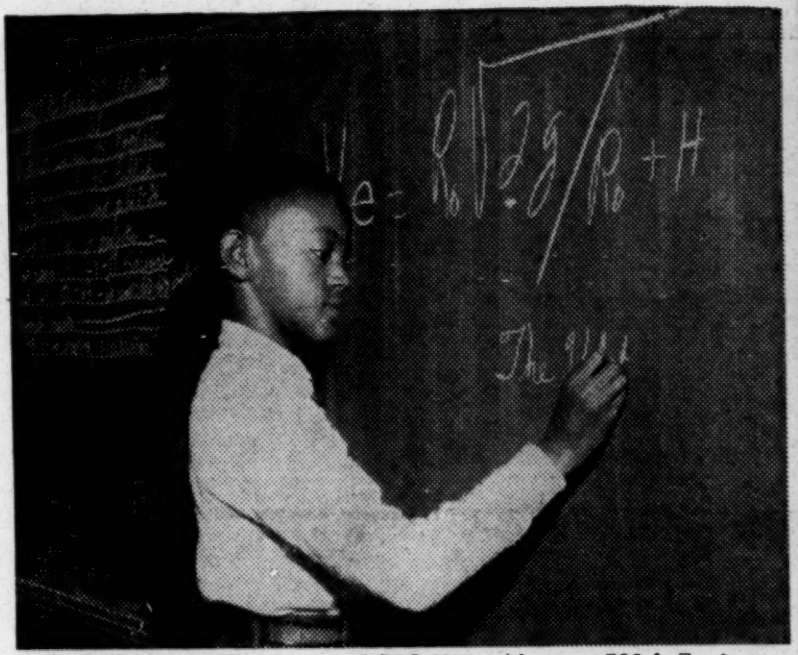
JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosure

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ARMY TIMES Nov 15, 1958

Equations Are Easy For Frank



FRANK NEWETT, 11, son of SFC Harry Newett, 588th Engineer Bn. writes the explanation of a difficult mathematical equation on the blackboard in Elementary School Number 2 at Fort Belvoir, Va.

FORT BELVOIR, Va.—Only a few minutes were needed by a quiet 11-year-old Fort Belvoir schoolboy to explain that "Ve" equals "Ro" times the square root of "2g" divided by the sum of "Ro" plus "H", as shown in the picture at right. The mathematical equation stumped his teachers and classmates.

Before the schoolday ended Frank Newett, son of SFC Harry Newett, 588th Engineer Bn. (Construction), was the proud possessor of a sterling silver pin engraved with the mathematical equation he had explained.

Frank, a sixth grade student at Belvoir's Elementary School Number 2, is a polite well-dressed lad just a bit on the shy side, but not quite shy enough to pass up a chance to win the silver pin.

During a lecture on science and mathematics, Lt. Col. C. M. Parkin Jr., project officer for the scientific course on missiles and rockets at Fort Belvoir, gave the equation to a group of sixth and seventh grade children.

Col. Parkin invited the youngsters to research the equation that night and bring in their answer the following day. He offered a silver pin to the youngster who could interpret it.

The lecture ended a short time later and as the colonel was preparing to leave the schoolroom, Frank, hesitatingly, approached him. Gathering his courage, he asked in schoolboy words if the equation might not be the minimum escape velocity needed for an object to leave the earth.

Needless to say Col. Parkin, happily surprised, handed the boy the pin.

"It was easy," said Frank, "I just listened to what he said while he was talking and when he asked the question I knew the answer."

We consider it in the National interest that this point be emphasized

James C. Evans, civilian assistant in the office of the Secretary of Defense, on integration in the service: *"From pre-natal care all the way through to burial with military honors, the Armed Forces have done more in a decade to demonstrate the techniques and success of the elimination of racial differentials than any other agency or factor in our national life."*

From presentation before the Catholic Interracial Council March 19, 1959.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

12 June 1959

RECEIVED JUN 15 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was reassuring to see you during the sessions of SSSP. I only regretted that time did not permit more extended reviews on situations of mutual concern.

Separately I am responding on other points, but I write now primarily to request the address, in Scotland, of Dr. George Mitchell, if you can conveniently furnish this.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

file

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

You may have already in your research reports data for the chart here envisioned. A portrayal will be pertinent to work being conducted through other channels.

9 June 1959

Dear Mr. Puner:

1. Many thanks for the Campbell paper from the University of North Carolina. This was noted at the recent seminar held by the SSSP with about the same conclusion as that expressed in your note.

2. The magazine section of the Afro-American for May 26, 1959 carried with appropriate photograph a resume of your report on "Integration In The Army". It is this type of broad dissemination that we are depending upon for full fruition as regards the benefits to the nation accruing from our successes with integration in the Armed Forces.

3. I believe we were discussing the picture story pointing out one area where the vote of the farmer carries possibly thirty two times as much weight as that of the city voter. Would you be able to find through channels available to you whether there has been formed anywhere a chart or tabulation which would show relative weight of the individual ballot starting with zero, as with the Negro vote in some jurisdictions. This could then extend upward to such imbalances, by geographical location, as that mentioned above.

4. Where does the proposal for a summer safari through Armed Forces installations stand at the moment?

5. Our regards to all and we hope to maintain contact.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Morton Puner, Editor
ADL Bulletin
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Reprinted from the new Leader January 12, 1959

Armed Forces have led the way in desegregation over the past ten years and their example has helped to correct Europe's image of the U.S.

INTEGRATION IN THE ARMY

INTEGRATION IN THE ARMY

By MORTON PUNER

Editor, Anti-Defamation League "Bulletin"

ONE OF THE great dramas in the American race relations dilemma has been staged thousands of miles from the United States. Since 1948, the Department of Defense has been integrating installations throughout the world. In the past five years, virtually every single problem, fear and specter concerning integration has been coped with by the Army, Air Force and Navy:

- How can segregated units best be broken into combat-ready integrated ones? Is an integrated force more effective?
- Does integration mean forced social mixing of the races; does it lead to such things as interracial dancing, interracial sexual relations, interracial marriage and "mongrelization of the races?"
- How does integration affect basic attitudes? To what extent does a law (or in this case, a Presidential order) help whites and Negroes to work together, play together—and like it?
- Does officially-imposed integration mean an end to the right of privacy, an end to a man's choice—and his children's choice—of friends?

To find answers to these and related questions, I recently made a two-month, 9,000-mile trip to some 25 U. S. Army bases and their surrounding communities in Europe. Europe, I felt, offered a better laboratory for this kind of study than the United States or other areas of the world where we have troops. For in Europe, while the society about them is white, Americans are relieved of regional stresses and restrictions: they are freer to act as conscience, not just custom, dictates.

All the Americans I met are, in one way or another, affected by Presidential Executive Order 9981 which, ten years ago, set the policy of "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin." In the early 1950s, integration was completed in Defense Department installations throughout the world. Today Negroes, who make up about ten per cent of our uniformed population, eat, sleep, and train with white troops, and attend the same service schools and clubs. About 2.7 million Americans are in uniform; 1.3 million civilians work for the Defense Department. In addition, wives, children and other dependents have been subject to integration in their education and social lives.

The Army bases I visited in Germany, Italy and France comprise nearly a tenth of all Defense Department personnel. In Germany, where the bulk of American troops and their families are stationed, the bases I visited were Heidelberg, headquarters of the U. S. Army in Europe (USAREUR) and Stuttgart, Seventh Army headquarters. In Italy it was Verona, headquarters for the Southern European Task Force (SETAF); in France, Orleans, headquarters for the Army's Communications Zone (COM-Z).

I had free access to all unclassified Army facilities, to training fields and barracks, service clubs and post exchanges. A large percentage of Army families manage to keep intact overseas; nurseries, schools, hospitals, restaurants and garden-apartment developments are important Army facilities abroad too. I also had access to all these—and to the emotions and responses of Americans to integration.

Social problems. How does the Army handle inter-racial dancing, which seems about as disturbing to partisans of segregation as most other social aspects of an integrated society? Officers' clubs are open to all commissioned men regardless of race. At an officers' club dance, is a white officer's wife—no matter what her own feelings—under compulsion to dance with every Negro officer who asks her to? Is a Negro officer compelled to dance with, say, his white colonel's lady?

Colonel Quirey was formerly commanding officer of the now deactivated 88th Airborne Anti-Aircraft Battalion in Southern Germany. Because it included an old segregated

unit, almost a third of its officers were Negroes. At the battalion's first dance in Germany, the Colonel assumed that all his officers would ask his wife to dance—an Army custom at the first dance at a new base. But not a single Negro officer came up to Mrs. Quirey.

"My wife and I knew what had happened," the Colonel said. "She's from Georgia, I'm from Kentucky. The Negro officers had not asked her to dance because they were afraid of embarrassing us." But before the second dance, one Negro officer asked the Colonel, in private, whether it would be all right if he asked Mrs. Quirey to dance. "I said certainly, and he did. They danced together and the Negro officers had their cue."

A few white officers who discussed the dance with Colonel Quirey felt that he had imposed a burden on them. Wouldn't their wives now be obliged to dance with Negroes too? Colonel Quirey said there is no such compulsion; each man and his wife are free to do exactly as their taste dictates. This principle seems to apply generally among officers and their wives. Of course, this leaves room for prejudice to operate, but prejudice plays less and less of a role as whites and Negroes serve together longer.

Nevertheless, there is no pell-mell, mass social mixing of the races. The pattern of off-duty integration in the Army is directly related to the cultural and social level of each soldier, and to what he is looking for in the way of after-hours fun.

In Paris, GIs rarely integrate when they go to the honky-tonks of Montmartre. At the level of the German *gasthaus*—where, in venerable tradition, GIs do full-scale research on the quality of German beer—there is little or no integration. Moselstrasse, near the Frankfurt main railroad station, is a street filled with bars with such American names as City, Dolly and New York. At one end, it has three bars whose clientele consists solely of Negro GIs. The rest of the many bars along the street are filled with white soldiers only.

On higher social and cultural levels there is much more off-duty integration. Together white and Negro GIs listen to the summer opera in Verona, together they play soccer against the still-superior European teams, together they walk in Frankfurt's exquisite Palmengarten on a Sunday afternoon.

Such contacts between white and Negro in the Army abroad are far more frequent than in civilian life at home. They develop naturally from extensive association at work and in barracks life. "More and more, these days, you find that a white family will come to a Negro family, a Negro to a white, for help in times of emergency," Colonel Quirey told me.

The last-ditch argument of the segregationist is that integration leads to interracial sex and marriage. "How would you like your sister to marry a Negro?" has become almost a classic rhetorical question. Does integration in the Army—on and off duty—lead to intermarriage between whites and Negroes? The question was much discussed when integration first went into effect, but today it is hardly an issue. To find out why, I sought to determine Army practice and experience with interracial marriages.

I asked Colonel Wayne L. Hunter, Chief Chaplain of the Seventh Army, how he and his staff counsel Negro soldiers and white girls who intend to marry. Basically, he said, they treat interracial marriages the same as interfaith marriages, in which the chaplains counsel on matters of baptism, circumcision and other rites. The Army informally tries to provide Negro chaplains to counsel Negro soldiers when possible. Chaplains, white or Negro, neither encourage nor discourage such marriages. But the white girl will be told about various hazards to successful interracial marriages, for example, laws against miscegenation in Southern states. (The Department of Defense abides by state laws on miscegenation; a Negro soldier returning with a white bride will be assigned to a base in a state where his marriage is permitted.) Then the couple has to wait six months before marrying.

During and immediately after World War II, many white European girls became brides of GIs, some of them Negroes. But with European economic recovery, such marriages have become less frequent. In Washington, a Pentagon official, a Negro, told me that interracial marriages in the Army abroad are now rare. "And often there is something sociologically extreme about them—they seem to be end-of-the-road marriages for both parties and they usually don't work out," he said. "In many cases, the girl cuts loose as soon as she gets her bearings in the States. It often becomes clear to the soldier that she married him just to get away from a miserable life."

Formal integration, the records show, has little bearing on the type or number of interracial marriages. For one thing, equal opportunity in education and jobs, as offered in the integrated Army, has given the Negro soldier a new pride in himself and in his race. The question, "How would you like your sister to marry a Negro?," becomes two-edged. In a barracks discussion on the subject, I overheard one Negro sergeant say to another—with only a bit of irony—"How would you like your sister to marry a white man?"

In turn, the white soldier, under integration, has come to accept individual Negroes as his friends. This does not mean that he has any newly awakened desires to marry a Negro or any preference that his sister marry one. It does mean that he has a new understanding of Negroes and is able to put unwarranted fears in their proper place. He is apt to answer the rhetorical "How would you like your sister to marry a Negro?" with the just as rhetorical "She can say no, can't she?"

Negro observations: I found that Negro soldiers are the best barometer

of social changes brought about through integration. They are most affected by it so they are also most sensitive to the attitudes of the majority around them. The observations of two Negroes, Lieutenant Colonel Lester McCants in Germany, and Louise Outlaw in Italy, are representative of what I was told by almost every one of the Negroes to whom I spoke.

Colonel McCants, who has been in the Army since 1941, has gone through the whole desegregation process. Today he commands the Seventh Army Air Field base near Stuttgart. More than 470 officers and men, white and Negro, serve under him. Colonel McCants piloted the six-seater L-23 which took me from Germany over the Alps to Italy. His crew consisted of a warrant officer and an enlisted man, both white. The three men had flown together many times and there was no awareness of race. Colonel McCants was clearly the responsible person aboard the plane, the most experienced, and the boss.

Colonel McCants lives in Stuttgart with his family; integration has given them all a new kind of life. He enjoys his tour in Germany and believes that the German attitude toward Negroes is "pretty good, contrary to the effect that Hitler intended."

He had to think hard to recall recent incidents concerning race in Army life. He finally thought of one. Army families often join in songfests. As white and Negroes sing along together, they frequently come to songs like "Old Folks At Home" with its words: "Oh, darkies, how my heart grows weary, far from the old folks at home." He knows that some of his white friends are embarrassed when they realize they are using the offensive term "darkies." An officer's wife once apologized for it. Colonel McCants told her that he knows the song is basic Americana. "No need at all to be embarrassed," he said.

Louise Outlaw is the tall, stately wife of Warrant Officer LeRoy Outlaw, Quartermaster at SETAF in Verona and the only Negro officer stationed there. Inevitably, she says, the subject of race relations in the United States crops up in her talks with Europeans: "Some people say to me, when they learn that I'm an American Negro, 'Oh, I'm sorry for you.' I tell them not to feel sorry for me. I'm glad I'm an American, proud of my race and of the progress we've made in the United States. I try to tell them that the problems of desegregation they read about—if they think them through—are really symptoms of that progress."

Mrs. Outlaw feels that being a Negro gives her an opportunity both to help Europeans understand Americans and help other Americans understand Negroes. One of her best friends in Verona is a white woman from Texas who told her, "Honey, I could hang my head in shame when I think of the things I thought and said about Negroes in the past." She believes that such candor is an American virtue, a basic help in getting Europeans to know and like us. "I visited the World's Fair at Brussels and saw the American exhibit," she said. "I think that one of our smaller displays there was most effective, the one called 'America's Unfinished Business,' which faces up fully to our problems in democracy. This kind of honesty affects Europeans deeply."

The Outlaws have been married 15 of Warrant Officer Outlaw's 17 years in service. They lived in Tennessee and Washington, D. C., before coming to Europe. The integrated Army years have been the best years of their lives. "Now there are no longer the initial barriers and hostilities in making friends," Mrs. Outlaw said. "People have known Negroes before; they're most apt to judge each Negro, to be friendly or not on the basis of his character and personality—not his skin color."

Integration doesn't mean forced and indiscriminate mixing, she pointed out. "I keep an eye on my children's choice of friends; I want them to be with people of certain standards of honesty and goodness. But we just don't judge by the prejudiced values of religion or color." She understands the thousand ways and hurts of prejudice. "Sometimes, I hear a friend refer to the Italians as 'guineas.' I tell her not to, that such terms hurt me as well as the Italians."

Mrs. Outlaw herself offers a case study of the influence of integration on social attitudes. She is the mother of three children, and a member of the SETAF Parent-Teachers Association for the American grade and high schools, consisting of 240 pupils. This spring, the PTA members—almost exclusively white—elected Mrs. Outlaw as their president.

The consequences of integration can be both touching and ironic. A young Negro soldier, on his way from Vicenza to Milan to meet his wife who had just arrived from the States, told me of his concern: In Italy, American soldiers with their families live "on the economy" in apartments or homes alongside Italians, and they share in community living. As a single soldier, the Negro had previously lived only in barracks, sheltered by the benign atmosphere of the integrated Army. Now he would be housekeeping with his wife and living with Italians. He asked me, very earnestly, "How do you think they'll take to a Negro couple?"

Negroes appear to be aware of the educational lag from which they suffer and seem eager to lessen it. They are the most persistent and hard-working students at the various Army schools, technical and general. Above 14 per cent of the Army's Negroes are now taking courses with the United States Armed Forces Institute; the figure has more than doubled since integration went into effect. The percentage of whites taking such courses is about 9 per cent.

Negroes have also achieved a degree of rank and service barely envisaged during World War II. When the war ended, the percentage of

Negro officers was .99 per cent. Shortly after the war as more Negro than white officers chose to stay in service, it rose to one per cent. Today, under integration, the figure is 3 per cent. In the Seventh Army in Germany — our largest peacetime force ever assembled on foreign soil —Negroes represent 4.8 per cent of all officers, 10.24 per cent of all enlisted men.

There have been cases in the past of a white officer smarting under orders from a Negro and trying to avoid carrying them out. Today, almost universally, there seems to be quiet and complete acceptance of the idea that if a Negro officer reaches a command rank, he has earned it thoroughly and is entitled to all its privileges and authority.

Negroes make up about ten per cent of all armed forces personnel, but they represent about 15 per cent of all non-commissioned officers. To achieve and keep these positions they must attend service schools, diligently and in large numbers. This they do, particularly in the guided missile and other technical fields.

These and related figures on whites and Negroes, incidentally, are hard to come by. Bookkeeping by race is becoming rare in Defense Department installations, and military orders are less apt to make use of racial designations. There has been much Pentagon discussion of the use of records by race in the integrated services. Generally, the attitude is that no basic rights are lost simply by reference to race in service documents; the damage or gain is in the way such references are used. Racial designations are no longer used in reporting statistics of civil or military crimes. But sometimes personnel officials need to know the racial composition of troops in order to institute a form of benign quota; otherwise a unit might be assigned a preponderance of Negroes—or an insufficient number of them—and so take on the character of a segregated unit.

INTEGRATED INFANTRY UNIT: 'BLOOD IS BLOOD, MUSCLE IS MUSCLE'

Military performance: How does integration affect military performance? During the Korean War, the Army sponsored studies in depth of the battle performance of mixed units. Nine out of ten white officers in Korea rated integrated units equal to or better than all-white units in morale, courage and teamwork in combat. Korea was the first great testing-ground for Negroes fighting in the integrated Army and they passed their test superbly. Now, five years after the armistice, I found that the veterans of the Korean War decidedly favor integration as a practical necessity. Sometimes, officers are almost evangelical about the military gain of integration.

Major General Harvey Fischer, a West Pointer who comes from California, commanded SETAF in Italy. He expressed surprise at the question, "How do you rate integrated units in combat?" "I had the privilege of serving in Korea," he said. "I've seen integrated troops in action. What's the difference if a man is black or white? Heart is heart, blood is blood, muscle is muscle. Of course integrated units are at least as good as all-white ones in combat."

Lieutenant Colonel Wiltz Bethancourt, who comes from Arizona and is now with the Seventh Army in Stuttgart, declared: "Unquestionably, integrated units are better in combat than segregated ones. Because of their environment, many Negroes had to grow up physically tougher, better able to stand combat conditions. Now, under integration, we can pick our noncoms from the best of all races and make up better cadres."

The military being the military, integration in the armed forces is a fact and not a matter for controversy. But of 75 officers who had served in Korea, not one doubted the quality of integrated units in combat.

Our Allies' reactions: I visited Europe almost a year after the Little Rock school desegregation crisis. The photograph of a Negro being beaten to the ground near Central High School by a mob of howling whites had been featured prominently in most European newspapers in September 1957. A year later, that image still remained in many minds, giving an ugly, distorted picture of American life.

Integration in the Army clearly helps to correct this image in many ways. Many Germans respect the American Army as an efficient, well-disciplined fighting force. But they

learn something else about America when they see two American officers —one white, one Negro—descending together to the basement of their Army apartment building, huge bundles in hand. Their Saturday afternoon mission: the week's wash for their families in the basement laundry machines.

In Paris, a woman writer, an anti-Communist intellectual, told me she would never visit the United States because she would be uncomfortable amid "the evidences of the bondage of second-class citizenship in which you keep your Negroes." One day she travelled with me to Orleans to the Army's COM-Z headquarters. She toured the Post Exchange and snack bars, service and officers' clubs. She saw the easy friendliness among Negro and white soldiers, the casual acceptance of equality on both sides. She was astounded. An intelligent woman, she acknowledged that she had judged without real evidence.

In Italy, SETAF published an Italian personnel manual for its 4,000 Italian employes. It provides identical privileges for Italian and American civilian workers, including maternity leave, a six-hour day, thirteenth-month bonuses—and an anti-discrimination clause. Printed in Italian and English, the manual makes U.S. Army—and Government —policy clear: "In accordance with the policy of the United States Government of non-discrimination for its citizen employes, this same policy to the extent legally possible is extended to Italian employes of SETAF."

The manual sets up machinery for investigating complaints and satisfying all persons who believe that they have been subject to discrimination because of "race, color, religion, or national origin," with final decision to be made by the commanding general. Because of these provisions—and the fact that they are enforced—the people concerned know that the Army means what it says about integration and equal opportunity. The 4,000 Italian employes at SETAF seem to be about the best good-will ambassadors for America that I have ever met.

Integration and prejudice: To what extent does integration do away with prejudice, not just during military service, but after it? The answer, I found, depends upon the breadth and type of individual experience. In the end, it is personal knowledge of the acts and characters of people, white or Negro, that lowers the barriers of prejudice.

Major John T. Martin, a Negro from New York, cites his experience with a white officer who served with him on court martial boards in Heidelberg. The officer was reared in Greenwood, Mississippi, attended the University of Mississippi and became a lawyer. After several years in the Army, the officer had a dilemma. The Army had given him new insights and attitudes. He did not know how he could ever again return to Greenwood—fountainhead of the White Citizens Council movement—"where 95 percent of my friends are Council members." "As a matter of conscience, I can no longer tolerate and live with their prejudice," he said. His wife agreed and suggested that they don't go back to Greenwood. But a man's roots, spiritual and economic, are strong. The dilemma still faces the white couple.

Major Martin says that from this and many other experiences he has learned a basic lesson. Don't prejudge a white man by his accent or by the name of his home town or state.

Other problems that result from integration are evident in some parent-child relationships. At Army schools abroad for dependent children, integration is complete. Outside of school, parents can use whatever standards they favor in helping their children select their friends. The result is often confusing for the child whose parents will not let him associate with Negroes after school. He may become baffled and resentful —of his parents, of his school or, perversely, of Negroes in general. The problem is a real one for some few parents and children, an unhappy concomitant of the process of integration.

Integration also engenders vital personal struggles, not only for the prejudiced but also for those who *think* they are unprejudiced but have heretofore been able to rationalize their own preference for segregation. These are the people who believe in equality of opportunity in the abstract—but who don't really care to live in an integrated society.

The Army experience shows some of the ways that integration will eventually affect the lives of those coming into contact with it for the first time. At present, the armed services are more advanced in their race relations than the rest of the United States. Perhaps it is uniquely fitting that this should be so, that in one of the greatest peacetime battles of our history, the armed forces should be leading the way to victory.

available from
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

10 November 1959

Dear Mr. Carter:

I had hoped to see you in your offices in the Capitol while in West Virginia recently to extend congratulations . . . . .

I desired to review with you three advances of the present school year, primarily in the light of successes under your guidance in related situations in West Virginia . . .

. . . integration has been effected, using three different approaches, and with no untoward incidents whatsoever, in schools for dependents located outside military bases in the following locations, among others:

Little Rock Air Force Base School, Arkansas
Homestead Air Force Base School, Florida
John Coleman School, Sewart Air Force Base, Tennessee.

These pupil populations are cosmopolitan. It is to be noted that they are in the areas pursuant to Air Force orders. The situations are excellent portrayals of government obligations and government opportunities. For example, it was noted that the parents of our pupils enrolled in the John Coleman School in Tennessee are from Alabama, California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, Virginia and Texas. An even wider distribution doubtless obtains for the total group of parents represented in this school.

Here, as with your work, is opportunity and obligation in democracy. It encourages us that you are carrying forward so effectively in the State where "Montani Semper Liberi."

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Honorable Craft C. Carter, Supervisor
State Department of Education
Charleston, West Virginia

EXTRACT

L.W.D. ✓
File

January 8, 1960

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

I hope you will forgive this belated acknowledgment of your welcome letter and enclosures of December 22. I read with great interest the People-to-People bulletins and the article in the Register. It is a pity that the latter was marred by the lowercase "n"; otherwise it was a useful and constructive article.

We are pleased that you feel our recent reports are helpful. We will be grateful for your comments and suggestions at any time.

Enclosed are copies of the Hansen and Carmichael transcripts. Both of them, and particularly Mr. Carmichael's comments, have attracted a gratifying amount of attention.

With best wishes for 1960 and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enclosures

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

22 December 1959

Dear Dr. Fleming:

We thank you for Report L-13 which adds significantly to our volume containing this series of reports.

We hope you can furnish us with one copy each of the full text of the interviews with Dr. Hansen and with Dr. Carmichael. I am sure these will prove to be increasingly valuable.

In this connection you must be gratified with the impact of the Socio-Economic rationale as set forth in Report L-11, as such findings become manifest to citizens in all parts of the country.

The relevance of the People-to-People items may seem remote. However, as we express our good will abroad, our motivation is frequently questioned in view of news items of social import from the States. From this point of view you may find these People-to-People notes interesting.

The item in the REGISTER is not our own. We have protested the capitalization, but have not been disposed to take issue otherwise with this treatment of our area of concern.

Seasons greetings and we hope that all goes well.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures

Dr. Harold G. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE PITTSBURGH Courier

Racial Harmony at Dixie Gathering

By Charles Satchell Morris II

COLUMBIA, S. C. — I sat among 200 ministerial diners in the beauteous, spacious, festivally decorated Legion Lake Officers Club at Fort Jackson. The Columbia Association of Ministers (white) although, thank God, they did not say so, and this in itself the writer considers phenomenal and unprecedented, entertained at a luncheon gathering at famed Fort Jackson—one of the largest Federal military installations—the Columbia Ministerial Alliance (Negro) although not one solitary word concerning race was mentioned in connection with the invitation.

This writer regards the most remarkable phase of the unprecedented occasion the fact that here in the capital city of South Carolina, a state whose governor, United States senators, congressmen and virtually all other public officials—including the nefarious and scandalous Federal judge Timmerman, who ought to be impeached for unjudicial and prejudicial misconduct—are unequivocally dedicated to the maintenance and preservation of "white supremacy" should witness an interracial event when race was not even referred to or mentioned.

In 45 years of public life in the nation I have never known this to happen previously either North or South. Usually there is a patronizing attitude and a statement by someone to the effect that "We welcome our colored brethren" or "you people" have done a great deal or accomplished much.

Chaplain Lt. Col. Whittington (Negro) offered the prayer, a Jewish rabbi made announcements, the Commanding General himself delivered the lay "message," the Rev. Wallace Fridy, minister of the city's most prominent and prestigious Methodist Church presided, the Rev. Milton E. Cox, local Presbyterian clergyman, Benedict College professor of Bible, and president of the International Ministers' Alliance (Negro) — although no mention was made of that term — presented greetings, the Post Chaplain Lorer T. Jenks, presented the award to Major General Clarke, while Dr. Lauren E. Brubaker, chaplain of the University of South Carolina, offered the benediction.

■

WHILE IT MAY be true that Fort Jackson is the only place in the Columbia area where such a group could assemble, the fact that it could assemble there in a spirit of complete concord and brotherhood is in itself a saga.

Perhaps it may not be too much to expect that in the not distant future such a body may gather in one of Columbia's majestic churches whose spires point heavenward. The clergy in this city have advanced beyond the press, public and even sports. And **everybody** was there: Rice of First Presbyterion, Fred V. Poag, minister in Shandon Presbyterian, most populous parish, soon to leave to go to New Orlean's greatest church of his communion, R. Archie Ellis, of First Baptist. President Bacoats of Benedict sat next to Dr. Rice of First Presbyterian, Dr. J. P. Reeder, Benedist trustee, pastor of Zion Baptist and nestor of Negro clergymen in this area next to a prominent Lutheran, your scribe next to and across from two army majors (chaplains).

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

The spirit of the meeting of ministers recently held at Fort Jackson is commended to your attention.

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS

LWD - what do you think? ✓
HCF
Bill Peters

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

18 January 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We invite your attention to the important topic of integration in schools provided for dependents of our military personnel. The enclosed extract of letter to Mr. Carter, a former college student of mine, epitomizes, but more detailed analysis and widespread dissemination will be in the national interest.

It is clear, for example, that these schools' input populations are altogether cosmopolitan. It must not be longer overlooked -- for the statistics have been clear for more than a generation, -- that the output population of our high schools is even more cosmopolitan and increasingly so. Armed Forces mobility is only one of the modern factors leading to more of our public school graduates settling in remote communities and states than those remaining in the home community. Without belaboring the point, this argues for abandonment of outmoded local customs and mores, particularly as they limit the horizon and inhibit the development of students preparing for life in the world of today.

Three off-base schools for dependents, as indicated, were successfully integrated this fall through three different approaches. As of 1954, all on-base schooling and training for any and all personnel has been on an integrated basis. Only recently have efforts been projected off-base. These have centered in the fact that the schools in question have been built for the dependents of military personnel <u>and</u> almost entirely with federal funds. The more general proposition of race in public schools has been left to other agencies more directly concerned.

The school at the Sewart Air Force Base in Tennessee came to our attention through the Race Relations Department at Fisk University. In this instance integration was promptly accepted through amicable legal proceedings with justice to all and no injustices to any. Other approaches, suited to the situation, were successfully used in Arkansas and Florida.

There are other cases, some settled and some still in process, in which the Armed Forces are evincing successful approaches to equity of schooling opportunities for all American youths found within our purview.

We suggest that it would be indeed helpful, and in the national interest, if the Southern Regional Council or some other organization similarly disposed, would develop case histories on a sampling of these off-base schools, and possibly some of the on-base schools, and then prepare a concise report which could be widely circulated, cited and used. Such story should have broad appeal as revealing the more optimistic phases of the present active effort of America to strengthen our public schooling and to make its opportunities more broadly available to all the children of all the people.

It is our feeling that any attention which may be given to this idea will be in the same direction as the efforts of all those in uniform who are serving to defend and strengthen our country.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Dr. H. H. Long

Army Allows Segregation In School On Federal Property

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD JAN 28 1960

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The Department of the Army has agreed to racial segregation in a school located on federal property in defiance of the Supreme Court's May 1957, decision outlawing jim crow public schools.

This was disclosed this week by Alabama's Sen. John Sparkman in a radio interview broadcast by 15 Alabama stations.

In the interview Sparkman said in effect that the Department of Army has taken a "hand-off" policy in the controversy over desegregaing a school which serves children of personnel employed at Redstone Arsenal near Huntsville.

When questioned about the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, by Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Sparkman said there had been a little stir and agitation about the integration of a school adjacent to the Redstone Arsenal.

He said he talked with the army people about it back in November. And in December he received a letter from the Department which said "the matter of the operation of the school was for the state and the locality."

Talmadge added that this only proves that "the Army has more judgement than the Supreme Court or the Department of Justice in the premises."

A check with the Department of Army revealed that in acordance to public laws 874 and 15, the United States Office of Education is prohibited from providing educational facilities on Federal property where state and local educational agencies can and will provide such facilities off Federal property.

ARMY SPOKESMAN "EXPLAIN"

Since the Madison Pike school provides education not only for those living at Redstone Arsenal, but for those working at the arsenal and living in Huntsville, the policy of operation rests with the State of Alabama and the Huntsville City Board of Education, said an Army spokesman.

The Sparksman-Talmadge interview revolved around a proposed constitutional amendment introduced by Sen. Talmadge and co-sponsored by Sen. Sparkman, which would give the State complete control over their schools.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

March 16, 1960

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary
of Defense
Manpower, Personnel and Reserve
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

I hope you will pardon this long delay in replying to your letter regarding possible case studies of integrated schools serving dependents of military personnel. This indicates no lack of interest on our part; on the contrary, the matter has had serious consideration within our staff.

Among others with whom I have raised this question is our mutual friend William Peters. Bill feels there might possibly be a magazine article in the idea, and would be glad to have such background data as you might furnish him.

If this doesn't materialize, we would be happy to consider a report based on such data as is a matter of record. The case study approach raises personnel problems that we are not certain we could work out quickly.

We are also wondering whether the round-up in Southern School News seems to you to alter the

situation. How much of the desired objective do you feel this meets?

In any case, we should like to consider the matter further and would welcome your additional suggestions, as well as such background information as you can readily send us.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD ✓
>> ditto
HCF
File

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

21 March 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our first thought with respect to integrated schools serving dependents of military personnel was the research project approach, possibly by a graduate student from any one of the Universities in the area. Yours of March 16th does not preclude this possibility.

At the same time, the magazine article approach with William Peters could be even more effective in terms of breadth of impact. His works have always been effective and we would hope to find him interested in undertaking a magazine article on the topic.

Responding to your point on Southern School News, we follow carefully their coverage. Even so we feel that this development will respond to greater depth of coverage. Since it represents 'mission accomplished,' there need be no inhibitions about any after effects from probing into various aspects, educationally, sociologically, economically and the like, -- wherefore we have envisioned basis for a fully rounded out picture which should prove broadly pertinent.

We hope to maintain contact.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

over

Harold -

this is amazing. I suggest (seriously) that we ask Margaret Price to

1 - go see Evans & find out what's on his mind

2 - what files etc he has available

3 - let us know what she finds out & whether she would be willing to do whatever it is, if we decide to do it. We could make ~~that~~ decision after passing Margaret's letter on to Peter & obtaining his reaction

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

28 April 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We continue to find most useful and valuable the reports, regular and special, which the Council is issuing. Since our last communication I have made extensive observations in the field in the area extending from Boston to Miami to San Antonio, thus enhancing my appreciation for the reports.

While it may not be of current moment, I pointed out to John Hope while calling at his office in Nashville, that I still think much of value would accrue from a report, as mentioned earlier, on integration of schools for dependents in the vicinity of Air Force bases in Arkansas, Florida and Tennessee.

There is another problem on which reports are doubtless extant. I refer to the socio-economic status of the out-migrants from the southeast as they appear in terminals all around the periphery of this area. The stable citizen and property owner does not leave first, and communities far away accordingly may expect to be shocked by the make-up of those who continue to distill off from areas of tension and transfer their accumulated deficiencies into areas which seem to offer relief if not opportunity.

I pass these observations on to you primarily because such was always a part of our interchange when Dr. George Mitchell and I were active on the field. Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Dr. Herman H. Long

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

9 May 1960

Dear Friend Fleming:

It was reassuring to see you at the NAIRO sessions recently held in Washington, to note your continuing confidence as evident both in our conversation and in your address, -- and to learn that you consider our exchange of items worthwhile.

In this connection we may have brought to your attention the enclosed draft of "The Negro Officer In The Armed Forces". We hope for this to become a useful exhibit bearing evidence indirectly if not directly as to possible successes in the direction of integration. Any criticisms upon this draft will be appreciated.

We hope to maintain contact.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosure

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

16 May 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a preprint of "What The Armed Forces Taught Us About Integration" by Morton Puner appearing in the June 1960 issue of CORONET. Related is "To Dr. Schweitzer With Love", by the same writer, which was the lead article in the April issue.

We believe you will agree that it is in the national interest that 3,000,000 copies of this authentic account are now being made available in a completely civilian context thanks to CORONET and to Mr. Puner who is Editor of the ADL Bulletin, published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

It is in this regard that we express the hope that you will find this study as published both directly and indirectly in support of your program. It will definitely support the defense effort if the environmental problems which impinge upon the developments here favorably reported can be resolved through established democratic procedures.

As always, your interest in the work and the welfare of our personnel in the Armed Services is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosure

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 30, 1960

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary of
Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

It was good to see you in Washington, and I was glad to have your recent communications forwarding copies of "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces" and Morton Puner's Coronet article.

It is good to know that the latter is being reprinted for distribution in such a large quantity. If copies are to be available to such organizations as the Southern Regional Council, I'll appreciate your letting me know. This popular treatment of the Armed Forces success story is an effective program piece.

With my best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE NEGRO OFFICER

IN THE

ARMED FORCES

INDEPENDENCE DAY
July 4, 1960

-D-R-A-F-T-

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

13 April 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES C. EVANS, Civilian Assistant
Office, Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Manpower, Personnel and Reserve)

FROM: John T. Martin, Lt. Colonel, Infantry, Executive

SUBJECT: Random Roster Showing Assignments Held By Negro Officer Personnel in the Armed Forces

The roster now submitted for publication and dissemination within appropriate channels derives from earlier listings dating from the days preceding the beginning of World War II, when there were only five Negro regular officers on duty, all in the Army. Preceding the roster, which is designed to be broadly representative but not in any sense a complete listing of Negro officer personnel, is a brief history of Negro officers in the Armed Forces from the Civil War to the Korean Campaign.

The primary objective is to provide for ROTC cadets and other students of military science a representative listing of officer personnel selected at random on the basis of comprehensive coverage of assignments as held purely on the basis of merit, fitness and the needs of the Services.

There is no disposition on the part of the Office of the Civilian Assistant, as you have reiterated, to continue these aperiodic random rosters, but the demand for them continues. The effort is made in this compilation to prepare a listing which will indirectly reflect a decade of success of the integration program, -- a memorandum for the record should it be decided that there is no further need, particularly within the fully integrated services, for the type of information provided in this report.

-D-R-A-F-T-

THE NEGRO OFFICER IN THE ARMED FORCES

SPRING 1960

As in the past, this listing is addressed primarily to the ROTC cadet, "tomorrow's military leader", who at the end of his college training expects to enter the Armed Forces to undertake his part of the responsibility in maintaining the strength and independence of our Nation. This portrayal of some heroic accomplishments of the past and of the opportunities and responsibilities of those now serving as commissioned officers should contribute to his undergraduate military training.

Each year the colleges become more important as a manpower pool for fulfilling officer requirements in the Armed Forces. This was emphasized by Dartmouth College Professors G. M. Lyons and John W. Masland in their study "Education and Military Leadership", ..."the Nation's strategic requirements are going to make colleges an increasingly large source of military officers."

During the past five years much progress has been made in the field of school integration and today many colleges throughout the country, north.....and south.....have students in ROTC representing all races, creeds, colors and religions. In June the Army's distinguished military graduate list included Negro cadets from colleges representing all sections of the country.

The American Negro dates his military service from Colonial times and today he is represented in the Armed Forces in all ranks from private,

airman and seaman to general officer. In each of our Nation's battles the American Negro has been represented and this includes officer personnel as well as enlisted men although in the early years the officer representation was very small and sometimes not officially recognized. During the Civil War there were approximately 75 Negro officers including eight Negro physicians commissioned in the Union Army. One of the Negro officers commissioned during the Civil War was Lieutenant Colonel William N. Reed of the First North Carolina Regiment, reports Carter G. Woodson in his scholarly work, "The Negro In Our History". Woodson states that Colonel Reed led his regiment in a gallant charge at the battle of Olustee, Florida where he was mortally wounded. Another hero of the Civil War was the Paris-educated Negro Captain Andre Cailloux, who commanded a company in the First Native Guards (Louisiana) and according to Dr. Benjamin Quarles in "The Negro In The Civil War", Cailloux was killed leading his company against an enemy fortress at the Battle of Port Hudson in 1863.

Following the outbreak of World War I, Howard University and other Negro schools requested the War Department to provide facilities for training qualified Negroes to become officers. After much delay, an Officers Training Camp was established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa and more than 600 Negroes received commissions there. At this time the highest ranking Negro in the Army was Colonel Charles E. Young, who had been graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1889; however, Young was not given a command and was ordered retired for physical reasons. Carter G. Woodson, the noted historian, reports that

throughout the war many charges of incompetence and inefficiency were launched against the Negro officer by commanders who did not care to serve with them and this resulted in the separation from service of many fully qualified officers, However, the 8th Illinois Regiment which was staffed throughout by Negro officers, received numerous decorations and citations, including the Croix de Guerre from the French government for its participation in World War I. Many consider it one of the most decorated units.

Although many decorations for valor have been received by Negro enlisted personnel, the Negro officer gained full recognition as a hero in World War II and later during the Korean campaign. It is reported in "The Negro Airman", an unofficial history by Charles E. Francis, that more than 100 Distinguished Flying Crosses were recommended for Negro pilots during World War II, and a War Department press release of October 1945 lists 273 awards made to Negro personnel including the Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Silver Star, the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Soldier's Medal, the Bronze Star Medal and the Air Medal.

Lieutenant Charles B. Hall of Brazil, Indiana, was awarded the DFC and credited with the all-Negro 99th Fighter Squadron's first aerial victory when he destroyed a Focke Wulf 190 in aerial combat on July 2, 1943. At that time the unit was based in Sicily. A partial listing of Distinguished Flying Cross winners now on active duty with the U. S. Air Force would include Major General B. O. Davis, Jr., Colonel George S. Roberts, Jr., Lt. Colonel William A. Campbell, and Major Lee A. Archer,

Also, Major Clarence D. Lester, currently serving as military instructor at Howard University, Major Robert J. Friend, Major Freddie Hutchins, Major Alva Temple, Lt. Colonel V. V. Haywood, Captain Leonard F. Turner, Major Hannibal Cox, and Major Jack D. Holsclaw, former Professor of Air Science at Tennessee A. & I. State College. Major Lester was awarded the DFC for destroying three ME 109s during his tour of duty in Italy.

The highest award for gallantry earned by Negro officers during World War II was the Distinguished Service Cross which is the nation's second highest decoration for combat. Captain Charles Thomas of Detroit, Michigan was awarded the DSC for gallantry while serving as a Lieutenant and tank commander with the 614th Tank Destroyer Battalion near Climbach, France. First Lieutenant Vernon J. Baker of Cheyenne, Wyoming, received the DSC for destroying enemy installations, personnel and equipment while serving with the 92nd Infantry Division near Viareggio, Italy in 1945. Lt. Colonel (then second lieutenant) Reuben Horner of Tucson, Arizona, now serving as Infantry advisor to the Turkish Army, was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry soon after entering combat in 1944 while serving with the 92nd Infantry Division, and Captain Charles F. Gandy of Washington, D. C., a company commander in the same division, was awarded the Silver Star posthumously. Earlier Gandy had received an on-the-spot promotion to Captain from General Mark W. Clark, the Fifth Army Commander. Two other officers from the District of Columbia and the 92nd Division were awarded the Silver Star posthumously during the Italian campaign, they were First Lieutenant John W. Madison and Second Lieutenant Kenneth W. Coleman.

Included in the War Department press release of October 1945 were the following Silver Star winners: Major (then first lieutenant) William E. Porter of Indianapolis, Indiana, who won the third highest combat decoration while serving as a platoon leader with the 366th Infantry Regiment in Italy; Chaplain (Captain) James L. Jones of Dallas, Texas, won the Silver Star while serving with a Quartermaster unit on the Anzio Beachhead; and Captain Royall B. Fleming of Kansas City, Missouri, was cited for gallantry as a medical officer with the 366th Infantry Regiment near Viareggio, Italy. Major Porter recently retired from the Army after completing a tour of duty with the U.S. Military Mission in Liberia. Major Willis D. Polk of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who was killed in action while serving as a battalion commander in the 366th Infantry was also awarded the Silver Star. Another Silver Star winner in Italy was Lieutenant Edward E. Mitchell of Cincinnati, Ohio, now a major on duty in the Pentagon in the Office of the Army Comptroller.

Early in the Korean campaign the Negro officer established himself as a leader when Second Lieutenant William M. Benefield, Jr., of Kansas City, Missouri, a member of the 77th Combat Engineer Company, 25th Infantry Division, was killed by enemy fire while attempting to clear a mine field near Sangju, Korea in July 1950. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross posthumously. The following month another platoon leader from the same engineer company, Chester J. Lenon, a Texan, won the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry. Lenon, now a captain, recently completed a tour of duty as Assistant Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Hampton Institute. Many Air Force officers were also cited for bravery during the Korean campaign. The long list of Distinguished Flying Cross winners included: Lieutenant Colonel (then captain) Daniel James of

Pensacola, Florida; Captain (then first lieutenant) Ernest Craigwell, Jr., of Brooklyn, New York, who flew wing man for the Fifth U. S. Air Force's famed "Flying Parson", Colonel Dean Hess; Major George Gray of Welch, West Virginia, who was killed in Korea; and Captain Dayton Ragland, military instructor at Howard University.

Among the Korean Conflict casualties was Ensign Jesse L. Brown, a native of Mississippi and the first Negro to earn his wings as a Naval aviator. Brown, who was assigned to the USS LEYTE, distinguished himself in combat before being shot down by enemy anti-aircraft guns over North Korea in the winter of 1950. A white shipmate, Lieutenant (jg) Thomas J. Hudner of Fall River, Massachusetts, crash-landed his own plane and risked his life in an attempt to rescue Brown near Chosen Reservoir on December 5, 1950, but was unsuccessful; Brown died before he could be removed from the cockpit. Hudner was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroic action.

On the same day that Engineer Lieutenant William M. Benefield, Jr., lost his life while attempting to clear a mine field near Sangju, Korea in July 1950, Second Lieutenant William D. Ware, a Texan serving with the 24th Infantry Regiment near Sangju won the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry. His citation reads in part, "The position was attacked from three sides by numerically superior enemy forces armed with automatic weapons and supported by mortar fire. The position soon became

untenable and Lieutenant Ware, arming himself with a rifle, ordered his men to withdraw. He was last seen firing from his position on the advancing enemy until his position was overrun." Another Texan, Second Lieutenant (then Master Sergeant) Levy V. Hollis, a member of Headquarters Company, 3rd Battalion, 24th Infantry Regiment, won the DSC for gallantry in August 1950 near Haman, Korea. In November 1950 near Kuni-ri, Korea, First Lieutenant Ellison C. Wynn assumed command of Company B, 9th Infantry Regiment, 2nd Infantry Division, and led his troops in an assault on an enemy position. During an enemy counter-attack, his machine gunner and assistant gunner were killed and Wynn remained in position throwing hand grenades until his other men could rejoin him in defending the position. Although bleeding from wounds received, Wynn staunchly directed the defense of the position until his battalion commander ordered a withdrawal. Now a captain, Wynn is serving as a staff officer with the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Hood, Texas. Another officer cited for gallantry as a member of an integrated unit in Korea was Captain (then second lieutenant) Luther M. McManus of Washington, D.C.. McManus won the Distinguished Service Cross for gallantry near Wolbong-ni, Korea on October 18, 1951, while serving as a platoon leader in the 21st Infantry Regiment, 24th Infantry Division. His citation reads in part, "Inspiring the troops with his personal fearlessness, Lieutenant McManus called them to fix their bayonets and then led them in a determined charge against the hostile position".

These examples of heroism are only a few of the exploits listed in American history and many Negro officers' achievements during the wars

are not included here due to space limitations.

As emphasized in the official 1955 report "Integration in the Armed Services", "The accelerated impetus of the program of racial integration in the Armed Forces during the post-war years has given Negro personnel the opportunity to demonstrate their skill and ability without limitations imposed by race. Better utilization has improved Service effectiveness.. .....many Negroes in uniform are now holding responsible and important positions on a fully integrated basis." Most military analysts will agree that the success of the integration program has also resulted in military personnel representing other minorities being given an opportunity to perform solely on the basis of ability and without regard to race, creed or color.

During the past year Negro officers and enlisted men have made worthwhile contributions to the Military Assistance Advisory Group and Military Mission programs throughout the Far East and Middle East, e.g., last year an Artillery officer served as an advisor to King Saud's Royal Guard in Saudi Arabia, an Infantry officer is now advisor to the Chinese Nationalist Military Academy on Taiwan and a Transportation officer is serving as advisor to the Cambodian Army's Transportation Corps. An Air Force officer is completing a tour on the staff at the United States Embassy in Lebanon and an Engineer officer was recently assigned as a member of the U.S. Military Group in Athens, Greece.

The listing now furnished provides a current sampling of the assignment of Negro officers to positions of responsibility on the basis of merit.

Major General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., Deputy Chief of Staff for Op-

erations, U.S. Air Forces, Europe, was confirmed as a major general by the Senate during the past year thereby becoming the highest ranking Negro ever to serve in the Armed Forces. His father, Brigadier General B. O. Davis, who retired after 50 years of Army service, continues his service to the country as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

For record and reference there follows a limited listing of Negro officer personnel holding a wide range of assignments:

Colonel George S. Roberts, Jr., Commanding Officer, 3345th Maintenance and Supply Group, Chanute Air Force Base, Illinois

Colonel Campbell C. Johnson, Infantry, Assistant to the Director, Selective Service System, Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant Commander Dennis D. Nelson, USN, Staff Relations Officer, Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, Los Angeles, California

Colonel Vance H. Marchbanks, Commanding Officer, U.S. Air Force Hospital, Loring Air Force Base, Limestone, Maine

Colonel Edward C. Gleed, Plans Coordinator, SAGE, Headquarters Air Defense Command, Ent Air Force Base, Colorado

Commander John H. Jackson, USNR, Medical Officer, U. S. Naval Hospital, St. Albans, New York

Colonel Nelson S. Brooks, Director of Communications, Headquarters, Fourth Allied Tactical Air Force, Ramstein, Germany

Lieutenant Colonel Hyman Y. Chase, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant Colonel John T. Martin, Infantry, Executive to the Civilian Assistant, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower, Personnel and Reserve)

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas J. Money, Professor of Air Science, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Colonel John F. Harris, Medical Officer, U.S. Army Dispensary, Fort Lewis, Washington

Captain Thomas J. Simmons, AGC, Chief, Compassionate Review Section, Office of The Adjutant General, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Daniel James, Operations Staff Officer, Air Defense Branch, Headquarters, U. S. Air Force, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel William A. Campbell, 832nd Air Division, Cannon Air Force Base, Clovis, New Mexico

Major Jeanne G. Childs, Administrative Officer, U.S. Army Hospital, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri

Colonel George G. Evans, Jr., Deputy Chief for Materiel, 551st AEW&C Wing, Otis Air Force Base, Massachusetts

Lieutenant Colonel David A. Lane, USAR, Retired, Historical Division, Headquarters, U. S. Army, Europe, Heidelberg, Germany

Lieutenant Colonel James D. Fowler, Infantry, Advisor, Chinese Nationalist Military Academy, MAAG, Taiwan

Lieutenant Colonel Dean B. Mohr, Communications and Electronics Division, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Materiel, Headquarters, U. S. Air Force, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Arthur H. Booth, Artillery, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Prairie View A&M College, Prairie View, Texas

Lieutenant Colonel Major Clark, Artillery, Chief, Missile Training Section, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Frederic E. Davison, Infantry, Personnel Services Branch, G1 Division, Headquarters, Eighth U. S. Army, Korea

Major Walter L. McCreary, Office of Special Investigations, Kelly Air Force Base, Texas

Colonel Melvin W. Ormes, QMC, Deputy Chief for Operations, U. S. Army General Depot, Metz, France

Major Robert L. King, Chief, Procedure Division, Headquarters, U. S. Air Force, Europe, Ramstein Air Force Base, Germany

Major William L. Magee, Chief, Maintenance Division, Tobyhanna Signal Depot, Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania

Lieutenant Colonel John R. Reeves, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Major Ralph A. Anderson, Engineer Advisor, U. S. Army Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Major Elliotte J. Williams, MSC, Research and Development Unit, Office of The Surgeon General, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin W. Johnson, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri

Major Adrian Jones, MPC, Provost Marshal, U. S. Army Garrison, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Lieutenant Benjamin W. Cloud, USN, Assistant Head, Pictorial Department, U. S. Naval Photographic Center, Naval Air Station, Anacostia, D. C.

Major Jesse J. Mayes, Artillery, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

Major Milton M. Hopkins, Jr., U.S. Air Force Staff Officer, Cambridge Research Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lieutenant Colonel James H. Porter, Infantry, Inspector General's Office, Headquarters II U. S. Army Corps, Camp Kilmer, New Jersey

Major Russell H. Dawson, Staff Officer, 25th Division Artillery, Honolulu, Hawaii

Lieutenant Colonel Willard C. Stewart, Infantry, Assistant Public Information Officer, Second U. S. Army, Fort Meade, Maryland

Major John H. Gayles, Artillery, Assistant G4, U. S. Military Training Mission, Saudi Arabia

Lieutenant Commander John W. Lee, USN, Chief, Naval Rocket Testing Station, Dover, New Jersey

Captain Richard Montgomery, Infantry Advisor, U.S. Military Training Mission, Saudi Arabia

Lieutenant Colonel Henry T. Morgan, MPC, Security Officer and Provost Marshal, Letterkenny Ordnance Depot, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

Major Burton W. Lewis, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

First Lieutenant Lawrence V. Dennis, USAF, Navigator, 2nd U. S. Air Division, Saudi Arabia

Captain Eugene H. Edmonds, Rotary and Fixed Wing Aviation Advisor, U. S. Army Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Lieutenant Louis A. Williams, USN, Primary Flight Instructor, Savfley Field, Pensacola, Florida

Lieutenant Colonel Lucius E. Young, Infantry, G4 Division, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army, Fort Meade, Maryland

Lieutenant Colonel Elmore M. Kennedy, Jr., Graduate School, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

Major Albert J. Parker, Battalion Executive Officer, 1st Battle Group, 46th Infantry, 3rd Armored Division, Germany

Lieutenant Colonel Steve G. Davis, Artillery, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Gates, Artillery, Marksmanship Coordinator, Headquarters, First U. S. Army, Governors Island, New York

Lieutenant Robert A. Watts, USN, Medical Officer, USS THETIS BAY, Changhua, Taiwan

Lieutenant Colonel James R. Hillard, Armor, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant Colonel William A. Bobo, Armor, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Headquarters XI Corps, St. Louis, Missouri

Major Claude M. Dixon, Assistant Professor of Air Science, Tennessee A&I State University, Nashville, Tennessee

Major Roy W. Burley, Infantry, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Major Mary W. Wilbourne, Army Nurse Corps, 98th General Hospital, Baumholder, Germany

Major William T. Briscoe, Transportation Corps, Staff Officer, U. S. Army Logistics Depot, Japan

Major Rolin A. Bynum, USAF, B-52 Aircraft Commander, Travis Air Force Base, California

Captain William H. Eaton, Chemical Corps, Executive Officer, Directorate of BW Systems Engineering, Fort Detrick, Maryland

Lieutenant Commander Wesley A. Brown, USN, Assistant Public Works Officer, Naval Air Station, Honolulu, Hawaii

Lieutenant Colonel William Maize, Infantry, Chief, U. S. Military Mission to Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Wright, Infantry, Adjutant, U. S. Army Garrison, Fort Devens, Massachusetts

Major Edward Greer, Artillery, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Major LaVon E. Smith, Artillery, Assistant Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Prairie View A&M College, Prairie View, Texas

Major James Mundy, Artillery, Operations Section, Headquarters Military District of Washington

Major Lawrence D. Spencer, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, A&T College of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina

Lieutenant Colonel Luther Evans, Jr., Artillery, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Lester F. McCants, Artillery, Aviation Officer, 24th Infantry Division, Germany

Major Ernest J. Davis, Jr., USAF, Research and Development Field Unit, Washington, D. C.

Major Mark E. Rivers, Jr., Artillery, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Major Fred L. Allen, Professor of Air Science, A&T College of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina

Captain Dorothy N. Fordham, WAC, Personnel Officer, U. S. Army Dispensary, Pentagon

Captain Bernard L. Render, Deputy Director, Army Chemical Center Procurement Agency, Edgewood, Maryland

Lieutenant Audrey Dantley, USN, Public Information Officer, Naval Station, San Diego, California

Captain Albert C. Brooks, QMC, Post Commissary Officer, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey

Captain Felix Salvador, Artillery, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Lieutenant Colonel Harry I. Fernandes, Transportation Advisor, U. S. Army Military Assistance Advisory Group, Cambodia

Captain Lorenzo B. Mahan, Engineer Advisor, Korean Military Advisory Group, Pusan, Korea

Major Richard W. F. Hughes, Armor Advisor, Military Assistance Advisory Group, Viet Nam

Major Arthur Williams, USAF, Engineering Officer, Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant A. P. Dean, USN, Staff Officer, Naval District, Los Angeles, California

Major Jesse Liscomb, AGC, Executive Officer, G4 Section, Headquarters First Corps, Eighth U. S. Army, Korea

Major Charles R. Stanton, Staff Officer, Tactical Air Division, Headquarters, U. S. Air Force, Pentagon

Major Benjamin J. Benton, Infantry, Headquarters 4th Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, Washington

Major Steven B. Mayo, Armor Advisor, U. S. Army Reserve Advisory Group, Boston, Massachusetts

Lieutenant Colonel John H. Washington, Transportation Corps, U. S. Army Terminal, Pacific, Oakland, California

Major Spann Watson, Staff Officer, Headquarters Boston Air Defense Sector, Stewart Air Force Base, Newburgh, New York

Major James W. Simmons, Transportation Advisor, U. S. Military Advisory Group, Viet Nam

Major O. P. Taylor, Infantry, Executive to the Deputy Post Commander, 7th Infantry Division, Korea

Chaplain (Lt Col) Osborne Scott, Post Chaplain, U. S. Army Garrison, Baumholder, Germany

Captain Paul E. Waters, Corps of Engineers, Staff Officer, Columbus (Ohio) Engineer Maintenance Center

Major William R. Rollins, Corps of Engineers, Staff Officer, Engineer School, Fort Belvoir, Virginia

Major Bennie Armstrong, Transportation Advisor, U. S. Army Reserve Group, Lawrence, Massachusetts

Major Gorham L. Black, Infantry, Adjutant, Second Battle Group, 47th Infantry, Fort Lewis, Washington

Lieutenant (jg) Howard C. Petty, USNR, Aviator, Patuxent Naval Air Station, Maryland

Major Dudley W. Stevenson, Commanding Officer, Air and Airway Communications System Squadron, Olmstead Air Force Base, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Major Joel G. Adams, AGC, Selective Service System Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant Colonel Wilbert D. Fisher, Jr., Corps of Engineers, Deputy Supply Officer, U. S. Army General Depot, Toul, France

Captain Marshall B. Bass, Infantry, Executive to the Assistant Chief of Staff for Logistics, Second U. S. Army, Fort Meade, Maryland

Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Sweeney, Artillery Advisor, U. S. Army Reserve Group, New York City

Major L. Archie Harris, USAF, Office of the Judge Advocate General, Travis Air Force Base, California

Lieutenant Colonel Elmer D. Jones, Air Research and Development Center, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio

Lieutenant Thomas D. Young, USMC, Aviator, Cherry Point Air Station, North Carolina

Major Floyd W. Crouch, Transportation Corps, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Christmas, USAF, Director of Selective Service, Virgin Islands

Captain Oscar DePriest, III, Medical Officer, 6th Infantry Regiment, Berlin, Germany

Lieutenant Commander Samuel Gravelly, USN, Staff Officer, USS THEODORE CHANDLER, San Diego, California

Major Edward H. Soulds, Infantry, Commander of Troops, U. S. Army General Depot, Toul, France

Lieutenant Reeves R. Taylor, USN, Aeronautical Photographic Experimental Laboratory, Naval Air Station, Johnsville, Pennsylvania

Lieutenant Colonel I. V. McCain, Chief Dental Officer, Pease Air Force Base, Portsmouth, New Hampshire

Lieutenant Colonel John C. Robinson, Infantry, G3 Section, Headquarters, Second U. S. Army, Fort Meade, Maryland

Major Henry M. Francis, Artillery, Graduate School, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

Major Edward E. Mitchell, Infantry, Office of the Comptroller of the Army, Pentagon

Captain Bert Cumby, AGC, Military Intelligence Officer, Seventh U. S. Army, Stuttgart, Germany

Captain James B. Warren, Flight Facilities Officer, Ramstein Air Force Base, Germany

Chaplain (Lieutenant Commander) Thomas B. Parham, USN, Marine Corps Recruiting Depot, San Diego, California

Lieutenant Colonel Roy W. Sorrell, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio

Major Lee A. Archer, Jr., Operations Officer, U. S. Air Force Detachment, Orly Field, Paris, France

Lieutenant (jg) Garfield T. Byrd, USNR, Primary Flight Instructor, Savfley Field, Pensacola, Florida

Major Robert J. Friend, Air Technical Intelligence Office, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio

Captain Lloyd D. Jones, AGC, Special Services and Post Exchange Officer, Fort Jay, New York

Major George B. Hamilton, Medical Officer, U. S. Army Dispensary, Fort Dix, New Jersey

Lieutenant Colonel Hubert L. Jones, Professor of Air Science, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

Major William Richardson, USAF, Staff Officer, Headquarters 16th U. S. Air Force, Madrid, Spain

Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy Newsome, Headquarters, Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado

Major Bradley Biggs, Infantry, Assistant to the Deputy Commander, 24th Infantry Division, Munich, Germany

Captain John C. Freeman, Transportation Officer, Heidelberg Military Post, Germany

Major Joseph Toppin, Infantry, Operations Officer, 11th Transportation Terminal Command, Bordeaux, France

Major Weldon K. Groves, Commanding Officer, USAF Weather Detachment, Dreux Air Force Base, France

Lieutenant Joseph S. Henriquez, USN, U. S. Naval Research and Development Activities, Naval Air Station, Johnsville, Pennsylvania

Major Joseph W. Brown, Chief, Support Division, U. S. Army Signal Corps School, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey

Captain Hosea Owens, USMC, Staff Officer, Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton, California

Major Harold E. Henson, Operations Officer, 4th Combat Engineer Battalion, Fort Lewis, Washington

Lieutenant Colonel James H. Carr, Armor, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia

Major Wallace W. Price, QMC, G4 Section, Headquarters U. S. Army Garrison, Fort Dix, New Jersey

Major Samuel F. Sampson, Artillery, G3 Training Division, U. S. Army Air Defense Command, Fort Bliss, Texas

Captain Alexander H. Hunt, Infantry, Adjutant, U. S. Military Mission to Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia

Major Albert F. Washington, MPC, Deputy Provost Marshal, Fort Dix, New Jersey

Major John R. Maxwell, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army Element, U. S. Military Aid Group, Athens, Greece

Lieutenant Colonel George Roberts, QMC, Office of the Comptroller, Kaiserslautern Military Post, Germany

Captain Clinton R. Moorman, Infantry, Assistant Special Services Officer, Fort Dix, New Jersey

Major Milton B. Flemings, MSC, Chief, Entomology Division, First U. S. Army Medical Laboratory, New York City

Lieutenant Colonel Howard L. Baugh, Professor of Air Science, Tennessee A&I State University, Nashville, Tennessee

Lieutenant Colonel Eugene M. Dasent, Dental Officer, Brooke Army Medical Center, Fort Sam Houston, Texas

Captain Aldee G. Miller, Signal Corps, Missile Master Detachment, Highland, New Jersey

Lieutenant Colonel Henry B. Perry, Director, Combat Operations Center, Headquarters, Central Air Defense Force, NORAD Forces, Richards-Gebaur Air Force Base, Missouri

Major Allen R. Anderson, Infantry, Intelligence Officer, 1st Battle Group, 4th Infantry, Fort Devens, Massachusetts

Captain Charles P. Cox, Ground Intelligence Officer, U. S. Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Lieutenant Colonel Raymond A. Montgomery, Infantry, Post Operations Officer, Headquarters, Fort Meade, Maryland

Major Wejay Bundara, Armor, Chief, Instructor Group, U. S. Army Armored School, Fort Knox, Kentucky

Major Forrest A. Walker, Artillery, Lansing Area Coordinator, Headquarters, U. S. Army Reserve Advisory Group, Lansing, Michigan

Major Roscoe C. Cartwright, Artillery, G4 Section, Headquarters, Sixth U. S. Army, San Francisco, California

Captain Hurdle L. Maxwell, USMC, Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton, California

Chaplain (Lt Col) Louis J. Beasley, Post Chaplain, Fort Devens, Massachusetts

Major Lott Carter, Staff Officer, Clark Air Force Base, Philippine Islands

Lieutenant Colonel T. B. Smith, MC, Chief Clinical Laboratory, USAF Hospital, Wiesbaden, Germany

Major Clifford Arrington, MC, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Washington, D. C.

Chaplain (Lieutenant) Worth L. Barbour, USNR, Staff Officer, Naval Training Center, San Diego, California

Captain George B. Van Buren, Ordnance Advisor, Military Assistance Advisory Group, Viet Nam

Major George Isles, Operations Staff Officer, Spangdahlen Air Force Base, Germany

Lieutenant Herman L. Wade, Instructor, U. S. Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia

Major Edward D. Hinkson, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia

Major Daniel C. Thomas, Artillery, Aviation Officer, Post Flight Detachment, Fort Devens, Massachusetts

Lieutenant Phyllis A. Jordan, WAF, Deputy Finance Officer, 4530th Combat Crew Training Wing, Williams Air Force Base, Arizona

Major James M. Hamlet, Infantry, Staff Officer, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Lieutenant Colonel Stanford Hicks, Ordnance, Field Service Division, Office, Chief of Ordnance, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Major Harold N. Jenkins, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, South Carolina A&M College, Orangeburg, South Carolina

Captain Pola Garrett, WAC, Instructor, Staff and Faculty, Adjutant General's School, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana

Major James Buchanan, Artillery, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Major Oleta Crain, WAF, Division of Manpower and Operations, Headquarters, USAFE, Wiesbaden, Germany

Lieutenant Colonel Daniel E. Day, Artillery, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Florida A&M University, Tallahassee, Florida

Captain Robert L. Peters, Artillery, Instructor, U. S. Army Artillery and Guided Missile School, Fort Sill, Oklahoma

Major Herbert L. Tucker, Operations Officer, Department of Engineering, U. S. Army Engineer School, Fort Belvoir, Virginia

Major Iverson O. Mitchell, Operations Officer, 19th Artillery Group, Silver Hill, Suitland, Maryland

Lieutenant Colonel C. M. Davenport, Staff Officer, Artillery Section, Headquarters, Eighth U. S. Army, Korea

Major Charles M. Bussey, Corps of Engineers, G3 Section, Headquarters XV U. S. Army Corps, Presidio of San Francisco, California

Captain Richard F. Johnson, Transportation Corps, Assistant Professor of Military Science and Tactics, University of Indiana

Captain John W. Moseley, USAF, Director, Air Force Reserve Center, Pasadena, California

Major James R. Warrick, Infantry Advisor, Rhode Island National Guard, Providence, Rhode Island

Captain Joe Caldwell, Quartermaster Advisor, U. S. Army Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Lieutenant Theodore M. Daly, Jr., USNR, Engineer Officer, Philadelphia Naval Shipyard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Captain Warren Alexander, USAF, Staff Officer, Embassy of the United States, Beirut, Lebanon

First Lieutenant Edward Levell, Jr., Flight Commander, 417th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Ramstein, Germany

Captain Edward House, USMC, Aviation Instructor, Marine Base, El Toro, California

Major Richard A. Calfee, Transportation Advisor, U. S. Army Reserve Advisory Group, Fort Snelling, Minnesota

Lieutenant Colonel Edward C. Johnson, Infantry, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland

Major Nancy Leftenant, Chief Nurse, U. S. Air Force Hospital, Wiesbaden, Germany

Captain Daniel M. Walker, Quartermaster Advisor, U. S. Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Captain Thomas J. Holman, Quartermaster Advisor, U. S. Training Mission, Saudi Arabia

Major Oliver Dillard, Infantry, G3 Division, First U. S. Army, Governors Island, New York

Captain Haldane King, Fiscal Officer, Headquarters 4th Allied Tactical Air Force, Ramstein, Germany

Major Alva Temple, Aircraft Controller, Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia

Lieutenant Melvin C. Thornton, VHF Radio Officer, U. S. Communications Department, U. S. Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Captain Wilmer Marvin, Artillery, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Lincoln, Franklin and Belmont High Schools, Los Angeles, California

Lieutenant Victor D. Hunter, VHF Radio Officer, U. S. Communications Detachment, U. S. Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan

Major Russell Stokes, Infantry, S4 Section, Headquarters Support Command Eighth U. S. Army, Korea

Lieutenant (jg) Emmanuel L. Jenkins, USNR, Performance Officer, Third Naval District, New York City

Lieutenant Colonel Reuben L. Horner, Infantry Advisor, U. S. Army Element, Ankara, Turkey

Captain Herbert J. Taylor, Infantry, U. S. Military Training Mission, Taifa, Saudi Arabia

First Lieutenant Harold E. Batiste, Jr., USAF, MSC, Training Officer, U. S. Air Force Hospital, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

Major V. V. Haywood, USAF, Operations and Training Officer, 34th NORAD Division, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Major Joseph L. Bailey, JAGC, Army-Air Force Clemency and Parole Board, Office of the Secretary of the Army, Pentagon

Captain Chester A. Woods, Armor, Gunnery Instructor, The Armored School, Fort Knox, Kentucky

Major Curtis Smith, USAF, SAGE Coordinator, 29th NORAD Division, Great Falls, Montana

Captain James C. Queen, Infantry, Team Commander, 77th Special Forces Group, Fort Bragg, North Carolina

Major Charles H. Allison, AGC, Adjutant, Atlantic Transportation Terminal Command, Brooklyn, New York

Captain Ozell M. Dean, USAF, Nurse Corps, Surgical Ward Supervisor, U. S. Air Force Hospital, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

Major William D. Brooks, Jr., Infantry, Selective Service System Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Major Lilamae N. Smith, Army Nurse Corps, Tripler U. S. Army Hospital, Honolulu, Hawaii

Major O. T. Thornton, Infantry, Logistics Officer, Headquarters, U. S. Army Garrison, Fort Hayes, Ohio

Captain Fred E. Cureton, USAF, Communications Staff Officer, Headquarters U. S. Air Force, Pentagon

Major Walter A. McDowell, Chemical Corps, Operations Officer, U. S. Army Chemical Corps Proving Ground, Dugway, Utah

Lieutenant Colonel George G. Bingham, Artillery, Operations Officer, Seventh Army Training Center, Grafenwohr, Germany

Captain Martin G. Saunders, USAF, Jet Pilot Instructor, 1001st Air Base Wing, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland

Major Ronald L. Mordecai, Ordnance Corps, Office of the Inspector General, Department of the Army, Pentagon

Major Bernice B. Jones, USAF, Nurse Corps, Undergraduate Student, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana

Captain Marcellus L. Hunter, USAF, Deputy Commander for Operations, Plans and Programs, 7272nd Air Base Wing, Tripoli Air Force Base, Libya

During the period 1940 to 1960 more than 25 Negro officers attained the rank of full colonel on active duty, in the Organized Reserve or as members of the National Guard. Approximately one year before the attack on Pearl Harbor, several all-Negro units were called to active duty from Massachusetts, Illinois, New York, Washington, D. C., Maryland and New Jersey for training and several Negro officers holding the rank of full colonel entered active duty with these Reserve and National Guard units. A partial listing of Negro full colonels on active duty during World War II would include: Colonel West A. Hamilton and Colonel Howard D. Queen, 366th Infantry Regiment; Colonel Edward O. Gourdin and Colonel Howard C. Gilbert, 372nd Infantry Regiment; Colonel Chauncey M. Hooper, 369th Coast Artillery Regiment; Colonel Midian O. Bousefield, Commanding Officer, Station Hospital, Fort Huachuca, Arizona; Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, 332nd Fighter Group; and Colonel Anderson F. Pitts, 184th Field Artillery Regiment. Colonel Gourdin was promoted to Brigadier General, Massachusetts National Guard after World War II.

Other officers to attain the rank of full colonel during the twenty year period include: Colonel Oscar O. Randall of Chicago, Infantry; Colonel De Maurice Moses of New York, Artillery; Colonel Marcus H. Ray of Chicago, Artillery; Colonel Harry F. Lofton of Boston, Infantry; Colonels Raymond E. Contee, Ernest R. Welch and Robert L. Pollard, all Infantry officers of Washington, D. C.; and Colonel Richard Jones, Artillery, of Chicago who was promoted to the grade of Brigadier General in the Illinois National Guard prior to his appointment as Ambassador to Liberia.

Within the past two years four Negro officers serving as full colonels have been retired from the Armed Forces. They are Colonel James H. Robinson of Washington, D.C., an Infantry officer who served in the Office, Secretary of Defense, Department of the Army, and with the 8th U. S. Army in Korea; Colonel Harry B. Reubel of New York City, former PMS&T at Prairie View A&M College and Hampton Institute; Chaplain (Colonel) John A. DeVeaux of Washington Court House, Ohio, former President of the Army Chaplains Board; and Colonel George W. Webb, former Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel at Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D. C..

Since the 1870s when the first Negro cadets entered the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, and the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, more than one hundred Negro cadets have entered academies. One of the people considered most responsible for interesting Negro students in the military schools was Lieutenant Colonel Harry O. Atwood, U. S. Army, Retired, who served for more than 30 years as a teacher and professor of Military Science and Tactics in the Washington high schools. During the past 25 years many students entering the academies received their high school training in Washington and a partial listing of Negro cadets who entered West Point and Annapolis during Colonel Atwood's tenure as a military instructor would include: Major General Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., U. S. Air Force; Lieutenant Colonel James D. Fowler, Infantry; Major Henry M. Francis, Artillery; Major Ernest J. Davis, Jr., U. S. Air Force; Lieutenant Commander Wesley A. Brown, U. S. Navy; Captain Bernard C. Hughes, Corps of Engineers; Lieutenant Lawrence Chambers, U. S. Navy; Lieutenant Hugh G. Robinson, Corps of Engineers; Lieutenant James H. Robinson, Jr., Signal Corps; and Lieutenant John M. Hamilton, Infantry.

During the present school year (1959-1960) 21 Negro cadets are enrolled in the military, naval and air force academies. This is the first time Negroes have entered the Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs and two of the three first year men made the Superintendent's Merit List upon completion of the first semester. Two Negroes, Cadet Ira Dorsey at the Military Academy and Cadet John O'Halloran at the Naval Academy are scheduled to be commissioned with their graduating classes in June 1960.

Attached as appendices are listings of graduates, and cadets currently enrolled at the U. S. Military Academy, U. S. Naval Academy and U. S. Air Force Academy.

A P P E N D I X A

GRADUATES OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

NAME	CLASS	BRANCH
Flipper, Henry O.	1877	Infantry
Alexander, John H.	1887	Infantry
Young, Charles D.	1889	Cavalry
Davis, Benjamin O. Jr.	1936	USAF
Fowler, James D.	1941	Infantry
*Tresville, Robert B. Jr.	1943	USAF
Davenport, Clarence M.	1943	Artillery
Francis, Henry M.	1944	Artillery
Davis, Ernest J. Jr.	1945	USAF
Rivers, Mark E. Jr.	1945	Artillery
McCoy, Andrew A. Jr.	1946	USAF
Howard, Edward B.	1949	Signal Corps
Smith, Charles L.	1949	Signal Corps
Carlisle, David K.	1950	CE (Resigned)
Green, Robert W.	1950	CE (Resigned)
Brown, Norman J.	1951	Armor
Wainer, Douglas F.	1951	Signal Corps
Robinson, Roscoe Jr.	1951	Infantry
Woodson, William B.	1951	Artillery (Resigned)
Young, James R. Jr.	1951	USAF
Corprew, Gerald	1953	Signal Corps
Hughes, Bernard C.	1953	CE
Worthy, Clifford	1953	Artillery
Lee, Ronald B.	1954	Signal Corps

Graduates of the United States Military Academy (Continued)

NAME	CLASS	BRANCH
Turner, Leroy	1954	Infantry (Resigned)
Robinson, Hugh G.	1954	CE
Hamilton, John M. Jr.	1955	Infantry
Olive, Lewis C. Jr.	1955	USAF
Cassells, Cyrus	1955	USAF
Batchman, G. R.	1955	Infantry
Brown, John	1955	Infantry
Blunt, Roger	1956	CE
Bradley, Martin G.	1957	USAF
McCollum, Cornell Jr.	1957	Signal Corps
Brunner, Ronald S.	1958	Artillery
Baugh, Raymond C.	1959	Signal Corps
Kelley, Welbourne A. III	1959	CE
Dorsey, Ira	1960	

* Reported missing in action - June 1944

A P P E N D I X B

GRADUATES OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

NAME	CLASS	BRANCH
Brown, Wesley A.	1949	USN
Chambers, Lawrence	1952	USN
Taylor, Reeves	1953	USN
*Raiford, John	1954	
Gregg, Lucius P. Jr.	1955	USAF
Sechrest, Edward	1956	USN
Bauduit, Harold S.	1956	USAF
Jamison, Vencin	1957	USN
Slaughter, Kent W.	1957	USAF
**Fennell, George M.	1958	USN
Bruce, Malvin D.	1959	USN
Bush, William S. III	1959	USN
Clark, Maurice E.	1959	USN
Powell, William E. Jr.	1959	USN
O'Halloran, Joseph	1960	

*Graduated but not commissioned.
**Killed in plane crash - September 1958

A P P E N D I X C

CADETS CURRENTLY ENROLLED AT THE SERVICE ACADEMIES

U. S. Military Academy

Brown, R. J.	1961
Quinn, K. L.	1961
Gorden, F. A.	1962
Handcox, Robert C.	1963
Banks, E.	1963
Ivy, William L.	1963
Jackson, David S.	1963
Shavers, J. R.	1963

U. S. Naval Academy

Byrd, Willie C.	1961
Johnson, Mack Jr.	1961
Shelton, Jon A.	1961
Eatman, Gerald	1962
Jackson, John T.	1962
McCray, Donald	1962
Newton, Robert C.	1963
Ericsson, Holger G. Jr.	1963

U. S. Air Force Academy

Bush, Charles Vernon	1963
Payne, Isaac S. IV	1963
Sims, Roger	1963

21 December 1960

Dear Dr. Clark:

I appreciate your recent phone call and copy of the letter which you addressed to Secretary Milton. I am sorry that I was out of the country when the Committee of Presidents met with Mr. Milton as I missed a very profitable session according to all reports.

As bearing upon the ROTC and military training in general I have received since my return from Africa two highly gratifying statements which I am taking the liberty to use. - in the national interest.

> In your letter to Mr. Milton you say ". . . we are concerned . . . because we have observed the impact of military instruction upon our total University and citizenship life. As a matter of fact, we know that our ROTC Unit here at Southern University has given our entire campus and academic program a tone and an atmosphere which could have come from no other source. We know that this is true, because previously I had tried all other major sources in an effort to arrive at such a pattern."

Again the Commission on Race Relations appointed by Governor Collins of Florida states in a memorandum recently released:

> "8. Service in our Armed Forces.
>
> Experience in our Armed Services; which have desegregated without difficulty, has made it more difficult for many Negroes to accept complete segregation. Included

COPY

21 December 1960

in this category are thousands of Negro veterans, many of whom are leaders in the Negro communities, and several of whom were officers in the Armed Services."

These contributions to the general welfare, and their occasional recognition, help in strengthening the determination toward equality for all citizens on the part of high officials in the Pentagon with whom you have recently been working.

In extending Season's Greetings we hope that all continues to go well at Southern University.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Dr. Felton G. Clark
President
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

January 26, 1961

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Assistant Secretary of
Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

Enclosed is a copy of the Southern Regional Council's report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," which we have transmitted to President Kennedy and appropriate advisers.

Your comments or criticisms -- particularly with respect to the section dealing with the Armed Forces -- will be greatly appreciated.

May I take this opportunity to say how much I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending materials and information of mutual interest. We find them extremely useful.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

1 November 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are furnishing under separate cover copies of the attached reprint. This follows a Congressional Record item reproducing the article as it initially appeared in a magazine of national circulation.

We hope that this will be found pertinent and of possible use in advancing movements dedicated to freedom.

We hope that all goes well.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosures

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

19 May 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Much attention, both specific and general, is being given now to items such as those recounted in your letter of April 13th concerning Chaplain's Day at Maxwell Air Force Base. Despite recent incidents, I feel that assurance can be given first that these matters are not being overlooked and second that assistance of a general nature will be forthcoming.

We continue to see "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." This is being received, and I believe used, as a genuine 'contribution to the literature.'

As you may anticipate, from the files of our earlier communications with Mr. Fleming and with you, you will be hearing from us further.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

17 November 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are apprised of your plans for a full scale report on developments during 1961 and we are, as always, interested.

I am to be in Atlanta on Tuesday, the 21st of November in connection with the Equal Opportunity Day observances. I hope to drop in on you. Regards.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Mr. M. T. Puryear

send 1 copies
Fed Educ + Civil Rights

SHIPPED NOV 27 1961
W7

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

24 November 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We had definite plans for calling at your office but these were pre-empted by the program outlined by the Equal Opportunity Day Committee. Hence our very great pleasure in seeing you at the evening session and having the opportunity to talk briefly.

I hope it will be possible, as indicated, for your office to furnish us 12 copies of the Pollitt paper "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations" prepared with references through 1960 as a Council project.

It is reassuring to note the increasing amount of attention being accorded proposals in this category.

We look forward to seeing you at greater length.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

28 November 1961

I M
MHB-file

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are glad to have the Houston Study on Negro Employment Opportunities and hope to receive the other studies projected in this series.

While reading this, our attention was called to Dr. Conant's study "Slums and Suburbs" with its generalized statement, "It does no good whatever to prepare boys and girls for non-existent jobs."

It is in the national interest that discrimination be eliminated as efforts are made to develop significant and productive job opportunities.

As indicated, I was glad to see you at Atlanta, and we hope to maintain contact.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Suite 201
Atlanta, Georgia

cc: Mr. John Hope

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

14 May 1962

file

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In reply to your letter of 9 May, I thought you might be interested to know that the Associated Press on 20 July 1961, carried an item referred to the proposed assignment of Negro officers to the National Guard Bureau. A copy of this item, as published in the WASHINGTON STAR of that date, is enclosed. To be specific, the officers assigned to the Bureau and the dates of their assignment are:

Colonel C. M. Davenport, USA -
12 November 1961

Lt. Colonel W. W. Crockett, USAF -
15 September 1961

Major Alexander Hunt, USA -
7 October 1961

The District of Columbia National Guard has not been segregated since September 1961.

Both of these events occurred as a matter of course, and thus were not given an undue amount of publicity.

Sincerely,

Adam Yarmolinsky

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Washington Star JUL 20 1961

Pentagon Cool on Plan To Limit Guard Funds

By the Associated Press

The Pentagon views "with the utmost caution in these perilous times" a proposal that Federal funds be withheld from all National Guard units that do not integrate racially.

It might reduce drastically the effectiveness of the guard, said the Defense Department's manpower chief, Assistant Secretary Carlisle P. Runge. He made the views known yesterday in a reply to Murray Gross, national chairman of the American Veterans Committee who made the withholding proposal in a letter last month.

Mr. Gross had included with his letter a report by his committee on a "civil rights audit of the National Guard." It said there are several States which practice segregation of white and Negro troops in their National Guard units.

Mr. Runge said "advances in the integration of Negroes into formerly all-white units have been made" in a number of States. He added that the policy of the Defense Department is integration in the regular armed forces.

Cites Danger

Discussing Mr. Gross' proposal for a denial of Federal funds to States which do not desegregate guard units, Mr. Runge said:

"If this sanction were carried to the ultimate, under the statutes this could mean the withdrawal of all Federal equipment and personnel support of the National Guard of the States as well as the withholding of money for drills and other personnel services now paid for from Federal funds. At the least, this could mean a serious deterioration of the effectiveness of these divisions and units of the National Guard as military forces.

"The National Guard has been characterized by the United States Congress as the first line of defense of this country. To take action which might for all practical purposes eliminate a substantial portion of the major reserve combat capability of our ground and air forces is a matter which commands the utmost caution in these perilous times."

Mr. Runge also wrote Mr. Gross that the reports Mr. Gross sent him made "serious allegations with respect to the National Guard Bureau" of the Defense Department. Mr. Runge presented figures to answer allegations that there was discrimination against Jews and Catholics in staffing of the Guard. He said:

"With respect to the chief of the National Guard Bureau, Maj. Gen. Donald W. McGowan, it is of interest to note that for a number of years he was the commanding general of the National Guard of the State of New Jersey. During his tenure in that office in the early '50s, he was actively responsible for elimination of segregation in the New Jersey National Guard. Gen. McGowan has stated he would welcome nominations from the several States of qualified National Guard officers of the Negro race for assignment to active duty.

"Further, a distinguished Negro officer has in fact been selected from the active forces for assignment to the National Guard Bureau in January upon completion of a one-year command assignment required of all officers in their career planning. . . . It is contemplated that within the next three months an officer in addition to the one mentioned above will be made available for assignment to the bureau.

"The Undersecretary of the Army, in co-ordination with the chief of the National Guard Bureau, is in the process of seeking to increase the number of qualified Negro civilians for the National Guard Bureau in addition to those presently employed there."

Swedish Poet Drowns

MALMOE, Sweden, July 20 (AP).—Noted Swedish poet Hjalmar Gullberg, 63, drowned yesterday while bathing in Ydderingen Lake near Malmoe in south Sweden. Mr. Gullberg was a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, which awards Nobel prizes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

September 21, 1962

Dr. James C. Evans
Counsellor
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Evans:

Many thinks for your letter of September 19 and the enclosures. We are very glad to have these and glad, too, to have your continued interest.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

19 September 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The enclosures reflect some of the earlier services of the Council and also some of the continuing activities in your area of concern.

It is reassuring to note the increasing amount of favorable attention being given. We hope that all continues to go well with your program.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Enclosures

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

19 September 1962

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are pleased to respond to request of September 14th for information about the work of this office as reflected in "Integration and the Negro Officer in the Armed Forces of the United States of America." We are enclosing copies of the March 1962 issue of this monograph.

The first reference which is directly related will be found in the March 1956 issue of "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science."

We are also enclosing for your library copy of a rare document "Freedom to Serve." This 1950 report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services has recently been reproduced through this office to meet the requirements of committees and commissions now giving attention to integration in the Armed Forces.

Our staff is giving attention also to bibliographies on this subject. These now begin to show sound and substantial writings. We are confident that the interest of the Institute in these items is in the national interest. We hope to see you.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Enclosures

Mr. Harold Fleming
The Potomac Institute
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

February 28, 1963

Mr. Stephen Jackson
Special Assistant to the Assistant
Secretary of Defense (M)
Room 3E966
The Pentagon
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I must first of all apologize for taking longer than I had indicated to respond to your call last week. We have been unusually rushed here while at the same time unusually short-handed because of the "Flu" and travel.

We are sending, enclosed, some suggestions of contacts in one state, North Carolina. We are preparing similar lists from other states, and will send them to you quickly. We thought, however, that we would get this North Carolina listing off to you now so that if this way of doing it does not fill your needs, you could let us know.

On the list of individuals we have used an asterisk to denote Negro. We do this only because, for your purposes, you probably would need to know.

With all best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NORTH CAROLINA

Human Relations Agency Resources

1. North Carolina Council on Human Relations
   121 E. Third Street, Room 301
   Charlotte, North Carolina
   Mr. Harry Jones, Executive Director
   (NCCHR has local Councils in several communities and members throughout the state.)

2. American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Regional Office
   1818 South Main Street
   High Point, North Carolina
   B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary

3. American Baptist Home Mission Societies
   Box 188
   Chapel Hill, North Carolina
   J. C. Herrin

4. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Southeastern Division
   P. O. Box 3587
   Greensboro, North Carolina
   Gordon W. Lovejoy, National Program Consultant

5. United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries
   5606 Oak Street
   Guilford College, North Carolina
   Carl J. Landes

6. Winston-Salem Urban League
   610 Coliseum Drive
   Winston-Salem, North Carolina
   Sam D. Harvey, Director

7. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   Kelly M. Alexander, State President
   323 South Brevard Street
   Charlotte, North Carolina
   (The NAACP has local organizations in many communities and members throughout the state.)

IndividualsResources

The Rev. Thomas Thrasher
Chapel of the Corss
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

*Mr. John H. Wheeler
President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

*Mr. Fred D. Alexander
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

Mr. Irving E. Carlyle
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Mr. McNeill Smith
700 Jefferson Street Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. J. Ray Shute
317 E. Windsor Street
Monroe, North Carolina

The Rev. Charles Jones
Community Church
Purefoy and Mason Farm Roads
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Rev. Henry G. Ruark
First Methodist Church
Laurinburg, North Carolina

Mr. Roy D. McLaurin
West Boulevard
Laurinburg, North Carolina

EOV
MJ

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

31 December 1968

MANPOWER AND
RESERVE AFFAIRS

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Executive Director of
the Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is in response to your letter to Secretary Clifford regarding our compliance program to eliminate discrimination in employment in the textile industry.

We share your concern that every Defense contractor must fully meet his obligation under Executive Order 11246. We are also fully cognizant of the importance of effective enforcement to the intended beneficiaries of the Executive Order.

Sixty-five textile compliance reviews have taken place to date. As you point out, much significant progress has been made.

Several affirmative action plans are now being reviewed by this office in cooperation with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Justice Department. We will keep you advised of the results of these reviews. You may be assured that it is our intent to see that Defense contractors fully meet their obligations under the Executive Order.

Sincerely,

Jack Moskowitz

Jack Moskowitz
Deputy Assistant Secretary
(Civil Rights and Industrial Relations)

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

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DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

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LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FEBRUARY 12, 1969

THE HON. DAVID S. PACKARD
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF CONTRACTS TO BE LET TO THREE TEXTILE COMPANIES AFTER THEIR BEING FOUND IN SUBSTANTIAL NONCOMPLIANCE WITH EXECUTIVE ORDER #11246 THREATENS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACT COMPLIANCE WORK. THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN MADE SO PUBLIC BY SENATOR THURMON'S INTERVENTION, PRESS COVERAGE, AND YOUR ACTIONS, THAT IT IS INCUMBENT UPON YOU TO REVEAL THE SPECIFICS OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH THE COMPANIES AND GIVE PUBLIC ASSURANCES THAT THE ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF CONTRACT COMPLIANCE WILL BE ADHERED TO BY THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND APPLIED TO THOSE COMPANIES HOLDING DEFENSE CONTRACTS. LETTER FOLLOWS.

PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

February 12, 1969

The Honorable David S. Packard
Deputy Secretary of Defense
United States Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Packard:

Our organization has had a special interest in the employment practices of the textile industry in the South for more than two years. During this time we have attempted to keep abreast of governmental agency actions toward the end of implementing either the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or Executive Order #11246.

Our awareness of discriminatory patterns in this important southern industry was given factual shoring by the statistical data compiled from EEO-1 reports by the EEOC. These data have been available to OFCC and the Department of Defense. Further, as you know, extensive investigations have been made by OFCC and the Department of Defense. These investigations have resulted in a finding of substantial noncompliance with the Executive Order. This finding put pending contracts in jeopardy until firm written agreements were received from the offending companies insuring that they would take actions consistent with standards established by OFCC. Current news reports

indicate that the Department of Defense through your direct personal participation has now made an arrangement with three companies to grant them government contracts on their assurance that they will engage in some form of affirmative action. The news reports indicate that the public cannot be made aware of the precise nature of the settlement made with you.

It is true that these matters are normally settled quietly unless for mutually agreeable reasmns all parties consent to publicity. But this is primarily a matter of practice. In this current case there is a very special public interest. It is a major case which has taken over a year to resolve. And it is a case in which a United States Senator intervened on behalf of the companies. Mr. Thurmond has been characterized by an unidentified "source" in an Associated Press report as viewing the requirements originally proposed by the Department of Defense and OFCC as "abbitrary, capricious, and impossible to meet." The quote has had wide circulation and re-circulation as stories of your own actions appeared. To the best of our knowledge it has not been denied.

The Senator, of course, has a right to his views and a right to use his influence in the interest of fairness in the application of Executive rules. But heshas made this matter a serious public issue. His characterization of the standards for compliance and your quick resolution of remaining issues with the companies has now raised troublesome issues for the press, the reading public, for minority group members, and for agencies like our own which seek to make democracy an increasing reality in our country.

We feel that it is absolutely incumbent upon you to make a cêear public statement as to the nature of the agreement between you and Dan River

Mills, J. P. Stevens, and Burlington Industries. The public needs the assurance as to what the government's actual policy is regarding these particular companies and their securing of federal contracts. Further, we now, because of these recent events, need a measure of reassurance regarding the Defense Department's posture in general regarding contract compliance. And, although my next observation goes beyond your immediate responsibilities, I feel that most agencies concerned with the attainment of equality of opportunity are now seriously concerned about the government's posture towards contract compliance in general.

I am enclosing a letter sent to Secretaries Clifford and Wirtz in late December detailing our interest in these matters and expressing our interest in an appropriate resolution of them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

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HF

1/25

I have 2 suggestions, both involving New South. The reason for ~~that~~ is ~~that~~ it seems to me ~~that~~ this sort of report – essentially, a news feature – is ideally suited for New South. One is ~~that~~ one of "our people" in Ark, Fla, Tenn, or NC be asked to do an article on an integrated top-base school: history, present condition, perhaps interview with a couple students, teachers, etc. The other is ~~that~~ of C go on a reporter + do a story.

As to a report on all of them, or a sample of them, though reluctant to give it a high priority just now. If we do ~~so~~ it I assume Evans will make available to us whatever information

he has: it would be reasonable to suppose that he has made some observations of the development ~~at the va~~ & the reactions of personnel at the various schools.

Reid 1/6/65

VE SW-fyi

MEMORANDUM TO: ALL SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

RE: PROGRESS ON NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST.

Attached is the preliminary program to the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest as well as a list of organizations presently sponsoring the Conference.

Despite the shortness of time in which we have had to work and some problems about obtaining facilities for the Conference, plans are moving ahead quite satisfactory. The Conference will be held at the Santa Rita Hotel, Tucson, Arizona, January 25-26, 1965. We have had assurances that Vice President Elect, Hubert Humphrey will be a major speaker of the Conference as well as will be Sargent Shriver of the Office of Employment Opportunity. The Most Rev. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio also has agreed to address the Conference. Invitations have been extended to the attached list of cabinet officers and agency heads requesting the participation of the departments in the Conference. In each instance, we have requested that papers be prepared outlining the role of the department in the Anti-Poverty program in the Southwest. When received, these papers will be distributed to the work-shop participants in advance of the Conference.

Invitations also have been extended to the House and Senate members of Congress from the five states in the southwest areas as well as to the attached list of House Committee Members. The Governors of the five states have been invited to attend as honored guests. This invitation has been extended by Governor-elect Goddard of Arizona and we have indications that most of the governors will attend or be represented.

It is essential that those of your people who would like to participate or attend the Conference contact the Phoenix Office immediately to insure scheduling on the program, and hotel reservations forms. In particular, if you have regional representation, these people should call

Robert Choat, Conference Coordinator
603 Security Building
Phoenix, Arizona
Telephone No. 258-3476 - Area Code 602.

* * * * * *

U.S.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

LHD

MAY 3 1965

Make folder

Or. ref. —
John Wheeler

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Wheeler:~~ John :—

Thanks very much for your thoughtful letter of March 2, 1965, transmitting your excellent memorandum, "New Federal Programs in the South."

The memorandum raises some questions about our system of permitting local citizens to plan and administer our Community Action Programs. While there are difficult aspects to that system, that system also has great promise in that it provides the best way we know at present to involve minority groups and the poor themselves in the vital workings of these programs. We believe that we can best do this without sacrificing the effectiveness of these programs by providing Federal standards and coordination while allowing local citizens to plan and carry out the programs.

We, too, are concerned with the need to appoint Negroes to top-level jobs in Federal programs in the South. Staffing in our Southern (Atlanta) and Southwestern (Austin) Regional Offices has not been completed; however, the appointments we have made thus far indicate that minorities will share in top-level assignments in these offices. Of the 10 professionals thus far assigned in Atlanta, for example, two are Negroes. And in Austin, one of the six professionals thus far assigned is a Negro.

Your memorandum expresses concern for the participation of Negro groups in the Community Action Programs throughout the South. "Because of the South's historic problems," the memorandum states, "we have a special concern for Negro representation." For that same reason, we, too, are greatly concerned that Negroes be fairly

represented in the local programs. This is one of our most difficult areas. However, our requirements are clear, and while our progress is grudging, progress is definitely being made. The memorandum mentions Miami, New Orleans and Nashville as making particular progress in this area. However, we are making gains in other communities in such states as Georgia and Alabama where no such gains have ever been made before. In fact, 49 of the 65 Community Action Boards in the Atlanta Region and all eight of the Community Action Boards in the Austin Region already have Negro representation.

Such groups as the Southern Regional Council and many protest groups have been helpful in alerting us to inequities in local communities. However, we do have our own system of review of programs which insures that local agencies will not receive action funds until they have complied with our requirements for fair representation of minorities and the poor. I am enclosing a copy of our guidelines pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a copy of our Community Action Guide, which outlines these requirements to all contracting agencies.

The Vice President has also brought your memorandum to my attention, and I have corresponded with him on the essential matters you have raised. I appreciate your generous offer to discuss these matters further in Washington, and I hope to have a chance to do this. Accordingly, please arrange with Miss Orlando (382-6095) a time that will be convenient for both of us.

Thanks again for your thoughtful memorandum.

Sincerely,

Sargent Shriver

Sargent Shriver
Director

Enclosures

P.S. You might wish also to study the attached page showing OEO + Peace Corps employment of negro Americans.
Sargent S.

MINORITY EMPLOYMENT IN OEO COMPARED WITH OTHER AGENCIES

	OEO 2/19/65	All Agencies 6/30/64	All Agencies D.C. 6/30/64	PC 6/30/64	USIA 6/30/64	CSC 6/30/64	DOD 6/30/64	VA 6/30/64	FAA 6/30/64	MDTA (OMED) 3/30/65	GAO 3/30/65	ARA 3/30/65
Total	18.3	13.2	26.5	26.9	9.1	20.5	11.4	24.2	2.9	24.2	10.4	9.7
Total CA	21.8	9.3	19.1	30.0	11.5	20.1	7.4	19.6	2.4	-	-	-
GS-1-4	43.5	19.0	45.6	53.5	22.4	43.1	13.3	32.3	9.6	43.5	34.3	19.6
GS-5-11	20.5	6.4	16.5	32.0	16.6	10.6	5.9	10.2	2.5	39.8	3.3	16.0
GS-5-8	21.6	9.1	21.6	40.8	28.1	24.3	8.3	12.0	4.2	-	-	-
GS-9-11	17.6	3.1	6.5	12.3	4.6	2.9	3.1	6.7	1.7	-	-	-
GS-12-18	8.1	1.1	1.5	7.5	1.1	0.6	1.2	1.9	0.7	5.4	0.0	1.9
Total Other Pay Plans	8.6	8.1	8.1	-	3.9	-	31.3	21.4	-	-	-	-
Total $8000 and +	8.6	1.6	2.0	13.6	4.4	-	0.4	0.6	-	-	-	-

AID Information will not be made available: Robert Cole.

New Federal Programs in the South

Recent history as well as recent legislation has placed federal policies and administration at the very center where basic decisions are being made and will be made in the continuing struggle to remove racial inequities. How the federal government does its job is, therefore, a matter of first-rank interest.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has changed the emphasis of federal involvement from criminal and investigative proceedings to administrative action. In addition, new anti-poverty and education programs will require heavy staffing within the South and will greatly increase the federal government's involvement in southern communities.

These new programs, as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, are intended to benefit the nation by alleviating the distress of disadvantaged people. The primary concern of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the Negro Southerners, who also constitute a large proportion of the nation's impoverished and undereducated.

These federal measures are, in short, intended to correct historic injustices and handicaps. The success of the programs requires that there be democratic participation in them. If the southern voice in their planning and administration is predominantly that of state and local office-holders these programs will not be practical, because they will not meet the problems.

It is an obvious fact of life in the South that lack of representation in policy making or higher staff positions tends to discriminate against Negroes. In the area of federal aid to agriculture that fact has recently been convincingly documented by the Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission, in its report on "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs" issued

February 27, 1965, concludes:

> It is the Commission's belief that few of the economic problems now burdening the rural South can be solved until basic changes are made in the Federal programs designed to help bring about solutions. These changes must include the elimination of the segregated structuring of services, the removal of racial limitations on opportunity, and the inclusion in the decision-making process of broad sections of the population previously denied participation. Until these long-deferred changes are made, the South will continue to place a brake upon its own progress and that of the Nation.

Federal Employment Practices in the South

SRC has on other occasions expressed gratification with the federal record since 1960 toward achieving equal employment opportunities within the federal government. At the same time, we have pointed out that federal appointment of Negroes to upper-level jobs in southern offices has been disappointingly behind progress elsewhere.

This has been particularly true regarding those positions dealing with civil rights.

We are concerned now not only for what has been and is, but for what may come. Because the government has been reluctant to have Negroes represent its civil rights policies in the South, we are doubly apprehensive that Negroes will not be appointed to upper-level positions in southern offices administering the poverty program and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. We understand also that the Commission on Civil Rights is planning one or more southern offices, and staffing of these will be of importance. The Department of Health,

Education and Welfare has immensely important new responsibilities under Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act; although we are not informed as to the administrative plans of HEW, it seems likely that some of this responsibility will be exercised by regional offices. HEW as well as the Departments of Labor and Agriculture and the Small Business Administration have key assignments to administer under the Economic Opportunity Act. Pending federal aid-to-education will further inject HEW into southern development. All of this adds up to the fact that the federal government is entering on an unprecedented period of staffing in the southern region for civil rights, poverty, and educational programs, and that this new period must be started off right.

Considering the federal record of the past and present, concern over how this staffing will be done is not premature.

At the present time, there are no Negroes serving as U. S. Attorneys in the South.

-- there are five Negro assistant U. S. attorneys (in southern Florida, middle North Carolina, western Tennessee, southern Texas, and eastern Virginia)

-- there are no Negro U. S. marshals serving in the South

-- there are eight Negro deputy marshals (in Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery, Jackson, Nashville, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Charleston)

The regional compliance officer serving out of Atlanta for the contractor employment program of the Air Force is Negro. Federal housing agencies employ seven or so Negroes as intergroup relations specialists, working out of southern regional offices.

To our knowledge, the above is a full list of Negroes

stationed in the South at federal jobs concerned with civil rights.

Seldom does the Department of Justice assign Negro attorneys to participate in southern civil rights litigation. Negro F. B. I. agents are never seen.

There are no Negro judges on the federal bench or on state courts. Because state politics is dominant in the appointment of both state judges and federal district judges, the likelihood is that the first Negro judge in the South will have to start on the federal Court of Appeals.

There are very few Negroes employed in administrative or teaching roles in MDTA and ARA programs. There is substantial evidence that Negroes have not drawn direct benefits from ARA programs proportionate to their needs and interests.

There are, of course, factors which sharply limit the ability of the federal government to recruit upper-level Negro staff. One is the continued scarcity of qualified persons. We shall live for some time to come with this problem, created by past discrimination. Negro men and women of excellent qualifications are, however, available, and among their qualifications is a deep experience with the precise problems with which the federal programs are concerned.

We might remark here also that there are some grounds for fearing that the federal appointive authorities may add to the scarcity by excluding Negro Southerners who have been prominent in the civil rights movement. The fact is that much of the best Negro talent has been at the civil rights forefront. It would be sadly ironic if their struggle against discrimination, which has benefitted so many, should lead their government to discriminate against them.

A second factor limiting the federal government's freedom to appoint Negroes to upper-level posts in the South is the fact that such appointments are, as a practical matter, frequently responsive to state political influences. Until the

Negro vote in the South achieves its fair size, those political forces will seldom sponsor Negro candidates for appointments. This fact makes it all the more important that every federal appointment within the South be carefully watched by those, inside and outside the federal government, who are concerned for equal opportunity.

We believe that Negroes should serve in prominent and important federal civil rights, anti-poverty, and education positions in the South for the following reasons:

1) These jobs, just as any other federal jobs, should be filled on a non-discriminatory basis;

2) Federal programs would be strengthened when persons intimately familiar with the problems are helping direct them; this is especially true of the poverty program;

3) Federal seriousness of purpose would be demonstrated to the South;

4) The confidence of Negro Southerners in federal administration would be strengthened;

5) There are often beneficial consequences to human relations when white Southerners confront Negroes in positions of authority.

Community Representation in the Poverty Programs

A related matter is the participation of Negroes, Negro groups, and bi-racial groups in the Community Action Program of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

This is of immediate and crucial concern. We agree strongly with the philosophy of the Economic Opportunity Act, which expresses a belief in local initiative and planning, and a further belief that the planning and administration of local programs should be by persons truly representative of the whole

community. This means, as we see it, that in the planning and administrative leadership of the community programs there should be persons who stand close to and are sensitively attuned to the interests of the poor. Because of the South's historic problems, we have a special concern for Negro representation.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has already shown its own attentiveness to this problem. It has said that it does and will investigate every program for assurance of full community participation; and it has manifested its sincerity by its actions in regard to the CAP grant to the Office of the Governor of Louisiana and to the adult basic education allotment to Mississippi; and by the influence it brought to bear on the hiring practices of the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Authority.

In some CAP projects, such as St. Petersburg's Suncoast Progress, Inc., the OEO will be able to find good community-wide representation. In other places the OEO will find much to correct; e.g., the CAP project based at Corinth, Mississippi, where there has been no perceptible Negro participation and the advisory committee is composed entirely of public officials.

But more basic problems are pointed up by the CAP grants in Georgia. This state has been allotted far more OEO funds than any other southern state; indeed, it has more approved CAP projects than <u>any</u> state. Except in Atlanta-Fulton County, there is virtually no Negro participation, and such as there is has come, as in the proposed Savannah-Chatham County project, after local Negro protest. What has happened in Georgia is that the state government has stimulated and directed local planning all over the state, and in this process Negroes have not participated, and have but minute, token part in administration. As other state governments catch up to the Georgia pace, one can reasonably expect a similar experience. The forthright leadership of the state government is welcome, but the virtual exclusion of representative Negroes is not.

OEO pressure, as, e. g., in Louisiana, has been brought usually in response to Negro protest and after basic program planning has been completed. The OEO requirement of full community representation should be brought at an earlier stage, and should be an insistence that representative Negroes participate in planning and policy making. This is seemingly the case with Economic Opportunity Program, Inc. in Miami, with Total Community Action Inc. in New Orleans, and with the Metropolitan Action Commission in Nashville.

The OEO and these localities are to be commended for the policies that have brought this about. As these and like projects elsewhere mature, the representativeness built into their policy making bodies must be carried over to administration. But their beginning is sound, and it is to be hoped that their approach will become the prevailing pattern, not only in large urban centers but in smaller cities and rural areas as well. We see no reason why the vigor and initiative shown by the Georgia state government cannot be combined, in all states of the South, with full and representative community participation; nor why OEO should not insist that that be done.

Southern Regional Council
March 11, 1965

LWDL

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Set up folder

March 29, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you for your very kind letter of March 18, transmitting additional information concerning your duties with the Southern Regional Council and the brochure which describes the activities of the Council.

Your material has been forwarded to the Community Action Program and if you have not heard from them, I am sure you will be hearing from them in the near future.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Acting Deputy Director

OFFICE OF ~~ECONOMIC~~
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Make folder file: U.S. Govt.

MAY 3 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
522 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Vice President has shared with me your excellent memorandum of March 11 concerning Negroes in the Federal programs in the South. I am enclosing a copy of our guidelines pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a copy of our Community Action Guide which I hope will answer many of the pertinent questions you raised.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of any further assistance to you. I deeply appreciate your interest and support.

Sincerely,

Sargent Shriver

Sargent Shriver
Director

Enclosures

P.S. You might wish also to study the attached page showing OEO and Peace Corps employment of Negro Americans.

Title 45—PUBLIC WELFARE

Chapter X—Office of Economic Opportunity

PART 1010—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY—EFFECTUATION OF TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

A new Chapter X is added to Title 45 of the Code of Federal Regulations to include regulations of the Office of Economic Opportunity under section 602 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as follows:

Sec.
1010.1 Purpose.
1010.2 Definitions.
1010.3 Application of this part.
1010.4 Discrimination prohibited.
1010.5 Assurances required.
1010.6 Illustrative applications.
1010.7 Compliance information.
1010.8 Conduct of investigations.
1010.9 Procedure for effecting compliance.
1010.10 Hearings.
1010.11 Decisions and notices.
1010.12 Judicial review.
1010.13 Effect on other regulations; forms and instructions.

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this part 1010 are issued under sec. 602, 78 Stat. 252; 42 U.S.C. 2000d-1; and sec. 602, 78 Stat. 528; 42 U.S.C. 2942.

§ 1010.1 Purpose.

The purpose of this part is to effectuate the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (hereinafter referred to as the "Act") to the end that no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

§ 1010.2 Definitions.

As used in this part—

(a) The term "Office" means the Office of Economic Opportunity, and includes all of its organizational units.

(b) The term "Director" means the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

(c) The term "responsible Office official" with respect to any program receiving Federal financial assistance means the Director or other official of the Office who by law or by delegation has the principal responsibility within the Office for the administration of the law extending such assistance.

(d) The term "United States" means the States of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and the territories and possessions of the United States, and the term "State" means any one of the foregoing.

(e) The term "Federal financial assistance" includes (1) grants and loans of Federal funds, (2) the grant or donation of Federal property and interests in property, (3) the detail of Federal personnel, (4) the referral or assignment of VISTA volunteers (except the referral or assignment of such volunteers to work in programs or activities being carried out by private organizations under contract with the Federal Government or an agency thereof), (5) the sale and lease of, and the permission to use (on other than a casual or transient basis), Federal property or any interest in such property without consideration, or at a nominal consideration, or at a consideration which is reduced for the purpose of assisting the recipient, or in recognition of the public interest to be served by such sale or lease to the recipient, and (6) any Federal agreement, arrangement, or other contract which has as one of its purposes the provision of assistance.

(f) The term "program" includes any program, project, or activity for the provision of services, financial aid, or other benefits to individuals (including education or training, health, welfare, rehabilitation, housing, or other services, whether provided through employees of the recipient of Federal financial assistance or provided by others through contracts or other arrangements with the recipient, and including work opportunities and cash or loan or other assistance to individuals), or for the provision of facilities for furnishing services, financial aid or other benefits to individuals. The services, financial aid, or other benefits provided under a program receiving Federal financial assistance shall be deemed to include any services, financial aid, or other benefits provided with the aid of Federal financial assistance or with the aid of any non-Federal funds, property, or other resources required to be expended or made available for the program to meet matching requirements or other conditions which must be met in order to receive the Federal financial assistance, and to include any services, financial aid, or other benefits provided in or through a facility provided with the aid of Federal financial assistance or such non-Federal resources.

(g) The term "facility" includes all or any portion of structures, equipment, or other real or personal property or interests therein, and the provision of facilities includes the construction, expansion, renovation, remodeling, alteration or acquisition of facilities.

(h) The term "recipient" means any State, political subdivision of any State, or instrumentality of any State or political subdivision, any public or private agency, institution, organization, or other entity, or any individual, in any State, to whom Federal financial assistance is extended, directly or through another recipient thereof, but such term does not include any ultimate beneficiary under any such program.

(i) The term "primary recipient" means any recipient which is authorized or required to extend Federal financial assistance to another recipient for the purpose of carrying out a program.

(j) The term "applicant" means one who submits an application, request, or plan required to be approved by a responsible Office official, or by a primary recipient, as a condition to eligibility for Federal financial assistance, and the term "application" means any such application, request, or plan.

§ 1010.3 Application of this part.

(a) This part applies to any program for which Federal financial assistance is authorized under a provision of law administered by the Office, including the Federally-assisted programs and activities listed in Appendix A of this part. It applies to money paid, property transferred, or other Federal financial assistance extended under any such program after the effective date of the part pursuant to an application approved prior to such effective date. This part does not apply to (a) any Federal financial assistance by way of insurance or guaranty contracts, (b) money paid, property transferred, or other assistance extended under any such program before the effective date of this part, (c) any assistance to any individual who is the ultimate beneficiary under any such program, or (d) any employment practice, under any such program, of any employer, employment agency, or labor organization, except to the extent described in § 1010.4. The fact that a program or activity is not listed in Appendix A shall not mean, if Title VI of the Act is otherwise applicable, that such program is not covered. Other programs under statutes now in force or hereinafter enacted may be covered by this part after notice is published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

(b) The regulations issued by the Department of Agriculture pursuant to Title VI of the Act (7 CFR Part 15) shall be applicable to the program of grants and loans authorized under Title III, Part A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

(c) The regulations issued by the Department of Labor pursuant to Title VI of the Act (29 CFR Part 31) shall be applicable to the work-training programs authorized under Title I, Part B of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

(d) The regulations issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare pursuant to Title VI of the Act (45 CFR Part 80) shall be applicable to the work-study programs, the adult basic education programs, and the work experience programs authorized under Title I, Part C; Title II, Part B; and Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

(e) The regulations issued by the Small Business Administration pursuant to Title VI of the Act (13 CFR Part 112) shall be applicable to the program of employment and investment incentives authorized under Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

§ 1010.4 Discrimination prohibited.

(a) *General.* No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program to which this part applies.

(b) *Specific discriminatory actions prohibited.* (1) A recipient under any program to which this part applies may not, directly or through contractual or other arrangements, on the ground of race, color, or national origin;

(i) Deny an individual any services, financial aid, or other benefit provided under the program;

(ii) Provide any service, financial aid, or other benefit to an individual which is different, or is provided in a different manner, from that provided to others under the program;

(iii) Subject an individual to segregation or separate treatment in any matter related to his receipt of any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program;

(iv) Restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of any advantage or privilege enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program;

(v) Treat an individual differently from others in determining whether he satisfies any admission, enrollment, quota, eligibility, membership or other requirement or condition which individuals must meet in order to be provided any service, financial aid, or other benefit provided under the program;

(vi) Deny an individual an opportunity to participate in the program through the provision of services or otherwise or afford him an opportunity to do so which is different from that afforded others under the program, including the opportunity to participate in the program as an employee but only to the extent set forth in paragraph (c) of this section.

(2) A recipient in determining the types of services, financial aid, or other benefits, or facilities which will be provided under any such program, or the class of individuals to whom, or the situations in which such services, financial aid, other benefits, or facilities will be provided under any such program, or the class of individuals to be afforded an opportunity to participate in any such program, may not, directly or through contractual or other arrangements, utilize criteria or methods of administration which have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination because of their race, color, or national origin, or have the effect of defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the program as respect individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin.

(3) As used in this section, the services, financial aid, or other benefits provided under a program receiving Federal financial assistance shall be deemed to include any service, financial aid, or other benefit provided in or through a facility provided with the aid of Federal financial assistance.

(4) The enumeration of specific forms of prohibited discrimination in this paragraph and paragraph (c) of this section does not limit the generality of the prohibition in paragraph (a) of this section.

(c) *Employment practices.* Where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance to a program or part thereof to which this part applies is to provide employment, a recipient may not (directly or through contractual or other arrangements) subject an individual to discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin in its employment practices under such program (including recruitment or recruitment advertising, employment, layoff or termination, upgrading, demotion or transfer, rates of pay or other forms of compensation, and use of facilities), including programs where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance is (1) to reduce the unemployment of such individuals or to help them through employment to meet subsistence needs, (2) to assist such individuals through employment to meet expenses incident to the commencement or continuation of their education or training, or (3) to provide work experience which contributes to the education or training of such individuals. The following programs administered by the Office have one of the above objectives as a primary objective:

(i) State-operated youth camps which receive assistance pursuant to Section 108 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

(ii) Community Action Programs or parts thereof which have as a primary objective the provision of employment.

(iii) Programs of assistance for migrant, and other seasonally employed, agricultural employees and their families which have as a primary objective the provision of employment.

(iv) Programs to which VISTA volunteers are referred or assigned and which have as a primary objective the provision of employment.

The requirements applicable to construction employment under any such program shall be those specified in or pursuant to Executive Order 11114.

(d) *Indian programs.* An individual shall not be deemed subjected to discrimination by reason of his exclusion from the benefits of a program limited by Federal law to individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin different from his.

(e) *Medical emergencies.* Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this section, a recipient of Federal financial assistance shall not be deemed to have failed to comply with paragraph (a) of this section if immediate provision of a service or other benefit to an individual is necessary to prevent his death or serious impairment of his health, and such service or other benefit cannot be provided except by or through a medical institution which refuses or fails to comply with paragraph (a) of this section.

§ 1010.5 Assurances required.

(a) *General.* (1) Every application for Federal financial assistance to a program to which this part applies, and every application for Federal financial assistance to provide a facility shall, as a condition to its approval and the extension of any Federal financial assistance pursuant to the application, contain or be accompanied by an assurance that the program will be conducted or the facility operated in compliance with all requirements imposed by or pursuant to this part. In the case of an application for Federal financial assistance to provide real property or structures thereon the assurance shall obligate the recipient or, in the case of a subsequent transfer, the transferee, for the period during which the real property or structures are used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended, or for another purpose involving the provisions of similar services or benefits. In the case of personal property, the assurance shall obligate the recipient for the period during which he retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases, the assurance shall obligate the recipient for the duration of the period for which Federal financial assistance is extended pursuant to the application. The responsible Office official shall specify the form of the foregoing assurances for each program, and the extent to which like assurances will be required of subgrantees, contractors and subcontractors, transferees, successors in interest, and other participants in the program. Any such assurance shall include provisions which give the United States a right to seek its judicial enforcement.

(2) The assurances required in the case of a transfer of real property, except where covered by subparagraph (3) of this paragraph, shall be inserted in the instrument effecting the transfer of any such land, together with any improvements located thereon, and shall consist of (i) a condition coupled with a right to be reserved to the Office to revert title to the property in the event of breach of such nondiscrimination condition during the period during which the real property is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services of benefits, and (ii) a covenant running with the land for the same period. In the event a transferee of real property proposes to mortgage or otherwise encumber the real property as security for financing construction of new, or improvement of existing, facilities on such property for the purposes for which the property was transferred, the Director may agree, upon request of the transferee and if necessary to accomplish such financing, and upon such conditions as he deems appropriate, to forbear the exercise of such right to revert title for so long as the lien of such mortgage or other encumbrance remains effective.

(3) Transfers of surplus property are subject to regulations issued by the Administrator of General Services (41 CFR 101–6.2).

(b) *Elementary and secondary schools.* In the case of any program for the benefit of elementary or secondary school students which, as a necessary part of such program, utilizes to a substantial extent the facilities of an elementary or secondary school or school system, the requirements of paragraph (a) of this section shall be deemed to be satisfied if such school or school system (1) is subject to a final order of a court of the United States for the desegregation of such school or school system, and provides an assurance that it will comply with such order, including any future modification of such order, or (2) submits a plan for the desegregation of such school or school system which the Commissioner of Education determines is adequate to accomplish the purposes of the Act and this part, and provides reasonable assurance that it will carry out

such plan. In any case in which a final order of a court of the United States for the desegregation of such school or school system is entered after submission of such a plan, such plan shall be revised to conform to such final order, including any future modification of such order.

(c) *Assurances from institutions.* (1) In the case of any application for Federal financial assistance to an institution of higher education (including assistance for construction, for research, for a special training project, for a student loan program, or for any other purpose), the assurance required by this section shall extend to admission practices and to all other practices relating to the treatment of students.

(2) The assurance required with respect to an institution of higher education, hospital, or any other institution, insofar as the assurance relates to the institution's practices with respect to admission or other treatment of individuals as students, patients, or clients of the institution or to the opportunity to participate in the provision of services or other benefits to such individuals, shall be applicable to the entire institution unless the institution establishes, to the satisfaction of the responsible Office official, that the institution's practices in designated parts or programs of the institution will in no way affect its practices in the program of the institution for which Federal financial assistance is sought, or the beneficiaries of or participants in such program. If in any such case the assistance sought is for the construction of a facility or part of a facility, the assurance shall in any event extend to the entire facility and to facilities operated in connection therewith.

§ 1010.6 Illustrative applications.

The following examples illustrate some applications of the foregoing provisions to programs of Federal financial assistance administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity. In all cases, the "discrimination" prohibited is discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin prohibited by Title VI of the Act and this part, as a condition of the receipt of Federal financial assistance.

(a) *State-operated youth camps.* If assistance is given under Section 108 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to a youth camp, or other program to provide education, vocational training, work experience or other benefits to young people, such camp or program must be conducted in a nondiscriminatory manner. There can be no discrimination in the recruitment or selection of enrollees or trainees in such camp or program, in their treatment in the program itself, or in related employment activities. No job referral can be made on the basis of a job order or request containing discriminatory specifications or in a case in which employment is given or refused in a discriminatory manner.

(b) *Community action programs.* Community action programs generally consist of a number of related antipoverty programs coordinated by a central community agency, either public or private non-profit. There can be no discrimination in the formulation of groups to conduct any program funded under Title II, Part A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Nor can any such program be operated in a discriminatory manner. Such a program must be open to all regardless of race, color, or national origin, and must distribute its benefits in a non-discriminatory manner. It may not restrict service to members of a group or groups if membership in the group or groups depends on race, color, or national origin.

(c) *Volunteers in service to America.* A private or public, non-Federal program to which one or more VISTA volunteers are referred or assigned must be operated without discrimination.

(d) *Programs in elementary or secondary schools.* In the case of a program covered by this part which benefits elementary or secondary school students and which is necessarily conducted in a school regularly attended by the participating students, the program must be run on a non-discriminatory basis, or else the school system must give assurance that it is complying with a federal court order or a plan approved by the Commissioner of Education leading to the desegregation of the school system. If, however, students do not participate in such a program in the schools they regularly attend, or if the use of school facilities is incidental to the program or not necessary to its conduct, the program must be run on a non-discriminatory basis and the assurance specified in § 1010.5(a) must be given, whether or not there is a court order or approved plan with respect to the school system.

(e) *Institutions of higher education.* In any research, training, demonstration, or other grant from the Office to a university for a program to be conducted in a college or university, discrimination in the admission and treatment of students in the program is prohibited, and the prohibition extends to the entire university unless it satisfies the responsible Office official that practices with respect to other parts or programs of the university will not interfere, directly or indirectly, with fulfillment of the assurance required with respect to the program.

§ 1010.7 Compliance information.

(a) *Cooperation and assistance.* Each responsible Office official shall to the fullest extent practicable seek the cooperation of recipients in obtaining compliance with this part, and shall provide assistance and guidance to recipients to help them comply voluntarily with this part.

(b) *Compliance reports.* Each recipient shall keep such records and submit to the responsible Office official or his designee timely, complete and accurate compliance reports at such times, and in such form and containing such information, as the responsible Office official or his designee may determine to be necessary to enable him to ascertain whether the recipient has complied or is complying with this part. In the case of any program under which a primary recipient extends Federal financial assistance to any other recipient, such other recipient shall also submit such compliance reports to the primary recipient as may be necessary to enable the primary recipient to carry out its obligations under this part.

(c) *Access to sources of information.* Each recipient shall permit access by the responsible Office official or his designee during normal business hours to such of its books, records, accounts, and other sources of information, and its facilities as may be pertinent to ascertain compliance with this part. Where any information required of a recipient is in the exclusive possession of any other agency, institution or person and this agency, institution or person shall fail or refuse to furnish this information, the recipient shall so certify in its report and shall set forth what efforts it has made to obtain the information.

(d) *Information to beneficiaries and participants.* Each recipient shall make available to participants, beneficiaries, and other interested persons such information regarding the provisions of this part and its applicability to the program under which the recipient receives Federal financial assistance, and make such information available to them in such manner as the responsible Office official finds necessary to apprise such persons of the protections against discrimination assured them by the Act and this part.

§ 1010.8 Conduct of investigations.

(a) *Periodic compliance reviews.* The responsible Office official or his designee shall from time to time review the practices of recipients to determine whether they are complying with this part.

(b) *Complaints.* Any person who believes himself or any specific class of individuals to be subjected to discrimination prohibited by this part may by himself or by a representative file with the responsible Office official or his designee a written complaint. A complaint must be filed not later than 90 days from the date of the alleged discrimination, unless the time for filing is extended by the responsible Office official or his designee.

(c) *Investigations.* The responsible Office official or his designee will make a prompt investigation whenever a compliance review, report, complaint, or any other information indicates a possible failure to comply with this part. The investigation should include, where appropriate, a review of the pertinent practices and policies of the recipient, the circumstances under which the possible noncompliance with this part occurred, and other factors relevant to a determination as to whether the recipient has failed to comply with this part.

(d) *Resolution of matters.* (1) If an investigation pursuant to paragraph (c) of this section indicates a failure to comply with this part, the responsible Office official or his designee will so inform the recipient and the matter will be resolved by informal means whenever possible. If it has been determined that the matter cannot be resolved by informal means, action will be taken as provided for in § 1010.9.

(2) If an investigation does not warrant action pursuant to subparagraph (1) of this paragraph, the responsible Office official or his designee will so inform the recipient and the complainant, if any, in writing.

(e) *Intimidatory or retaliatory acts prohibited.* No recipient or other person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual for the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by section 601 of the Act or this part, or because he has made a complaint, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding or hearing under this part. The identity of complainants shall be kept confidential except to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of this part, including the conduct of any investigation, hearing, or judicial proceeding arising thereunder.

§ 1010.9 Procedure for effecting compliance.

(a) *General.* If there appears to be a failure or threatened failure to comply with this part, and if the noncompliance or threatened noncompliance cannot be corrected by informal means, compliance with this part may be effected by the suspension or termination of or refusal to grant or continue Federal financial assistance or by any other means authorized by law. Such other means may include, but are not limited to (1) a reference to the Department of Justice with a recommendation that appropriate proceedings be brought to enforce any rights of the United States under any law of the United States (including other titles of the Act), or any assurance or other contractual undertaking, and (2) any applicable proceeding under State or local law.

(b) *Noncompliance with § 1010.5.* If an applicant fails or refuses to furnish an assurance under § 1010.5 or otherwise fails or refuses to comply with a requirement imposed by or pursuant to that section, Federal financial assistance may be refused in accordance with the procedures of paragraph (c) of this section. The Office shall not be required to provide assistance in such a case during pendency of the administrative proceedings under such paragraph, except that the Office shall continue assistance during the pendency of such proceedings where such assistance is due and payable pursuant to an application therefor approved prior to the effective date of this part.

(c) *Termination of or refusal to grant or to continue Federal financial assistance.* No order suspending, terminating or refusing to grant or continue Federal financial assistance shall become effective until (1) the responsible Office official has advised the applicant or recipient of his failure to comply and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means, (2) there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure by the applicant or recipient to comply with a requirement imposed by or pursuant to this part, (3) the action has been approved by the Director pursuant to § 1010.11(e), and (4) the expiration of 30 days after the Director has filed with the committee of the House and the committee of the Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program involved, a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. Any action to suspend or terminate or to refuse to grant or to continue Federal financial assistance shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other applicant or recipient as to whom such a finding has been made and shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found.

(d) *Other means authorized by law.* No action to effect compliance by any other means authorized by law shall be taken until (1) the responsible Office official has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means, (2) the action has been approved by the Director, (3) the recipient or other person has been notified of its failure to comply and of the action to be taken to effect compliance, and (4) the expiration of at least 10 days from the mailing of such notice to the recipient or other person. During this period of at least 10 days additional efforts shall be made to persuade the recipient or other person to comply with this part and to take such corrective action as may be appropriate.

§ 1010.10 Hearings.

(a) *Opportunity for hearing.* Whenever an opportunity for a hearing is required by § 1010.9(c), reasonable notice of such hearing shall be given by registered or certified mail, return receipt requested, to the affected applicant or recipient. This notice shall advise the applicant or recipient of the action proposed to be taken, the specific provision under which the proposed action against it is to be taken, and either (1) fix a date not less than 20 days after the date of such notice within which the applicant or recipient may request of the responsible Office official that the matter be scheduled for hearing, or (2) advise the applicant or recipient that the matter in question has been set down for hearing at a stated place and time. The time and place so fixed shall be reasonable and shall be subject to change for cause. The complainant, if any, shall be advised of the time and place of the hearing. An applicant or recipient may waive a hearing and submit written information and argument for the record. The failure of an applicant or recipient to request a hearing under this subsection or to appear at a hearing for which a date has been set shall be deemed to be a waiver of the right to a hearing under section 602 of the Act and § 1010.9(c) and consent to the making of a decision on the basis of such information as is available.

(b) *Time and place of hearing.* Hearings shall be held in Washington, D.C., at a time and place fixed by the responsible Office official unless he determines that the convenience of the applicant or recipient or of the Office requires that another place be selected. Hearings shall be held before the responsible Office official, or, at his discretion, before a hearing examiner designated in accordance with section 11 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(c) *Right to counsel.* In all proceedings under this section, the applicant or recipient and the Office shall have the right to be represented by counsel.

(d) *Procedures, evidence, and record.* (1) The hearing, decision, and any review thereof shall be conducted in conformity with sections 5–8 of the Administrative Procedure Act, and in accordance with such rules of procedure as are proper (and not inconsistent with this section) relating to the conduct of the hearing, giving of notices subsequent to those provided for in paragraph (a) of this section, taking of testimony, exhibits, arguments and briefs, requests for findings, and other related matters. Both the Office and the applicant or recipient shall be entitled to introduce all relevant evidence on the issues as stated in the notice for hearing or as determined by the officer conducting the hearing at the outset of or during the hearing.

(2) Technical rules of evidence shall not apply to hearings conducted pursuant to this part, but rules or principles designed to assure production of the most credible evidence available and to subject testimony to test by cross-examination shall be applied where reasonably necessary by the officer conducting the hearing. The hearing officer may exclude irrelevant, immaterial, or unduly repetitious evidence. All documents and other evidence offered or taken for the record shall be open to examination by the parties and opportunity shall be given to refute facts and arguments advanced on either side of the issues. A transcript shall be made of the oral evidence unless dispensed with by stipulation. All decisions shall be based upon the hearing record and written findings shall be made.

(e) *Consolidated or joint hearings.* In cases in which the same or related facts are asserted to constitute noncompliance with this part and the regulations of one or more other Federal departments or agencies issued under Title VI of the Act, the Director may, by agreement with such other departments or agencies, provide for the conduct of consolidated or joint hearings, and for the application to such hearings of rules of procedure not inconsistent with this part. Final decisions in such cases, insofar as this part is concerned, shall be made in accordance with § 1010.11.

§ 1010.11 Decisions and notices.

(a) *Decision by person other than the responsible Office official.* If the hearing is held by a hearing examiner, such hearing examiner shall either make any initial decision, if so authorized, or certify the entire record including his recommended findings and proposed decision to the responsible Office official for a final decision, and a copy of such initial decision or certification shall be mailed to the applicant or recipient. Where the initial decision is made by the hearing examiner, the applicant or recipient may within 30 days of the mailing of such notice of initial decision file with the responsible Office official his exceptions to the initial decision, with his reasons therefor. In

the absence of exceptions, the responsible Office official may, on his own motion, within 45 days after the initial decision serve on the applicant or recipient a notice that he will review the decision. Upon the filing of such exceptions or of such notice of review, the responsible Office official shall review the initial decision and issue his own decision thereon, including the reasons therefor. In the absence of either exceptions or a notice of review the initial decision shall constitute the final decision of the responsible Office official.

(b) *Decisions on record or review by the responsible Office official.* Whenever a record is certified to the responsible Office official for decision or he reviews the decision of a hearing examiner pursuant to paragraph (a) of this section, or whenever the responsible Office official conducts the hearing, the applicant or recipient shall be given reasonable opportunity to file with him briefs or other written statements of its contentions, and a copy of the final decision of the responsible Office official shall be given in writing to the applicant or recipient, and the complainant, if any.

(c) *Decisions on record where hearing is waived.* Whenever a hearing is waived pursuant to § 1010.10(a), a decision shall be made by the responsible Office official on the record and a copy of such decision shall be given in writing to the applicant or recipient, and to the complainant, if any.

(d) *Rulings required.* Each decision of a hearing officer or responsible Office official shall set forth his ruling on each finding, conclusion, or exception presented, and shall identify the requirement or requirements imposed by or pursuant to this part with which it is found that the applicant or recipient has failed to comply.

(e) *Approval by Director.* Any final decision of a responsible Office official (other than the Director) which provides for the suspension or termination of, or the refusal to grant or continue Federal financial assistance, or the imposition of any other sanction available under this part or the Act, shall promptly be transmitted to the Director, who may approve such decision, may vacate it, or remit or mitigate any sanction imposed.

(f) *Content of orders.* The final decision may provide for suspension or termination of, or refusal to grant or continue Federal financial assistance, in whole or in part, under the program involved, and may contain such terms, conditions, and other provisions as are consistent with and will effectuate the purposes of the Act and this part, including provisions designed to assure that no Federal financial assistance will thereafter be extended under such program to the applicant or recipient determined by such decision to be in default in its performance of an assurance given by it pursuant to this part, or to have otherwise failed to comply with this part, unless and until it corrects its noncompliance and satisfies the responsible Office official that it will fully comply with this part.

§ 1010.12 Judicial review.

Any action taken pursuant to section 602 of the Act is subject to judicial review as provided in section 603 of the Act.

§ 1010.13 Effect on other regulations; forms and instructions.

(a) Nothing in this part shall be deemed to supersede (1) Executive Orders 10925 and 11114 and regulations issued thereunder, or (2) any other regulations or instructions insofar as they prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race, color, or national origin in any program or situation to which this part is inapplicable, or prohibit discrimination on any other ground.

(b) *Forms and instructions.* Each responsible Office official shall issue and promptly make available to interested persons forms and detailed instructions and procedures for effectuating this part as applied to programs to which this part applies and for which he is responsible.

(c) *Supervision and coordination.* The Director may, from time to time, assign to officials of other departments or agencies of the Government (with the consent of such department or agency) responsibilities in connection with the effectuation of the purposes of Title VI of the Act and this part (other than responsibility for final decision as provided in § 1010.11), including the achievement of effective coordination and maximum uniformity within the Office and within the Executive Branch of the Government in the application of Title VI and this part to similar programs and in similar situations.

Effective date. This part shall become effective on the 30th day following the date of its publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

Dated: December 30, 1964.

SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director,
Office of Economic Opportunity.

Approved: January 7, 1965.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

APPENDIX A

PROGRAMS TO WHICH THIS PART APPLIES

Programs under the following provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are now administered by the Office and are covered by this part:

Title I, Part A, Section 108 (State-Operated Youth Camps).

Title II, Part A (Community Action Programs).

Title II, Part C (Voluntary Assistance Program for Needy Children).

Title III, Part B (Assistance for Migrant, and Other Seasonally Employed, Agricultural Employees and Their Families).

Title VI, Section 603 (Volunteers in Service to America).

[F.R. Doc. 65-308; Filed, Jan. 8, 1965; 8:50 a.m.]

GSA DC 65-10533

MINORITY EMPLOYMENT IN OEO COMPARED WITH OTHER AGENCIES

	OEO 2/19/65	All Agencies 6/30/64	All Agencies D.C. 6/30/64	PC 6/30/64	USIA 6/30/64	CSC 6/30/64	DOD 6/30/64	VA 6/30/64	FAA 6/30/64	MDTA (OMED) 3/30/65	GAO 3/30/65	ARA 3/30/65
Total	18.3	13.2	26.5	26.9	9.1	20.5	11.4	24.2	2.9	24.2	10.4	9.7
Total CA	21.8	9.3	19.1	30.0	11.5	20.1	7.4	19.6	2.4	-	-	-
GS-1-4	43.5	19.0	45.6	53.5	22.4	43.1	13.3	32.3	9.6	43.5	34.3	19.6
GS-5-11	20.5	6.4	16.5	32.0	16.6	10.6	5.9	10.2	2.5	39.8	3.3	16.0
GS-5-8	21.6	9.1	21.6	40.8	28.1	24.3	8.3	12.0	4.2	-	-	-
GS-9-11	17.6	3.1	6.5	12.3	4.6	2.9	3.1	6.7	1.7	-	-	-
GS-12-18	8.1	1.1	1.5	7.5	1.1	0.6	1.2	1.9	0.7	5.4	0.0	1.9
Total Other Pay Plans	8.6	8.1	8.1	-	3.9	-	31.3	21.4	-	-	-	-
Total $8000 and +	8.6	1.6	2.0	13.6	4.4	-	0.4	0.6	-	-	-	-

AID Information will not be made available: Robert Cole.

file - U.S. Govt - Make folder if there is not one

October 7, 1965

Mr. James Haas
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Haas:

Enclosed is a list of Negro teachers' association in the southeast. The Oak Ridge group is the Southern Manpower Technical Assistance Program, P. O. Box 117, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Mr. Wendell H. Russell is the director.

Please let us know if we can be of any possible assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

SOUTHERN MANPOWER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
P. O. BOX 117
OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE 37831

September 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Congratulations on your appointment to the position of executive director of the Southern Regional Council. I am sure you will find it is a challenging and interesting assignment. I want to thank you for the information you sent me regarding the Negro teachers' associations and report on the latest as far as our activities are concerned with this project.

I have reported your findings on to my contact in the Labor Department in Washington, and they have set up a project within the National Education Association to conduct a survey in this area of displacement of Negro teachers through integration and hopefully will have the information in a short time. I am sure the information you have supplied will be useful to those conducting the survey and should I hear further regarding the project I will be glad to pass the results on to you.

In connection with looking into this matter, I made some very interesting contacts with Dean E. C. Merrill of the University of Tennessee College of Education and found that he has considerable interest in this problem and actually has some proposals in the mill to conduct training programs for disadvantaged teachers as well as field test some of these programs after they have been developed. I told Dr. Merrill of your interest in this area and as I hear of other interesting developments I will send them on to you.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Wendell H. Russell

Wendell H. Russell
Director

WHR:jp

OPERATED BY THE OAK RIDGE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR STUDIES UNDER CONTRACT WITH THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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March 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This personal note is to let you know of our appointment of Robert W. Saunders as Program Specialist for Civil Rights on our regional staff of OEO. His office will be adjacent to mine on the third floor of our regional office, 101 Marietta St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

As you probably know, Mr. Saunders has been for some fifteen years a Field Director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His work with the NAACP has been primarily in the state of Florida and in the southeastern region.

We will appreciate the assistance and cooperation we know you will provide Mr. Saunders in making this most important phase of the Poverty Program more meaningful and successful in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Frank K. Sloan

Frank K. Sloan
Regional Sirector

file O.E.O (U.S. Govt)

Published as an information service in the War on Poverty by the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity

RAL Opportunities

September, 1966
Vol. 1, No. 5
Washington, D.C. 20506

Communicating

A newspaper reporter comes to town and questions a random sampling of its poorer citizens. The answers he gets make a good story: "What War on Poverty?" "No, we never heard of it." "We sure haven't got it here." And so the word gets out. There is a failure of communication between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the poor of America.

If we were selling candy bars or soap or cigarettes, this would indeed be something to worry about. But we are not. We are in business to provide services to people who need them. Our first communication problem is not to create an awareness of our brand name, but to let people know that these services are available to them. Our second job is to persuade the people who need them to use them.

Neither of these tasks is easy. But lack of success here constitutes a major failure of communication. After all, no one, especially the proud inhabitants of rural America, likes to be numbered among the poor. Too much advertising about poverty and deprivation is likely to turn away the very people who need our programs the most. In most parts of rural America the term "War on Poverty" is a misnomer. It suggests a vast, noisy, visible effort. This is simply not the case. A Head Start program, an adult basic literacy class, a neighborhood center—these do not constitute a war.

Tell people how they can help themselves and their pride is served, not punctured. This is the substance of our message. This is the story that must be told by State TA's, the heads of local community action agencies, VISTA Volunteers, and all the rest who are responsible for bringing our programs to people—and the people to our programs.

Communication techniques must be designed to fit the local situation. How do people in a given area learn about all the other things they have to know: about the weather, about prices, about what's happening to their friends and neighbors? Most often they get the news by word of mouth and this is by far the most effective, but most difficult and time-consuming technique of communication. There is no substitute for one trusted person telling others, in a voice of friendship, about a program that can do them some good. Trust and conviction, not gimmickrey and cleverness, are necessary ingredients of successful communication of OEO programs.

This means enlisting the people and the institutions who are already trusted and believed by the community: the church, the grange, the school, the community center, the visiting nurse, the judge—even the general store proprietor. These are better sources of information and motivation than all the posters, billboards, leaflets, or brochures Washington can produce.

Local radio personalities, the country music favorites, the county agent—everyone who is customarily listened to and believed should be enlisted in the task of telling people about the new things they can do to help themselves. Of course, anyone involved in this task should be made familiar with the program details. If they do not get the message across with knowledge and conviction, there will not be belief.

By far, the best communicators are those who have had successful experience in OEO programs themselves. Without a great deal of red tape or bureaucracy, Head Start parents, Adult Basic Education enrollees, and other program participants can be asked to serve as unofficial communication aides. There is no substitute for the personal testimonial of a satisfied consumer.

In America, we tend to make a mystery of communication. We call it advertising or public relations and invest it with a jargon and technology all its own. In the area of community action, this is sheer nonsense.

Our message must be told in the simplest possible terms, as simple as the local weather report, news about the crops, and whether Mrs. Jones' baby was a boy or a girl. It must be told through a medium local people are tuned in on, not an elaborate communication net work suddenly imposed upon them. And, if they don't know there's a War on Poverty going on, that may be all to the good—so long as they are involved in it deeply and meaningfully enough to call it their own.

Herbert Kramer

HERBERT KRAMER, Director, Public Affairs

Fiscal Year Round-up Shows Rural CAP Growth

Statistics summarizing the thrust of Economic Opportunity programs in rural America tell a dramatic story of growing community change there.

On June 30, 1965, there were 156 CAA's, covering 361 counties. One year later, at the end of Fiscal Year 1966, there were 643 CAA's funded for CAP programs, taking in a total of 1,451 counties—a quadrupling of focal points in the war on poverty.

Rural community activities received a total of $161 million in CAP grants during FY '66. This amount, plus $59 million in FY '65, gives rural areas 24.7 percent of all CAP fundings since the inception of the program. A year ago, the comparable figure was 18 percent.

In FY '66 $12 million was granted for 501 rural Program Development projects and $67 million for 936 rural Conduct and Administration projects. This represents 15.5 percent of total CAP fundings for PD and C&A, as compared with 8 percent in FY '65.

Rural programs for Summer Head Start this year received $42.5 million, compared with $28 million in FY '65; research, demonstration and training grants for rural beneficiaries add up to $9.4 million, more than doubling last year's $3.4 million. Other CAP grants to rural areas include $20 million for Indian programs and $24 million for Migrant programs.

In OEO programs delegated to other government agencies, a year-end report shows the following rural activity:

Rural loans (Farmers Home Administration): 17,073 loans for $27 million to individual farmers, and 391 loans for $4.6 million to rural cooperatives.

Neighborhood Youth Corps (U.S. Department of Labor): $79.7 million to rural programs with 165,097 employment slots. This represents 30.4 percent of total NYC grants.

Work Experience Programs (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare): Cumulative figures for FY '65 and '66 show $223 million (34.4 percent) of obligated funds going to rural areas.

"Appalachian Industries" Attack Poverty

Civic leaders in Adams and Brown Counties, Ohio, have banded together and are trying a first-of-its-kind undertaking aimed at helping its low-income, unemployed citizens. This is the recently formed nonprofit corporation known as Appalachian Industries, a delegate agency of Adams-Brown Economic Opportunities, Inc., community action agency for the two counties.

Appalachian Industries plans to create jobs by manufacturing simple parts of products needed by industry. It also will train local youth and men for the jobs. Because simple operations will be used, a moderate upgrading of present skills will qualify the people of the area for full-time employment.

Working so far without Federal funds, AI has already acquired one factory site in Peebles, Adams County, and enough equipment to begin. Several manufacturers have been contacted and AI has been assured some business as soon as production starts. The industrial contacts have been asked to isolate simple operations which can be efficiently carried out by AI employees.

An Ohio State University resource and development agent, Raymond Schindler, has been advising the AI. He is the RD agent for six counties, including Adams County. He said the products produced by AI would not be in competition with products of other firms, especially local plants; that in fact, the component parts in wood and steel needed by certain manufacturers were scarce items.

After setting up industries, training workers, and fulfilling production contracts, AI proposes to use income from sales to perpetuate the business. When profit is achieved, the group will establish a profit-sharing and stock purchasing plan for its employees.

AI hopes to prove that plants, such as the one in Peebles, can be started anywhere in Appalachia, and thereby attack the roots of poverty in this depressed region.

A. R. Hoverland is director of Adams-Brown Economic Opportunities, Inc., and Rev. Patrick O'Donnell is project director of Appalachian Industries.

WISCONSIN CAP TRAINING CENTER OPENS

Applicants for the CAP Training Center for rural community leaders at the University of Wisconsin are now being screened for fall and spring training sessions. Each 11-week session will provide supervised field training in addition to instruction in community organization and development, leadership and communications techniques, CAP regulations and procedures, and related subjects.

The course is open to persons not presently employed in community action programs. The fall session begins September 6, and the spring program will begin in March.

Trainees receive a weekly stipend in addition to lodging, meals, and travel expenses. The Center will assist its graduates in finding positions in community action work.

The Center operates under a training grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Graduates of the 1965 course are now employed in local, State and Federal agencies dealing with community action and related programs.

For information and application forms, write to Lawrence Suhm, Program Director, CAP Training Center, University of Wisconsin Extension, 432 North Lake Street, Madison, Wis., 53706.

Prideful Nelson Workers Spruce Up Communities

Last April, 50 men in Benton County, Mississippi, became the first Nelson Amendment employees in the nation when the United Community Action Council of Benton County received the first Nelson Amendment grant for a CAP program in the Holly Springs National Forest in northern Mississippi.

Under supervision of the U.S. Forest Service, the workers have been carving out a recreational area at Chewalla Lake—picnic shelters, tables, fireplaces, trails, roads, a boat ramp, and rest areas. They are also doing timber stand improvement and are planting grass, shrubs, and trees to prevent roadside erosion.

Many other rural CAA's have followed the example of Benton County in using their unemployed citizens for community betterment under the Nelson Amendment. Programs of this kind can also be conducted by a CAA under regular CAP guidelines.

Usually such programs employ older men, many of them retired farmers who have been struggling to make ends meet on social security alone. Working in the Nelson Amendment programs, they learn a useful skill and take pride in bettering their communities. Because of them, roadsides abound in newly planted trees and flowers; parks are freshly groomed; and community facilities have appeared where there were none before.

This is how one worker describes his involvement in the program: "It means a lot to me. Not only has it helped me, but it makes me feel I'm doing something worthwhile for the county in which I was born, reared, and lived for 65 years. Folks who drive along the highways to and from work see what we've done. There's a lot of satisfaction in knowing that in years to come, thousands of people will enjoy the beauty of those dogwoods and redbuds that I helped plant."

Other Communities Follow Suit

In Arkansas, one crew of 14 men, average age 67 years, planted 500 redbud trees and 300 dogwoods along a highway, and donated trees from their own farms when their supply ran low. "We used to travel this old road before it ever thought about being black-topped," mused one old-time resident as he planted trees alongside the road.

A supervisor described the men in his crew as reliable and highly interested in their work. "Our only problem," he said, "is keeping them slowed down enough so it will not injure their health."

Much that is practical as well as beautiful in the rural areas is the result of Nelson Amendment projects. In Okmulgee County, Oklahoma, a new amphitheater is under construction. Four schools in Starr County, Texas, have new Little League ball parks, and a park has a Pony League field. A Starr County construction firm donated the needed construction equipment for these projects.

Older men in Huslia, a small village in Alaska, are building a community center to house a library and space for recreational, social, and educational activities for the 175 residents of the village. In Monongalia County, West Virginia, as CAP highway improvement crews clear the roadsides, they also clean up the yards of unsightly abandoned cars, selling the cars as junk and returning the proceeds to the car owners.

CAP highway crews in the North Cumberland area of Tennessee are improving the homes of elderly citizens and repairing wells and cisterns in the area to improve the water supply.

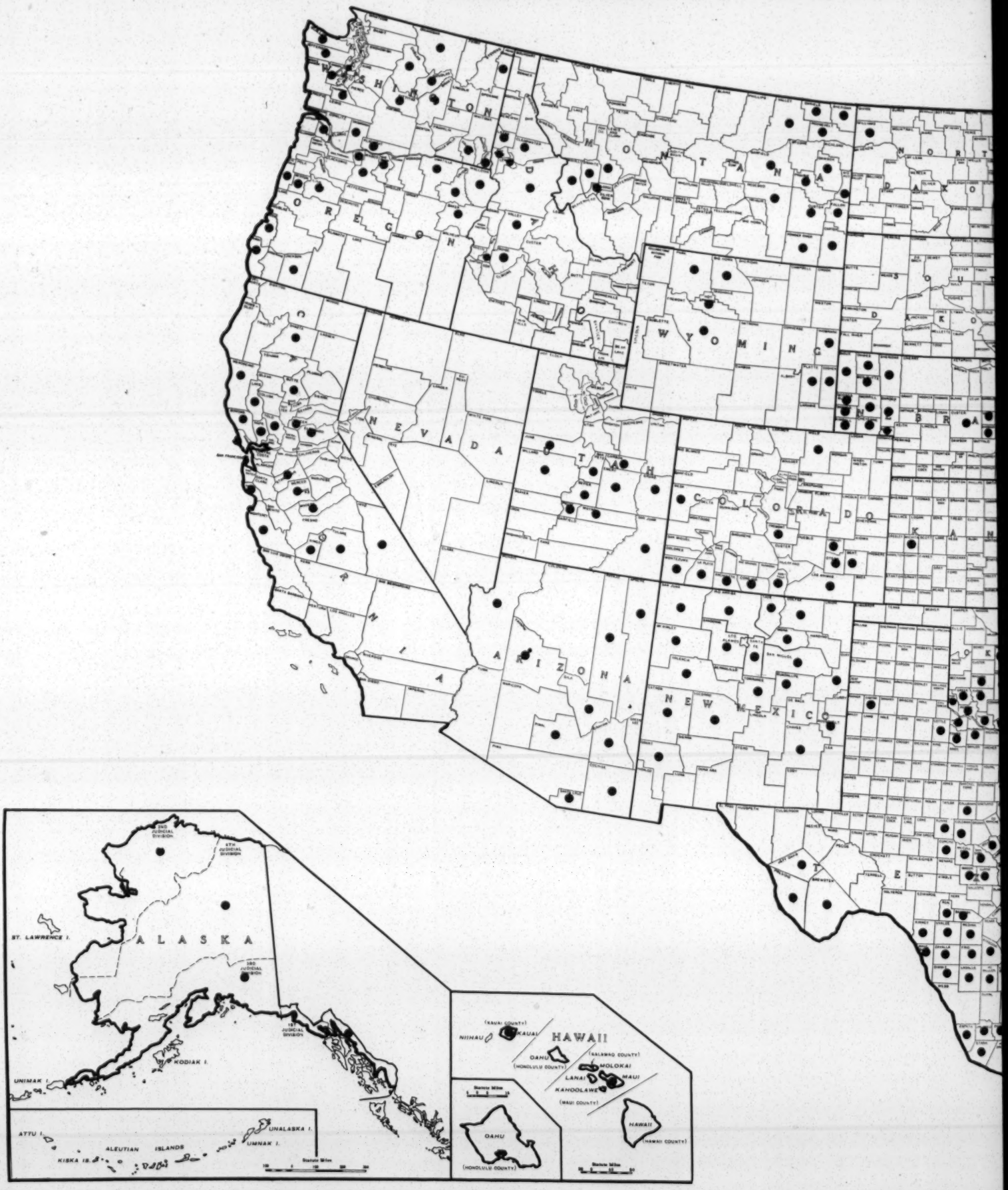
Five hundred residents of Long Township, Sequoyah County, Oklahoma, most of them Cherokee Indians, are getting a new library and community building through a Nelson Amendment program. The ground and materials were donated by the community.

Two of the largest Nelson Amendment grants made this year were to the National Farmers Union for Operation Green Thumb in Arkansas, Minnesota, Oregon, and New Jersey. The State Highway Departments of these States have furnished materials and supervision for the program. Some of the older men working in these programs have performed so satisfactorily that plans are being formulated for their permanent employment.

From December of 1965 to July 12, 1966, thirty-eight States have Nelson Amendment and Green Thumb programs at a total expenditure of $13,422,568 of Federal funds. Rural areas received 54 percent of Nelson Amendment dollars, or a total of $7,336,556.

Nelson Amendment Project Workers clearing a beach site at Chewalla Lake Recreation Area, located in Holly Springs National Forest, Mississippi.

RURAL COUNTIES FUNDED FOR



COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS July 31, 1966

EACH DOT REPRESENTS A RURAL COUNTY COVERED BY A COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY. RURAL COUNTIES UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF AN URBAN CAA HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED.

ACCORDING TO OEO CRITERIA, A RURAL COUNTY IS ONE WHICH HAS MORE THAN 50.0 PERCENT RURAL POPULATION (ACCORDING TO U.S. CENSUS), OR LESS THAN 50.1 PERCENT RURAL POPULATION BUT NO POLITICAL SUBDIVISION OF MORE THAN 10,000 POPULATION.

THE PERSON ON THE SPOT—VISTA

" 'You all right?' he asked.

"This 12-year-old boy, waiting to fill his water buckets at the concrete box which served as the central water supply, for the town, asked me as though my answer was important to him. This was a companionable place. The water trickled slowly and everyone spoke to you, even continuing to talk after the buckets were filled.

"Now, there is a somewhat greater and more efficient water supply, with improvements planned for the future, thanks to VISTA and the local people moving on it. But, this small boy's greeting can never be improved upon and his phrase still warms me. . . ."

Geraldine English, 49, wrote these lines in her first year report as a VISTA VOLUNTEER at LBJ & C Development Corporation, Monterey, Tennessee, a community action agency serving Livingston, Byrdstown, Jamestown and Cookeville Counties in the Appalachias. Mrs. English is one of the four VISTAS covering the five counties. She has opted to stay on for onother year because, as she puts it, "It takes time to truly relate to these great 'quiet-making' people."

Gerry hails from Santa Rosa, California, the State that has so far produced the largest number of VISTA VOLUNTEERS. She sounds incredulous when talking about her own background in relation to what she is doing now—no public service experience of any kind, secretarial skills, a widow, no children. The need for a challenge and a change brought her into VISTA.

The communities Gerry works in are defunct coal mining towns made up of substandard houses. Another part of Gerry's report of the past year reads: "meetings held in four communities, getting people to express their needs . . . two communities vitally interested in getting proposed Appalachian north-south highway routed through their area. . . . project had potential for action. . . . people enthusiastic and circulate petition. . . . at request of one community, wrote inviting Governor to come speak about routing the highway. . . . name of community Hanging Limb. . . . It was decided to sign letter 'The Hanging Limb Committee'. . . . may have been reason Governor politely declined. Ultimately, highway routed through area already served by excellent highways, while roads here inadequate, responsible for isolation and economic and social backwardness of area. . . . never did have another successful meeting at Hanging Limb. . . .

VISTA Did It

It wasn't all negative. Good things happened too at LBJ & C. A bus shelter for the schoolchildren in the area was built—residents and VISTA did it. Baseball fields at Crawford, at Twinton were leveled, used and leveled, and school grounds were cleaned up—NYC boys and VISTA did it. Repairs on the Community Building given by the Presbyterian Church to Davidson, were done by a church work group, men from the community and VISTA.

Recruiting for Head Start, NYC, and Operation Pebble sent the VISTAS on the road only to find that while the programs had been announced in schools and names of eligible children obtained in some cases, the people had little or no idea about the programs—in fact, didn't even relate them to their own families; they didn't know "how to git it."

Two VISTAS went to Upper Cumberland library and were successful in getting books for a tiny library in Davidson which they promptly put into their own living room for want of another place. Eventually, someone in Davidson will work with it, take charge of it.

Tutoring, Community Clubs, handicraft, Brownie, Cub, and Boy Scouts organizations—VISTA's help in such activities has earned for them a warm feeling of mutual respect and concern in the community.

Start Where the People Are

Gerry spoke quietly about all of it, her hands folded in her lap, her head to one side, bird-like, bright, slim, and ready to be on the wing.

"I know now that I must start where the people are if I want to go someplace with them. These are people to whom selfishness is the greatest sin. I don't despair but they live in unbelievable conditions and the men work at what they can, mining mostly and it is poor pay. . . . there's no retraining nearby."

Adult Basic Education Program. "It was started and 15 or 16 enrolled. Only 5 are left . . . some say they can't learn . . . they don't say as much but there is a stigma and they employ self-ridicule to cover up. . . . they use that humor as a protective device, retreating into its warm comfortable shell."

Gerry finished, "I have no lack of plans for future action but I know that only those plans of mine that can be translated into felt needs by these people will have any chance of success. My greatest hope for the future is that in some small way I can help the 'Other World' hear and understand the silent voices behind the apparent acceptance and indifference of people in poverty."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir:

We have recently opened a large Neighborhood Center in Clarksdale, Mississippi. The center has abundant library space, but we have no books. Do your readers have any ideas or suggestions about where we can obtain free or inexpensive books? Do they have any library material they can spare? It would be appreciated if they would send any relevant information to the undersigned.

Sincerely,
GUSTAVE T. ROESSLER
Director
Coahoma Opportunities, Inc.
321 E. Second St.
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Hubbard Hospital (Nashville, Tennessee): A small army of low-income men and women, aged 60 and over, have been given a new interest in life, plus needed additional income, through the Foster Grandparent program.

Like the woman in the photo above, Foster Grandparents provide love and personal attention to unwanted, neglected infants as well as retarded and emotionally disturbed children in institutions, homes, hospitals, and orphanages.

In August of 1965, President Johnson announced the Foster Grandparent program as an attempt to ease the lot of some 5,000,000 elderly Americans whose average income is under $1,150 a year. Today, one year later, there are 33 Foster Grandparent programs in 26 States and Puerto Rico. Over 2,000 older persons, mostly employed part-time, are caring for 4,500 children, financed by $5,089,242 in Federal funds.

For further information on the Foster Grandparent program, contact your OEO Regional Office or Director, Older Persons Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506.

OEO-LABOR AGREEMENT CAN AID RURAL CAA'S

An OEO-Employment Service agreement which has had only limited implementation in rural areas is significant to rural CAA's. It lays a basis for joint action by the community action agency and the local or State Employment Security office.

The agreement between OEO and the U.S. Department of Labor provides that "The Employment Service will be reimbursed for any positions desired by CAP that are in excess of those to which the ES has already committed itself on a cooperative basis for CAP activities."

This means that the agencies can work cooperatively to provide additional employment services, or new types of services, to meet local needs.

Among the activities possible under this agreement is the mobile Smaller Communities Program Team. This can be brought into the CAP area under contract with the State Employment agency.

The basic program of the Smaller Communities team consists of 1) a manpower survey, the basis for a Manpower Resource Report and other undertakings; 2) processing of job applications, including interviewing, testing, counseling; 3) job placement and/or referral for training; 4) collection of economic data other than manpower information; 5) compilation of an economic base report describing natural and industrial resources; and 6) contin uing service to the area, particularly through RAR.

Although such a team will vary in makeup according to the needs of the community, it may be staffed by any useful combination of these positions: a rural area representative (RAR), a team manager, a labor area analyst, counselors, interviewers, nonprofessional aides, and clerical employees. Wherever possible, local low-income people should be hired, especially for nonprofessional positions.

The OEO-Labor agreement can be a major tool in efforts to extend intensive manpower services to rural counties. The Bureau of Employment Security expects ES officials who can help in this work to contact CAP Managers in the OEO Regional Offices to determine the needs of each CAA agency in the areas for which there is mutual responsibility.

Western Region Pushes Operation Grass Roots

The Western Regional Office of OEO in San Francisco has launched a special six-month effort to reach low-income people in rural areas and small communities. The operation is called Operation Grassroots. Forty-three components have been approved from Alaska to California, for a total of more than $2 million.

Only broadly based community action agencies are eligible to carry out this kind of program, according to Daniel M. Luevano, director of the Western OEO Region.

Operation Grassroots is patterned after operation Medicare Alert, with mobile teams to bring needy families into more effective contact with the resources of the community. The teams will also help form local councils through which communities can take an active role in the antipoverty programs of their counties. Low-income people are employed to work as community aides.

The Western Region includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.

USDA Series Can Improve Family Food Output

The U. S. Department of Agriculture is making available, through OEO, eight new publications geared specifically to improve home food production of low-income farm families. USDA uses a "Victory Garden" approach to show how these families can have more milk, meat, eggs, and vegetables through a home food project.

To get these bulletins, write Public Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506. Although these publications were written especially for families of the Appalachian area, USDA points out that the information in them can be used almost everywhere in the United States. It is not suitable for commercial farm operations.

These bulletins can provide useful technical backup for a CAP component in Home Food Production (Rural Community Action Pamphlet C-32).

The series contains the following subjects:

Keeping a Cow: How to select, breed, and feed a cow; care for her calf; and handle her milk.

Raising a Few Hogs: How to buy and raise a small number of hogs for home use.

A Dairy Goat for Home Milk Production: How to select and manage a dairy goat, including equipment, pasture, and housing information needed.

Appalachian Hillside Pasture: How to get the most use from hillside land by proper management and improvement.

Raising a Few Cattle for Beef: How to begin a small beef herd and raise it through proper feeding, breeding, and management.

Growing Vegetables in the Appalachian Region: How to plan and grow a garden, with tips on seed and plant selection, planting times, weeding, mulching, watering, and disease and insect control.

Raising a Small Flock of Sheep: How to begin and raise a small flock. Tips on shelter and equipment, pasture, management, shearing, and marketing are included.

A Family Chicken Flock for Appalachia: How to manage a chicken flock to provide eggs and meat for the family. It includes information on feeding, housing, and equipment, and on the care of layers and eggs.

Attention, CAA's

Having difficulty planning components? . . . Writing CAP applications? . . . Working out community action problems?

The Rural Task Force of OEO/CAP is available to help. Make your request for RTF assistance through your Regional CAP Office.

Federal Extension

Two new publications of the Federal Extension Service can be valuable to the CAA with Family Living or Homemaking programs. The publications were prepared especially for use in the War on Poverty. They can be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402.

Training Home Economics Program Assistants To Work with Low-Income Families (PA-681—55 cents) is written for the home economist who plans and supervises a community program for hard-to-reach families. It provides a framework for initiating and planning the program, suggests ideas for recruitment and training of professional aides, and includes a section on teaching techniques.

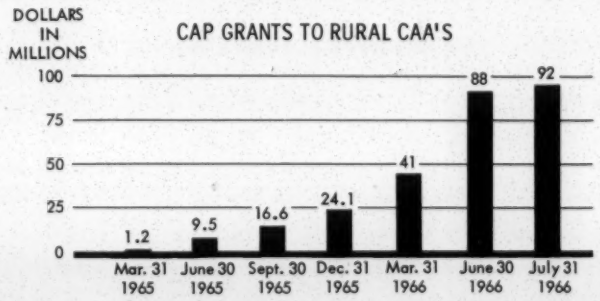
The *Handbook for Home Economics Program Assistants* (PA-680—25 cents) is written for the nonprofessional employed in the program. It explains how to conduct home visits, how to interest homemakers in learning, and how to teach them. The book is written in simple language.

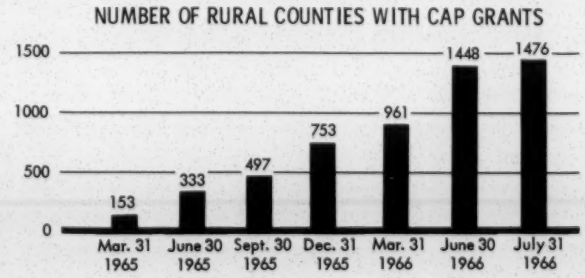
New OEO Publication, Rural

Migrant Worker Programs in Rural Community Action explains how CAA's funded under Title 11-A can include programs for migrants in their planning. In addition programs for migrants can be funded under Title 111-B of the EOA, specifically to cover the areas of housing, sanitation and education.

This pamphlet is part of a series, which includes the following: **Cooperatives, Credit Unions, Older People, Food Distribution, Home Food Production, Agricultural Program, Remedial Reading,** and **Family Counseling.**

Copies may be ordered from your OEO Regional Office or write to: Rural Task Force, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506.





File
Off. of Eco. Opp.

October 25, 1966

Mr. Hyman Bookbinder
Assistant Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Bookbinder:

I am in receipt of your mimeographed communication dated October 17. It came addressed as follows:

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
National Urban League, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Should you wish to communicate with us further, please be advised that (although we have close working relationship) the Southern Regional Council is not a part of the National Urban League and that our street address is 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 17, 1966

file CDGM

Dear Friend:

There is so much confusion and misinformation surrounding the issue of Mississippi Head Start Operations that I wanted to be sure you saw this letter from Hodding Carter III in this morning's Washington Post. (Enclosed also is press release on funding of MAP). I need not tell you that Mr. Carter's credentials for integrity and courage are second to none. The CDGM situation is an unhappy one for all of us, but I trust that you will withhold final judgment in the matter until all the facts are known and until the final actions are taken. Mr. Shriver's record from the beginning on participation of the poor and on desegregation warrant such confidence. I am ready at all times to discuss this matter with you or send you additional information.

Sincerely yours,

Hyman Bookbinder

Hyman Bookbinder
Assistant Director

Letters to the Editor

MAP Distortions

A number of news stories have appeared concerning the formation of Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), an organization intended to establish Head Start programs in Mississippi. Some of them have been accurate; several, and most notably one in the *New Republic* have been gross distortions of the truth. The following information represents an attempt to set the record straight:

Item: MAP is not going to strip the Head Start programs which it will operate of their community action function. Its bylaws specifically provide that County committees will be formed from those participating in the program in each country. These committees will have direct responsibility for program directions, policy recommendations and personnel supervision. It is MAP's deepest hope that within a very short time these committees can be spun off as independent units operating as CAP boards under separate financing and under their own direction.

Item: MAP'S board will not be entirely hand picked by its first 12 members. Six additional directors will be elected by and from the counties in which MAP will operate Head Start programs. This, too, is stipulated in the by-laws.

Item: It is a lie to assert or imply that state NAACP members met secretly with Senator John Stennis prior to or after MAP's formation. They have never done so. It is a lie to assert that the White House contacted Roy Wilkins, who in turn contacted Aaron Henry to serve on the new board. The only contacts were made between MAP board members and OEO representatives. It is a lie to say that any White House assistant or Douglas Wynn had any part to play in putting the MAP board together. They did not. Wynn played absolutely no role in contacting or convincing anyone on MAP's board to serve.

Item: It is a mistake to say that Owen Cooper and Aaron Henry were at any time co-chairmen of MAP. At MAP's first organizational meeting, held on Oct. 6, Cooper was elected chairman and Merrill Lindsey was elected vice chairman.

Item: Oliver Emmerich is not a Loyalist Democrat but a long-time Republican, having backed Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 and Nixon in 1960. Several other board members are not Democrats or Republicans, but Independents.

Item: It is a misstatement to say that this board is intended as a political vehicle of any kind. Owen Cooper has no intention of running for governor in 1967. If anyone knows anything about Mississippi politics at the *New Republic*, he must know that service on a biracial-committee of this sort would automatically destroy any white man's political ambitions in Mississippi. Further, an item in the bylaws of MAP specifically states that no board member can run for any elective office, other than relatively inconsequential local ones such as school board.

Item: It is standard language in all non-profit corporation charters to say that the charter need not be made public, just as the charter also says that there will be no issuance of stock. The charter itself is and has been a matter of public record.

MAP is a creation of its members. There have never been any conversations, deals or manipulation with or by any Mississippi official or any White House official in establishing the organization. I would suggest that final judgment on what MAP may do be suspended until it has a chance to function.

HODDING CARTER III.
The writer is editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat Times
Greenville, Miss.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506
Telephone: 296-2980

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1966

MISSISSIPPI ACTION FOR PROGRESS RECEIVES $3 MILLION HEAD START GRANT

The Office of Economic Opportunity today announced that a grant of $3,020,906 has been awarded to Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc., (MAP) to conduct a full year Head Start program for 1500 children in Mississippi.

Sargent Shriver, Director of OEO, said that $10 million in all has been reserved to finance MAP child development programs, which could ultimately reach 4500-5000 children.

MAP will be administered by an 18 member bi-racial board of directors headed by Owen Cooper, prominent businessman and Baptist lay leader of Yazoo City. The Reverend Merrill W. Lindsey of West Point, District Superintendent of the Methodist Church, is Vice Chairman.

Other board members include: Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi State Conference of NAACP Branches; Hodding Carter, III, editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat Times; Wilson Evans, president of the Gulfport Local, International Longshoremen's Union; James Gilliam, Grand Marshal of Prince Hall Masons of Mississippi; Oscar Carr, businessman and farmer of Clarksdale; Reverend W. P. Davis, Baptist minister of Jackson; Oliver Emmerich, newspaper editor of McComb; LeRoy Percy, Episcopal lay leader and president of the Mississippi Chemical Company; R. L. T. Smith, chairman of the board of directors of the Mississippi Federal Mutual Savings and Loan of Jackson; and Charles Young, president of E. F. Young Manufacturing Company of Meridian.

In announcing the grant, Mr. Shriver said, "No Federal program in Mississippi has ever been under the direction of such an outstanding board of white and Negro leaders. Two years ago, it was the unanimous opinion that this could not be done in Mississippi. But it has been done. These men will be joined on the board by six representatives of the poor, residents of the area and groups to be served. In addition, MAP has endorsed the concept of employing a maximum number of poor people to assist in the operation of programs.

(More) 66-493

"Local advisory committees will be established in each of the communities to be served by the MAP program to advise on program needs, operation, facilities and personnel."

Mr. Shriver continued, "In those counties where prior Head Start programs have operated, MAP will employ persons having previous experience with the program, so far as is practicable, and consistent with acceptable qualifications and work records."

Mr. Shriver emphasized that no single group will have a monopoly in administering the Head Start program in Mississippi, and that already 13 agencies have been funded to operate child development projects within the State.

He said that while MAP was undertaking Head Start as its initial venture, the organization could, under its charter, initiate other types of Community Action programs in the future. It is expected that, as these programs develop, they will be spun off into new local Community Action Agencies.

Mr. Shriver said, "We intend to diversify the sponsorship of Head Start and other War on Poverty programs in Mississippi. We intend to move as fast as possible away from de facto racially segregated programs, to racially integrated programs such as recently funded Rust College and Southwest Mississippi Opportunity, Inc."

- 30 -

66-493

MISSISSIPPI TEST ON POVERTY SET

New Biracial Group Gets Its First Head Start Funds

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 12—A newly chartered biracial group —Mississippi Action for Progress—formed to take over Project Head Start and possibly other antipoverty activities will test this state's prospects for improved race relations in the conduct of Federally financed programs.

MAP has been criticized by backers of the controversial Child Development Group of Mississippi, a civil rights-oriented organization. Its Head Start program has been terminated by Washington after a turbulent year of political conflict with Senator John Stennis, Democrat, and other Mississippians in Congress.

The new organization's first grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity was announced last night. It is $3-million, the first installment of $10-million reserved for Head Start projects.

Militant civil rights workers here have charged a "sellout" by Negro leaders who have joined in forming the Action for Progress group.

Appeasement Charged

The economic opportunity office rejected the Child Development Group's request for a new $20.3-million grant to extend its operations after Federal investigators had reported evidence of mismanagement. Friends of the group charge that the appeasement of Senator Stennis is back of the decision.

Champions of Action for Progress describe it as a "blue ribbon" group of white and Negro leaders. The group was quietly organized several weeks ago when the economic opportunity office first indicated that the Child Development Group would not receive further funds.

Action for Progress is the first state-recognized organization bringing together moderate and liberally inclined white business and civic leaders of the state and Negro leaders with a substantial following.

Its present board of 12, to be expanded to 18, is headed by Owen Cooper of Yazoo City, one of Mississippi's most powerful white industrialists, and Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose organization has been fought in the past by Mississippi politicians.

Other members on the board include G. L. T. Smith, Jackson Negro businessman and longtime leader in the civil rights movement; Dr. W. P. Davis, white Baptist minister and president of the Mississippi Baptist Seminary for Negroes; Leroy, Percy, Greenville banker and land owner whose family is part of the pioneer stock of the Delta country; Hodding Carter 3d, Greenville newspaperman, Democratic leader and liberal spokesman; Oliver Emmerich, McComb editor and publisher; Oscar Carr, Clarksdale cotton planter; Charles Young, Meridian Negro businessman and chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Conference; the Rev. M. W. Lindsey of West Point and James Gilliam of Clarksdale, a Negro Masonic leader.

Six members of the board will be drawn later from the poor in the poverty "target areas" in the state.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson, who is committed to a campaign pledge that he will never appoint a state biracial commission, has nonetheless endorsed the board and approved its incorporation charter.

That white leaders in Mississippi would sit down with widely known Negro integration leaders was unthinkable in the recent past. "It's still difficult to get people who have a lot to lose even at this stage of the game to do it," said a key figure in the group.

But the reaction in still-segregationist Mississippi to the new group has been unbelievable.

"I've only had one nasty letter," said Mr. Cooper, the chairman of the group, and "otherwise I have had nothng but a favorable react ..."

Press Intelligence, Inc.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013
Front Page | Edit Page | Other Page
26
NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES
M-635,619
S-1,337,277
OCT 13 1966

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Telephone: 296-2980

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1966

NAACP MESSAGE ON OEO PROGRAM MOVES IN MISSISSIPPI

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People informed Sargent Shriver, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, that it supports OEO funding of new Head Start projects in Mississippi.

A telegram from John A. Morsell, NAACP Assistant Executive Director, said: "NAACP regrets that OEO found it necessary to deny renewal of funding to Child Development Group of Mississippi for reasons stated... but we join our leadership in that state in welcoming the decision to continue vital work of providing educational opportunity to disadvantaged children through a new agency."

The telegram said:

> "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People regrets that Office of Economic Opportunity has found it necessary to deny renewal of funding to Child Development Group of Mississippi for reasons stated. As you know within past two weeks NAACP's Mississippi State Board, State President Aaron Henry, and Field Director Charles Evers jointly and severally urged approval of new grant to CDGM and offered to work closely with CDGM in such event to prevent recurrence of irregularities. But we join our leadership in that State in welcoming decision to continue vital work of providing educational opportunity to disadvantaged children through a new agency of which Aaron Henry is co-chairman. We hope and expect that new agency as well as local programs it conducts will be fully representative of all segments of the community having genuine concern for the needs which are to be met."

-30-

66-489

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

REGARDING

Securing The Research Group to organize a panel to provide technical assistance to local Community Action Agencies

DATE

11-28-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

H General

See Post' Eco
U.S. Off. Off.

March 8, 1967

Mr. Ira Kaye
Director of Rural Services Division
Community Action Programs
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Ira:

I have just read of your appointment as Chief of the Rural Services Division and I am delighted to know you are in this important and sensitive post.

I do hope we will have many opportunities to work together and certainly the services of SRC are at your disposal.

Every good wish in your new work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Robert Anthony

file

MAR 06 1967

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Telephone: 296-2980

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE PM's
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1967

SHRIVER NAMES RURAL SERVICES DIVISION CHIEF

Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, named Ira Kaye, former Regional Director, Western Region of India, Peace Corps, as Director of Rural Services Division, Community Action Programs at OEO. The post was previously held by Acting Director, Sam Vernoff.

Div of Economic Opportunity

The Rural Services Division, which succeeds the Rural Task Force, has been engaged for the past two years in pinpointing rural needs in Community Action planning, program and resources and implementing plans to meet the needs. The emphasis of the Rural Services Division in the future will be placed on improving the quality of the existing rural programs, upgrading program content, personnel, operation and administration.

The appointment of Mr. Kaye to the rural post underscores OEO's commitment to search for better ways to reach the rural poor and deliver the services to them.

"In some of our most isolated rural communities, out-reach is a problem of major dimensions," explained Shriver. "These communities need individual help and much time in order to develop a community organization which can effectively focus on the needs, coordinate existing programs and create new ones."

A native of New York City, Mr. Kaye, who is 51, has lived in Sumter, South Carolina, for the past 25 years.

Mr. Kaye is a graduate of New York University Law School and a Colonel in the United States Air Force Reserve. He served on the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and under the aegis of the Southern Regional Council supervised the research on the report dealing with the impact of the Department of Agriculture fund programs upon the Negro farmer in nine rural South Carolina counties.

- 30 -

67-38

Thought you would be interested

Jac

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1207 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
		See U.S. Govt O.E.O		

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Mr. Sargent Shriver 4/7/ 1967

Street and No. Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

Care of or Apt. No. Destination Washington, D. C.

A member of our staff, Mr. Al Ulmer, has worked with the Southwest Alabama Farmer's Cooperative for a period of several months first on its cooperative education program and later in helping to develop the proposal presently before you. It is his and our belief that SWAFCA has presented an excellent program, one, which in the highest sense, offers rural poor people valid opportunities and alternatives. I urge you to give this proposal every consideration.

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Co uncil

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Office of Economic Opportunity

REGARDING

Grant to Crawfordville Enterprises
Taliaferro County, Ga. by
Sou. Rural Action Project of the
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
Randolph Blackwell

DATE

7/7/67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
Atlanta Ga.

Freeport: Eco. Office of Opportunity

August 30, 1967

Mr. Ira Kaye
Executive Office of the President
Office of Economic Opportunity
B634
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ira:

Thanks for the reprints from the Washington Post about SWAFCA. I had seen the original, but it's good to have copies. Certainly, it's good also to see a good program and valuable publicity being combined. Lord knows both OEO and SWAFCA deserve it.

I do think it important that all of us in public and private agencies continue to assist this effort as much as possible. It is a remarkable success story. In fact, an incredible one. But they will continue to need a great deal of help and guidance for a long time.

I am sure you have occasion to get to the South and Atlanta. If at all possible do plan on a visit during your next trip.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC

OPPORTUNITY

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Office of Eco. Opportunity

October 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of October 18. I greatly enjoyed the visit with you and the others in Mr. Coleman's office and was grateful for a chance to be able to discuss our situation honestly rather than in the usual public relations stance that we are forced to take.

I believe that if people such as those present in that meeting will work together for a common end we can make a real impact on the poverty problem. I hope you will call on me whenever my office or I personally can help you in your work, and I shall certainly do the same when the Southern Regional Council can help us. I am looking forward to fellowship with you again in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Ralph A. Phelps, Jr.

Ralph A. Phelps, Jr.
Regional Director

October 18, 1967

Mr. Ralph A. Phelps, Jr.
Director
Southeast Region
Office of Economic Opportunity
101 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Phelps:

Since I had to leave the meeting early last week, I did not have an opportunity to thank you for your candid and excellent presentation. You have an extremely difficult job, which is hardly news to you. But you also have an incredibly good grasp of the problems of it. I think all of us who had an opportunity to attend last week's meeting were more than impressed.

Please know that all of us at Southern Regional Council are anxious to be of any possible assistance to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Govt: U.S. Office of Eco. Opportunity

TELEGRAM: December 15, 1967

Mr. Sargent Shriver
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Recent actions of the Atlanta Regional Office, especially in cutting off funds in Athens and Miami and the manner in which those actions were taken, are raising the most serious doubts among friends of OEO as to the adequate operation of the Regional Office. We urge your personal involvement and assistance.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

December 6, 1968

Mr. Ira Kaye
Special Assistant for Rural Affairs
Office of Program Policy
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Kaye:

In Mr. Anthony's absence this will note your check for renewal of New South, and your change of address.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

12-6-68 rh

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $3.00 to cover the renewal fee for a one year subscription of New South.

As I indicated on the invoice, I would like to have the magazine mailed to my home address and to carry it as a personal subscription.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Ira Kaye

Ira Kaye
Special Assistant
for Rural Affairs
Office of Program Policy
Community Action Program

Enclosures

MJ - file

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 13, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At the President's request I should like to invite you to attend the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity on August 19 and 20 here in Washington. This meeting will be held to discuss Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In case you will be able to attend the Conference, I am taking the liberty of enclosing with this letter some basic information about the two-day session. You will note that there will be a total of seven different workshops offered concurrently four times. For this reason, we are asking you to designate on the enclosed card the four to which you feel you can make the greatest contribution. A brief description of each workshop and a schedule for the two days is also included, as well as a fact sheet telling about accommodations and conference features.

I hope you will be able to join with us. Unfortunately, this invitation is not transferrable, so please let us know as soon as possible if you will be able to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman

Enclosures

PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

August 19 and 20
Department of State

August 19

8:00	Registration
9:00	Introduction of Commissioners and Remarks by Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
9:30	Welcome by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
10:00	Informal Discussion
10:30	First Workshop Session
12:00	Luncheon
2:00	Second Workshop Session
3:30	Informal Discussion
4:00	Third Workshop Session
6:00	Reception

August 20

9:00	Fourth Workshop Session
10:30	Informal Discussion
11:00	Workshop Reports and Discussion

CONFEREE INSTRUCTION SHEET

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

August 19 - 20

1. EXPENSES:

   Travel and accommodation expenses will be borne by the participants. There will be no Conference registration fee.

2. HOTEL RESERVATIONS:

   Please make your own arrangements for accommodations. For your convenience we have reserved a block of rooms at the Washington Hilton Hotel, 1919 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., - 483-3000. Reservations can be made by telephone or by mailing the enclosed card. Please refer to the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity.

3. CONFERENCE REGISTRATION:

   A registration booth will be open the evening of August 18 from 7 to 10 p.m. on the Terrace Level of the Hilton Hotel, and at 8 a.m. on August 19 at the State Department, outside the auditorium at the 23rd Street entrance.

4. SITE:

   The opening session will be held in the Main Auditorium at the Department of State. Use the 23rd Street entrance.

WORKSHOP TOPICS AND CHAIRMEN FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

1. Patterns of Discrimination

Chairman - John Doar, Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice

2. Complaint Procedures and Federal-State-Local Relations

Chairman - Alfred W. Blumrosen, Chief of Liaison for Federal,
State and Local Agencies
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

3. Sex Discrimination

Chairman - Richard K. Berg, Deputy General Counsel
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

4. Reports and Record-Keeping

Chairman - Charles Markham, Acting Director, Research and Reporting
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

5. Apprenticeship, Training and Retraining

Chairman - Vincent J. Macaluso, Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

6. Referral, Hiring, Promotion and Firing

Chairman - Percy H. Williams, Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

7. Affirmative Action

Chairman - Don M. Thomas, Administrative Coordinator
Plans for Progress

543-1699

1501 18th
18 & P NW

BARBARA RAPPAPORT
APT 424
4000 TUNLAW Rd NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

Hayman MON & S Scruggs
Publ. Phel. Mg. -
Amer tel & tel

August 27, 1965

Mr. King Carr
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear King:

This is a letter of apology. I have been so overwhelmed lately with both the occupational and personal problems of moving that I have just not altogether done my job. Please pardon me for not getting back to you with suggestions of people for the research and field jobs with the Commission. I recall that we did discuss some names over the telephone, though I am sure that I was not of much help. Good luck to you, and if this attempt was not too discouraging, try me again.

You did prompt me during our conversation to re-read President Johnson's Howard University address. You may not remember it, but you asked me if I did not find in it new ideas. Thus the re-reading, because I could not remember any new ideas in it, and I don't think there are any. Please don't misunderstand me. It was an absolutely great speech, but it was so not chiefly because of content, though that was first-rate, but because it was delivered by the President of the United States.

There was nothing particularly new in the economic data presented. Similar arrangements of the data have been made from time to time in other places as, for example, by Vivian Henderson in the enclosed pamphlet. As to the general depiction of Negro Americans as another nation, this too has been said, and said vividly, e.g., by Charles Silberman in Crisis in Black and White. There has not been, I think, adequate discussion in the literature of the President's central point about the importance of the family. But it is a condition that many of us have been aware of and have been talking about. I am enclosing, for example, a memorandum I did, almost two years ago, for private circulation among certain foundation executives; see pages 1-3 of it.

The above is said not to discourage you at all in your search for imaginative and thorough research leadership. I do want to come back, however, to what I said to you over the telephone, and that is my belief that the great need at the present is for public policy studies; i.e., study directed at how we accomplish solutions to known problems without damage to worthwhile political and social values.

All best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

See U.S. Govt

September 24, 1965

Mr. King Carr
~~Equal Employment~~ Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear King:

Thank you so much for your letter of September 17, and a copy of the Moynihan Report.

May I make a request of you? I am leaving the copy here at SRC as I go out the door. Could you send another copy to me at the Field Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York? As a matter of fact, SRC could well use a couple more copies if you have them.

I hope you did not mead my letter to imply any downgrading of the work which Barton and Moynihan did (I had not, of course, even read the report). I believe I mentioned in that letter that I agree that insufficient attention had been given in the research to the centrality of the family. What we have had for many years is an elaboration of the matriarchal thesis; I am not aware that this has included analysis pointing to the dependence of social gains on strengthening of the family. So I am admiring of what Moynihan and Barton have done.

All good wishes, and I hope we can keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 17, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The Negro Family: The Case for Nat'l Action

Circulate 9/24/65 to: PA SA EV PW BP-Research

Dear Les:

The Moynihan Report is now available to the public, I believe. Since you may not have a copy, here is one.

A good friend of mine, Paul Barton, did Moynihan's research for this and we were car-pooling at the time so I developed some feeling for his reaction to the available research. He was not familiar with the field before he began, but he is extremely capable and was very unimpressed with the research findings that he located.

Of course, you are right about the speech and I know he would agree on your public policy study emphasis. But even if such studies had been undertaken in the Federal government before the Moynihan Report, I doubt that they would have been made from the viewpoint of the family, or even identified the crucial importance of the family. It is really quite remarkable that a Department of Labor could even briefly have considered that it should explore whether or not it should be a Department of the Family for the purpose of illiminating a social problem.

From hearing Barton talk, I did not get the impression that the research community had reached a consensus on

the importance of family stability or that individual researchers who had identified this hypothesis had done much to prove their point. Of course, the idea is not new, but few ideas are. I would guess that the Moynihan Report will influence public policy studies for a while.

Sincerely,

King Carr

See U. S. Grant Equal Employment Opport. Commission

December 10, 1965

Mrs. Eileen Hernandez
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Hernandez:

You may recall during the course of the White House Conference on Employment, that Jean Fairfax and I discussed with you the possibility of your attending one of the meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference. This is the informal gathering, quarterly, of representatives from some 20-40 agencies and groups concerned with race relations in this region.

The next meeting of this group will be held from 2:00 p.m., on January 26th through noon on the 27th. Would it be possible for you to come to Atlanta for any portion of this meeting to discuss, informally and off-the-record, the affairs of the Commission? We would be pleased if you found it possible to sit in on all of the meeting.

I know that January is a terrible month for meetings, but we do hope that you can accept this invitation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Miss Jean Fairfax

MEMORANDUM 12-13-65

To: BC

From: MMJ

Bernice,

Please send the Henderson report to the person listed below, along with all SRC publications dealing with employment.

Dr. Phyllis A. Wallace
EEO Commission

(Label attached)

File - U.S. Gov't - "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission"

Separate mailing:
The Economic Status of Negroes...., Henderson
and every other SRC publication on employment.

December 13, 1965

Dr. Phyllis A. Wallace
Acting Chief
Office of Technical Studies
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Dr. Wallace:

Under separate cover, we are sending you the requested materials. If we can be of any further help, let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Rec'd 12/8/65

December 7,1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It would be greatly helpful to our initial efforts to collect information bearing on equal employment opportunity if you could send us a list of studies completed by the Southern Regional Council. We also would like to obtain a copy of The Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South by Dr. Vivian Henderson.

BC + Everything else on file

Sincerely yours,

Phyllis A. Wallace, Ph. D.

Phyllis A. Wallace, Ph. D.
Acting Chief, Office of Technical Studies

File U.S. Govt. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

January 7, 1966

Dr. Phyllis A. Wallace
Acting Chief
Office of Technical Studies
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Dr. Wallace:

You had written to me at the University of Wisconsin regarding the interests of the Office of Technical Studies. I am on leave of absence from the University working with the Southern Regional Council. I would like to respond to your letter for myself and on behalf of Paul Anthony, Director of the Council, to whom you had also written.

Two suggestions of researchers interested in the same area as E.E.O.C. come readily to mind. I would guess that you have been in touch with both of them.

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

President Vivian Henderson
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

I am sending under separate cover several items which reflect some of the Council's interest in this area. Three city employment studies will be included which are certainly dated at this point.

We would be pleased to cooperate with you or your advisory committee in future undertakings. Will you let us know the composition of the committee when it has been selected? We would also welcome any listing or summaries of current research which you might prepare.

Best wishes in your new undertaking.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Under separate cover:

(1) The Negro and Employment Opportunities In the South: Houston
(2) " " " " " " " " Atlanta
(3) " " " " " " " " Chattanooga
(4) The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Rec'd 12/13/65

December 8, 1965

EV - please answer?

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I should like to invite your cooperation on one of the most complex and difficult problems of our domestic economy. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, prohibits discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex or national origin in private employment. The newly created Research Division of this office is charged with gathering the information necessary to the Commission's enforcement of the statute; and to development of voluntary programs of affirmative action by employers and unions seeking to comply with the spirit of the law as well as its letter.

Because of the importance of this assignment, we are asking the social science research community to assist us in undertaking a sustained systematic inquiry into the dynamics of equal employment opportunity. A preliminary step is to compile an inventory of relevant research, both in progress and already completed, on employment opportunity and the economic aspects of race relations. Later we shall be concerned with redefining concepts, examining methodologies, and analyzing employment patterns and practices.

In pursuance of these objectives, I plan to attend the Joint Allied Social Science Association meeting in New York from December 27 to 30 and would welcome an opportunity to discuss our projected program. We should be pleased to have your recommendations in regard to other researchers whose interest seems appropriate to the goals of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. We plan to establish an inter-university committee on research on equal employment opportunity and will forward to you, in the near future, information about the progress of this program.

Sincerely yours,

Phyllis A. Wallace

Phyllis A. Wallace, Ph.D.
Acting Chief,
Office of Technical Studies

file n - attach to PA ltr of earlier date

Rec'd 1/17/66

ES

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
~~WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506~~

January 14, 1966

(future SIC mailing)

orig

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of January 4. If you will let me know sufficiently in advance, I am sure that we will be able to arrange a mutually convenient date.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Aileen C. Hernandez

(Mrs.) Aileen C. Hernandez
Commissioner

January 4, 1966

Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez
Commissioner
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mrs. Hernandez:

While we are very disappointed that you cannot be present at the January 26, 27 Southern Interagency Conference, we certainly understand. Perhaps at a later date we can select a date convenient for you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 28, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 10, inviting my participation in the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference January 26-27, 1966.

Our Commission meetings are scheduled on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. It will not be possible, therefore, for me to attend.

If you would be interested in having one of our staff represent the Commission, may I suggest that you contact Mrs. Margaretta Bell, who handles speaking assignments for the Commission. She may be reached at this same address.

Sincerely,

Aileen C. Hernandez

(Mrs.) Aileen C. Hernandez
Commissioner

Rec'd 1/31/66 MS file

WGC008

PAUL ANTHONY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTHE STREET NW

ATLANTA GA

EXXXXXXXXX

JAN 28 12 24 PM '66

U.S.A. TELETYPE CENTER ATLANTA, GA.

WWAF 017 EEOC

WASHINGTON DC 1-28-66 1027R

YOU ARE INVITED TO OPENING OF FIRST REGIONAL OFFICE OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION TO GREET REGIONAL DIRECTOR DONALD HOLLOWELL. CEREMONIES AT 12:30 PM FEBRUARY 2, ROOM 353, 1776 PEACHTREE STREET

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT JR CHAIRMAN

12:30 PM 2 353 1776

VLW 1141R

THIS IS CONFIRMATION OF A MESSAGE TELEPHONED

TO Joe G

NUMBER 522 8764 AT 1242 R

FEDERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION - REGION IV

ATLANTA, GA.

6-28

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

REGARDING

Letter from White House thanking PA for message concerning appointment of Clifford Alexander as Chairman of EEOC

DATE

7-7-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. GOVT. - EXECUTIVE BRANCH

File: U.S. Govt: Equal Employment Opp. Commission

October 30, 1967

Mr. Sam Jackson, Commissioner
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Jackson:

The enclosed map is being sent to you at the request of Dr. Emory F. Via of the University of Wisconsin.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608 262-2111

School for Workers

October 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsythe St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

On a recent trip to Washington Sam Jackson, EOC Commissioner, asked for a copy of SRC's racial distribution map.

Could you have one sent to him? A note might indicate that it was at my request.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV/njo

File EEOC

December 4, 1967

Mr. Peter Robertson
Director
Program Planning and Review
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Peter:

While I appreciate your thinking it worth sharing, I regret that a copy of my remarks at the NAIRO meeting are not available. I spoke from very rough notes.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

IN REPLY REFER TO:

November 30, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Walk
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Would you please send me a copy of the presentation you made to the NAIRO session in Detroit. I should like very much to summarize and circulate parts of it to individuals here at the agency.

Sincerely,

Peter C. Robertson/Pam

Peter C. Robertson
Director
Program Planning and Review

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
1776 PEACHTREE STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

File
U. S. Board

February 8, 1968

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Many thanks for your letter of January 31 enclosing a list of office addresses and members of the staffs of certain state councils on human relations and persons to contact. I assure you this information will be most helpful to me.

Please express my appreciation to Paul Anthony for his interest and cooperation.

With warm personal regards and a sense of gratitude to you both.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry G. Boyte
Technical Assistance Officer

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

February 24, 1969

Mr. Jed Johnson, Jr.
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jed:

Thanks for sharing the Congressional Record reprint with me, and, even more, for letting us know where you are.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
TRANSMITTAL FORM

file list

DATE 2/19/69

TO : Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: Mr. Jed Johnson, Jr.

I thought this might be of interest to you.

Regards—
Jed

DO NOT USE FOR PERMANENT RECORD INFORMATION

GSA-WASH DC 66-1451

One high official who came to the agency from a highly successful business career inspected USIA posts overseas and returned in disgust. He told friends that he would only retain less than half if USIA was a profit-making organization.

Despite Marks' self-serving essay, the new Nixon administration should make a thorough review of the USIA and similar operations like Radio Free Europe. It would be interesting, for example, to find out why competent writers and editors from Eastern European desks have been set aside—because of their anti-Communist opinions—while Communists from those countries have been hired to broadcast from American stations.

A CALL TO COMMITMENT

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 27, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the address made by the Honorable Jed Johnson, Jr., to the American Gas Association on January 22, 1969:

A CALL TO COMMITMENT

The Scriptures tell us a house divided against itself cannot stand.

The Kerner Commission has warned us that we are moving toward two separate and distinct societies.

The greatness of America has been its *capacity to change* to meet changing conditions.

The real question today is whether we have the will, the capacity, the determination, the faith to meet and solve the problems of our society.

I believe we do.

I believe that Government cannot do it alone. Without the effective and serious cooperation of business, our social crisis cannot and will not be solved. With serious and sincere commitment of business, labor and government, we cannot fail.

What is the crisis and why is it there?

We all know of the discrimination in education. We know that until fairly recently, a black man, if he wanted to be a journalist, could not enroll in many of the journalism schools. We know if a black man wanted to be a lawyer he could not enroll in many law schools. My own state of Oklahoma did not permit a black man in the University of Oklahoma Law School until 1948. We know that until 1954 "separate, but equal" was the law of the land. We know that until 1964 public accommodations were not public to the black man. We know also that it took the death of Dr. Martin Luther King by an assassin's bullet to prod Congress into enacting an open housing law.

We also know that until the voting rights bill of 1965, there had been widespread disfranchisement. The most basic right in a democracy, the right to vote, a right guaranteed one hundred years ago by the 15th Amendment, the very essence of a democracy, was systematically denied. Yet the call of the American Revolution was "no taxation without representation." We know that there has been and still is gerrymandering to keep black representation to a minimum. There are still three states with substantial black population, Alabama, South Carolina and Arkansas without a single black member of their state legislatures.

As a former member of Congress and as one who appreciates the importance of political power, I looked up the record of black membership in the U.S. Congress. I found an incredible thing.

If you start with the election of 1900 you have to go from 1901 to 1931, thirty years without a single black representative in either House of the U.S. Congress.

Then in 1931, in the 72nd Congress, Oscar DePriest was elected from Illinois.

There was only one black member of Congress from 1931 to '45.

From 1945 to 1955 there were only two.

In 1955, there were only three.

In 1965, in the 89th Congress, when I served there were six out of a total of 535 representatives and senators.

Today there are 10 out of 535, including one U.S. Senator.

Now what do these facts tell us?

A great deal, I think.

For one thing, the black man has been caught in a syndrome of discrimination. Denial of educational opportunities helped prevent advance in employment. Denial of voting rights helped prevent protection of Constitutional rights by lack of political representation. Denial of political representation prevented the black man from influencing his own destiny in education, housing, health, employment, etc. So there has been a vicious cycle.

The cycle is now being broken, and broken it must be.

What I am saying is that this is where we have been. The question now is where are we going and how are we going to get there.

A hundred years ago it was a daring thing for Abraham Lincoln to sign the Emancipation Proclamation. But it was right and today no one in our society would advocate slavery.

In the 1930s the Anti-Lynching Law was controversial, yet today no one would tolerate lynching.

Today, there may be those of you who would hold back on taking affirmative action programs, because of criticism or the fear of change, but by tomorrow no one will seriously take such a position.

What I am asking is that we simply be true to ourselves, to our country and the values that we profess to hold—equality of opportunity, human dignity and freedom.

America has to solve her problem of race or she cannot survive. And the only lasting solution can be a just one: to right the wrongs of the past. The purpose of society is not to perpetuate injustices. It is to provide lasting remedies to correct those injustices.

Let us turn our backs on the discrimination of the past and face the future, and make sure that future is a decent and just one for all Americans.

Now how do we go about doing that, specifically as it relates to ending patterns of discrimination in employment within one's own industry or company.

The first requirement is a personal commitment, or the will to do this and seek ways of fulfilling the spirit of the law, rather than ways to avoid it.

Now why an affirmative action program? Why should you go to them? Listen to the words of the late John F. Kennedy. This is what he said on January 17, 1963:

"It will require some effort on your part. I don't think it is just a question of signing the certificates and indicating a willingness to accept people if they have the talent. I think we probably have to do more than that. You really have to go out and look for them because they won't be able in sufficient cases to find you. I think you have to find them . . . I hope . . . you will make a deliberate effort, that you will assign people in your company to really see if in a period of six months or a year we can really statistically improve the situation in every company."

The second ingredient is to find the tools of an effective affirmative action program. These include:

One, a clear-cut policy statement on equal employment opportunity from the President of the company,

Two, the appointment of a high-level company person responsible for the implementation of an affirmative action program,

Three, an active recruitment program at educational institutions with large minority populations,

Four, a quarterly feed-back system from each department measuring the improvement over the previous quarter

Five, review selection, testing and promotion procedures. These are among the things you can do. There are many others. They are as varied as your initiative, imagination and situation.

The fact is that many blacks and other minorities will not apply for a job because they believe they are not wanted based on past experience.

Let me tell you two stories to illustrate this point.

In a pharmaceutical plant in New Jersey they had never had any Negro employees. They undertook an affirmative action program, hired three blacks and within weeks were inundated with applications. They found that people in the ghetto thought the building had been painted white as a symbol to stay away.

A second story will suffice, in a utility company in an eastern inter-city which had employed blacks in substantial numbers since during World War II, they undertook an affirmative action program aimed at the Spanish Americans. They found out that the reason the Puerto Ricans had never applied for jobs in the company was that they thought they were "not allowed in the building."

This is not to say that all problems are merely one of communication, but it is to say that without meaningful communication to the minority community, there can be no successful affirmative action program.

In closing, I wish to bring to your attention a couple of quotations. On June 19, 1963 the late John F. Kennedy said:

"I ask you to look into your hearts—not in search of charity, for the Negro neither wants nor needs condescension—but for the one plain, proud and priceless quality that unites us all as Americans: a sense of justice. In this year of the Emancipation Centennial, justice requires us to insure the blessings of liberty for all Americans and their posterity—not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy and domestic tranquility—but above all, because it is right."

Because it is right. Because if you get involved, really get committed, you'll never regret it. I have seen the twinkle in the eye of some of the businessmen who have really become concerned, who have really become involved, who really do care. Who know that they are doing something not only big for their company, but something big for their country. And they are doing something for themselves.

I tell you this, you will know that you have got hold of something important, that you are helping to be a part of the solution, rather than to be a part of the problem.

As President Richard Nixon said in his Inaugural Address: "To go forward at all is to go forward together."

PAUL FORNSHELL SCHENCK

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1969

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, it was with a deep sense of sorrow that I learned of

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted] ORGIA
[redacted]3764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 18, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. President:

Difficulties related to school desegregation have beset the South since 1954. Our internal peace has been disrupted, our people's spirits have been tormented, our nation's name has been tarnished abroad, and - above all - our children, white as well as Negro have suffered from this impassioned conflict. The new school year is but a few weeks away. In several districts of the Commonwealth of Virginia and depending on the decision of the Court of Appeals, at Little Rock again, there is the prospect of discord. We know that you pray as anxiously as we that the disorders of September 1957 will not re-occur.

For the Council of Southerners of both races which we represent, and for ourselves personally, we think it our obligation to advise you that, in our considered judgment, defiance of law, extending even to violence, may be anticipated unless prompt and appropriate action is taken by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government.

As Southerners, we are well aware that since 1954 there has been a failure of Southern leadership for peaceful desegregation of schools. We recognize

this with chagrin and with humility. The South is, however, not a separate land, but a part of an indivisible nation. In this situation, and with special concern for the children who may be the real victims of our follies, we appeal to you, not for sensational action, but for certain simple yet indispensable contributions to the maintenance of peace and lawfulness in our region.

Specifically, we believe there are two acts which you alone can take, and which are a critical necessity.

First, we urge that you publicly declare in advance of the opening of the schools, that the orders of federal courts will be enforced. We believe this should be said calmly, clearly, positively. We believe that such a statement from you would do more to assure order and compliance with law than could anything else which is practicable at this moment.

Second, we urge that you instruct the Department of Justice to make advance preparations to meet any of the several situations which may develop.

We know that we do not speak for all Southerners; we know as well that we state the desires and convictions of thousands who are not truly represented by the loud voices which presume to express the authentic beliefs of all the South.

We sincerely believe that our commitment to equal opportunity and rights for all races is the patriotic, just, and rational faith. We believe that this equality we cherish can and will be established in the South, and that the greatest impediment to its present realization is the near breakdown of law and order.

We submit these thoughts to you mindful of the unequalled power for good which is inherent in your office.

Respectfully yours,

M. A. Dabbs

James M. Dabbs
President

M. A. Wright

Marion A. Wright
Vice-President

Albert W. Dent
Vice-President

Paul Williams
Vice-President

B. R. Brazeal

Paul Christopher

John A. Griffin

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

Duncan Hunter

Father Alexander O. Sigur

Miss Josephine Wilkins

John H. Wheeler

The Executive Committee

Albert W. Dent
Vice-President

Paul Christopher

B. R. Brazeal

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

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Duncan Hunter

John H. Wheeler

Miss Josephine Wilkins

The Executive Committee

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted]ORGIA
[redacted]5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

File

August 18, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. President:

Difficulties related to school desegregation have beset the South since 1954. Our internal peace has been disrupted, our people's spirits have been tormented, our nation's name has been tarnished abroad, and - above all - our children, white as well as Negro have suffered from this impassioned conflict. The new school year is but a few weeks away. In several districts of the Commonwealth of Virginia and depending on the decision of the Court of Appeals, at Little Rock again, there is the prospect of discord. We know that you pray as anxiously as we that the disorders of September 1957 will not re-occur.

For the Council of Southerners of both races which we represent, and for ourselves personally, we think it our obligation to advise you that, in our considered judgment, defiance of law, extending even to violence, may be anticipated unless prompt and appropriate action is taken by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government.

As Southerners, we are well aware that since 1954 there has been a failure of Southern leadership for peaceful desegregation of schools. We recognize

this with chagrin and with humility. The South is, however, not a separate land, but a part of an indivisible nation. In this situation, and with special concern for the children who may be the real victims of our follies, we appeal to you, not for sensational action, but for certain simple yet indispensable contributions to the maintenance of peace and lawfulness in our region.

Specifically, we believe there are two acts which you alone can take, and which are a critical necessity.

First, we urge that you publicly declare in advance of the opening of the schools, that the orders of federal courts will be enforced. We believe this should be said calmly, clearly, positively. We believe that such a statement from you would do more to assure order and compliance with law than could anything else which is practicable at this moment.

Second, we urge that you instruct the Department of Justice to make advance preparations to meet any of the several situations which may develop.

We know that we do not speak for all Southerners; we know as well that we state the desires and convictions of thousands who are not truly represented by the loud voices which presume to express the authentic beliefs of all the South.

We sincerely believe that our commitment to equal opportunity and rights for all races is the patriotic, just, and rational faith. We believe that this equality we cherish can and will be established in the South, and that the greatest impediment to its present realization is the near breakdown of law and order.

We submit these thoughts to you mindful of the unequalled power for good which is inherent in your office.

Respectfully yours,

M. A. Dabbs

James M. Dabbs
President

M. A. Wright

Marion A. Wright
Vice-President

D R A F T

August 11, 1958

Dear Mr. President:

Difficulties related to school desegregation have beset the South since 1954. Our internal peace has been disrupted, our people's spirits have been tormented, our nation's name has been tarnished abroad, and - above all - our children, Negro and white, have suffered from this impassioned conflict. The new school year is but a few weeks away. In several districts of the Commonwealth of Virginia and, depending on the decision of the Court of Appeals, at Little Rock again, there is the prospect of discord. We know that you pray as anxiously as we that the events of September 1957 will not re-occur.

For the council of Southerners of both races which we represent, and for ourselves personally, we think it our obligation to advise you that, in our considered judgment, defiance of law, extending even to violence, must be anticipated.

As Southerners, we are well aware that since 1954 there has been a failure of Southern leadership for peaceful desegregation of schools. We recognize this with chagrin and with humility. The South is, however, not a separate land, but a part of an indivisible nation. In this situation, and with special concern for the children who may be the real victims of our follies,

we appeal to you, not for sensational or aggressive action, but for certain simple yet indispensable contributions to the maintenance of peace and lawfulness in our region.

Specifically, we believe there are two acts which you alone can take, and which are a critical necessity.

First, we urge that you publicly declare in advance of the opening of the schools, that the orders of federal courts will be enforced. We believe this should be said calmly, clearly, positively. We believe that such a statement from you would do more to assure order and compliance with law than could anything else which is practicable at this moment.

Second, we believe that the Department of Justice, forewarned of the imminence of defiance, should be prepared with carefully thought-out plans for meeting each of the several situations that may develop.

We submit these thoughts to you, conscious of our own shortcomings, yet mindful of the unequalled power for good which is inherent in your office. We know that we do not speak for all Southerners; we know as well that we state the desires and convictions of thousands who are not truly represented by the loud voices which presume to express the authentic beliefs of all the South.

We sincerely believe that our commitment to equal opportunity and rights for all races is the patriotic, just, and rational faith. We believe that this equality we cherish can and will be established in the South, and that the greatest impediment to its present realization is the near breakdown of law and order. It is in this spirit that we address our petition to you.

We stand ready to be of every possible assistance to you in the exercise of your heavy responsibilities in this area.

Respectfully,

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

NEWS RELEASE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 20, 1958
Phone: Jackson 2-8764

[Following is the text of a statement released today by the Southern Regional Council, through its headquarters in Atlanta. The Council is a long-established organization of professional, business, labor, and religious leaders in twelve Southern states; its declared aim is "equal opportunity for all the South's people."]

The prepared statement made by President Eisenhower at his news conference on Wednesday will be welcomed by all Southerners concerned with the maintenance of public order and respect for law. The Southern Regional Council commends him and the language of his announcement. It will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states. The President has told them that there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that the laws of the land will be enforced.

When the Supreme Court in 1954 handed down the desegregation decisions it declared the constitutional rights of all persons. The Court wisely delegated the enforcement of its decision to the judges of the District Courts, and authorized them to use their experienced judgment in approving or disapproving plans which would be developed by school authorities in the localities. The country, and the South in particular, owe great thanks to the District judges, who have exercised this heavy responsibility with patience, understanding and courage. It is clearly not true that the courts are forcing the South to move with revolutionary speed. In Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia and elsewhere, the judges have shown willingness to permit temperate,

planned developments; they have encouraged and supported local initiative.

But the President made clear, as the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit did on Monday, that violence, intimidation and public disorder will not be allowed to set aside the law.

We commend the President also for his reminder that, "Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states and to the union the obligation to suppress unlawful forces." All Southerners are united in hoping that there will not again be armed troops guarding our school buildings. But let us make sure that the events which led to the sending of those troops will not again occur. That is the responsibility of state and local officials, and of public opinion within the South. The President's statement will be greeted with the usual angry protests from some. We think that now, if ever, is the time for moderate Southerners of both races who do not share this contempt for law and for human rights to express their agreement with the President's calm insistence on legality.

* END *

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 20, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: The Members of the Executive Committee

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

- : -

This is to give you a prompt report on the outcome of the mission you charged me with at last week's meeting. You will recall that I was instructed to deliver in person your letter to the President calling on him to express publicly his determination to uphold the orders of the federal courts, and to instruct the Department of Justice to prepare detailed plans for September's eventualities.

I'm sure I needn't emphasize the fact that this report should be kept in strictest confidence. Even so, it seems wise to defer any detailed account of the matter until we meet again in November.

Last Monday, August 18, I was finally successful in reaching a well-placed friend of ours in the Government. He was enthusiastic about our letter and offered to help in every way. At his suggestion, I flew to Washington Monday afternoon. We discussed the matter further that evening.

On Tuesday morning, we conferred with another person who has great influence at the White House.

As a result, I was granted an appointment with Mr. Sherman Adams, assistant to the President, at 11:30 AM. Mr. Adams gave me a very full and attentive hearing; he read the letter carefully and commented favorably on it. In response to his questions, I told him something about the make-up and activities of SRC and set forth some of the reasoning behind our proposals. At the conclusion of our discussion, he assured me that the letter would have the President's prompt consideration and that we might expect a reply very shortly.

That afternoon, I had a lengthy joint conference with Attorney General William Rogers and the newly-confirmed Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, Mr. Wilson White. I found that Mr. Rogers had already been informed of our letter by the White House -- an indication that it had received speedy and important attention.

After extensive consultation with the staff of the Commission on Civil Rights, I flew back to Atlanta Tuesday evening.

This morning (Wednesday) brings the encouraging news that the President, in his news conference, made the statement attached.

I think we can safely conclude that our letter and the discussions summarized above played some part, perhaps an important one, in the President's decision to speak out as he did. By a lucky chance, the timing of my visit could not have been better. I arrived just as the news broke that the Court of Appeals had reversed the Lemley decision on Little Rock, reinstating the Negro students, and that Wilson White had been confirmed by the Senate.

I know you will share the staff's feeling of satisfaction that SRC was able to play a useful part in this situation.

Washington Considering Dilemma Of Keeping Order in Little Rock

Chat. Times 8/10/57

By JAMES RESTON
© New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON—The administration was in the unhappy state Tuesday of having to contemplate putting the federal troops back into Little Rock before it had figured out how to get them out of Lebanon.

Officials here were saying publicly about Monday's court of appeals decision validating the public school integration program in the Arkansas capital, but privately they were hoping that law and order could be maintained one way or another.

If was, they insisted, the duty of the authorities on the spot to maintain order so that the school integration decision of the Supreme Court could be carried out. But, they added, if the enforcement authorities in Arkansas would not maintain order, the federal government would be obliged to do so.

By making this clear in advance, the administration hoped to persuade all concerned in Arkansas, Virginia and elsewhere not to assume that the federal government would allow violence to obstruct the entrance of Negro students into the schools.

Washington does not want to threaten or provide the local authorities with references to the federal troops. In fact, it would prefer to use the injunction method against agitators or enlist deputy marshals of the federal courts rather than soldiers

See Page Eight, Column One

ANSWER SOUGHT FOR LITTLE ROCK

Washington Considering If Keeping Law and Order Means Sending Troops

From Page One

to maintain order. But it wants to make its principle clear, namely, that failure to maintain order at the local level will inevitably bring swift federal action.

In contrast with this position, the White House was extremely cautious as to saying anything about what President Eisenhower would do to deter or put down violence.

James C. Hagerty, the President's press secretary, declined comment Tuesday on whether the President would send the troops back to Little Rock to put down any violence that may develop there, or whether he was considering a nationwide television appeal for order before the schools opened at the beginning of next month.

Hagerty also refused to say whether the President was in touch with the Justice Department on the question, though it was known that lively discussions went on there Tuesday afternoon on what line the President should take on the Little Rock case at his scheduled news conference Wednesday morning.

Silence Expected

As of Tuesday evening, the indications were that the President would not comment on the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals decision. To do so, officials here said, might prejudice further legal action on the case which is expected to be sent to the Supreme Court.

The President was under considerable pressure from supporters of the Supreme Court integration decision and from many moderates in the South to speak out forcefully, not only in favor of law and order, but in favor of the principle of public school integration itself.

Most of his statements in the past have merely emphasized that the integration order was the law of the land and, as such, should be obeyed. When he sent the federal troops into Little Rock last year, he emphasized that he was doing so not to enforce integration but to maintain order. This is still the official line and it has been condemned on the ground that it seemed to encourage the inference that the President was for law and order but not really for integration of the races in the public schools.

[redacted]

For example, Harry Ashmore, the editor of the Arkansas Gazette, who has been the leading critic of Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, has repeatedly argued that more vigorous leadership by Washington was necessary to support the moderates in the South who, while opposed to integration, were also opposed to defying the highest court in the land.

No Affirmative Action

"I submit," Ashmore said in a lecture at Harvard, "that the record shows that from May 1954, when the United States Supreme Court reversed the old Plessy (Separate but equal) doctrine, until September 1957, when the chickens finally fluttered in to roost in Little Rock, the Eisenhower administration took no affirmative action to pave the way for the sweeping social change that the court required, or to temper the inevitable dislocations it would occasion.

"Indeed, the incredible fact is that the administration without preliminary moved directly to the ultimate resort to force and then was confounded by its own belated audacity."

File with ltr to the Pres.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

ACF

IX

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

20-21 Aug 58

Called re: Pres. statement.
asking for local letters of support.

Ralph Rose - Annandale - Va

Benita Valien - Nashville Tenn

John Wheeler - Durham NC

Ray Wheeler MNS - Charlotte NC

Seymour Samet - Miami

Nat Griswold - Little Rock

Bob Hughes - B'ham, Ala.

Note: This is a list of people whom I called to obtain local support for the President's statement on school integration. Please file it so it can be found.

FR.

TEXT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S STATEMENT ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

(From Presidential newsconference of Aug. 20, 1958, as reported in Atlanta Journal)

Because there are still some phases of this case pending in the courts, it would not be appropriate to express my view on the case itself.

This case, however, or any person's agreement or disagreement with its outcome, must not be confused with a solemn duty that all Americans have to comply with the final orders of the court. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the maintenance of order to permit compliance with the final orders of the court is the responsibility of each state. Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states and to the union the obligation to supress unlawful forces. It cannot by action or deliberate failure to act permit violence to frustrate the preservation of individual rights as determined by court decree. It is my hope that each state will fulfill its obligation with a full realization of the gravity of any other course.

Defiance of this duty would present the most serious problem, but there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the federal government in such an event. My feelings are exactly as they were a year ago. As I said then:

"The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the federal courts."

Every American must understand that if an individual, community or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts, then there is anarchy.

I continue to insist that the common sense of the individual and his feelings of civic responsibility must eventually come into play if we are to solve this problem.

[illegible] Back Court on Mixing

WASHI[illegible] al with any outbreak Atty. Ge[illegible] t Little Rock's Cen- prepared [illegible] ool next month.

steps — [illegible]

Justice Department officials confirmed that Rogers has worked up several recommendations for dealing with any move by Gov. Orval E. Faubus or others to prevent court-ordered integration of the school when it reopens Sept. 2.

* * *

LAST YEAR, President Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard and also sent federal troops to Little Rock to quell the violence that erupted when Negro pupils started attending Central High.

The President Wednesday served notice that federal troops would be used again if necessary to enforce court orders on racial integration of public schools.

He said in a news conference statement that all Americans have a duty to comply, regardless of their opinions, with the final orders of the courts.

Officials confirmed that the President's statement was drafted with the advice of Justice Department experts for the express purpose of making the federal government's stand unequivocally clear.

* * *

THE GOVERNMENT, however, hopes to avoid use of troops again at Little Rock. One specific move would be for the department to obtain injunctions against anyone who by threats or violence tries to block Negro students from reentering Central High.

Another possible move would be for the government to deputize citizens as federal marshals in the Little Rock area to deal with any outbreaks.

Biracial Group Here Lauds Ike

The Southern Regional Council has heaped praise on President Eisenhower's statement Wednesday that he would call out troops again if he felt a state failed to suppress unlawful opposition to school integration ordered by the courts.

A statement by the council, a biracial group promoting "equal opportunity for all the South's people," said the President's comment at a White House news conference "will be welcomed by all Southerners concerned with the maintenance of public order and respect for law."

The council said the Eisenhower statement "will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states."

From: The Chattanooga Daily Times

Thursday, August 21, 1958
page 1

INTERRACIAL UNIT BACKS PRESIDENT

Southern Council Calls on Moderates to Agree on Need for Compliance

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council called on "moderates of both races" Wednesday to express their agreement with President Eisenhower's "insistence on legality" in public school desegregation situations.

Moreover, the council stressed, the President's statement "will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states" by impressing upon them that "there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that the laws of the land will be enforced."

The council, foremost interracial organization in the South, is composed of representatives from 13 states in the fields of education, religion, business, labor and journalism.

Hidden Views Emphazised

Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the council, with headquarters in Atlanta, emphasized that the statement supporting the President underscored the "existence of rational attitudes in the South that so often have been hidden from the nation by the rantings of the extremists."

"The South," Fleming said, "with its deep moral heritage and its basic commitment to the system of law established by the region's very forefathers has at all times had a vital segment of responsible people who would choose the path of temperate, planned developments in this difficult hour.

"But too often the irrational voices, the mythmakers, have crowded the stage and driven

See Page Four, Column Three

INTERRACIAL UNIT BACKS PRESIDENT

From Page One

the real Southern conservative of humanistic values into the wings. The President's voice on this occasion offers the region another chance to turn away from the irresponsible voices that do not offer leadership for the South's best interests or efforts."

Chapters All Over South

The council, established about 14 years ago, maintains chapters in each Southern state to implement local programs of adjustment in race relations through education and persuasion.

The council has issued some 500,000 pamphlets on methods for improving race relations and distributed them through church groups and human relations organizations. It has had a leading role in promoting the hiring of Negro policemen and has worked for advances in Negro vote gains and desegregation in public transportation facilities.

The council's statement commending President Eisenhower's stand on the Little Rock school issue follows:

"The prepared statement made by President Eisenhower at his news conference will be welcome by all Southerners concerned with the maintenance of public order and respect for law. The Southern Regional Council commends him and the language of his announcement.

Defiant Elements Warned

"It will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states. The President has told them that there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that the laws of the land will be enforced.

"It is clearly not true that the courts are forcing the South to move with revolutionary speed. The district judges have shown willingness to permit temperate, planned developments. They have encouraged and supported local initiative.

"But the President made clear as the court of appeals did on Monday that violence will not be allowed to set aside the law. We commend the President also for his reminder that each state has an obligation to suppress unlawful forces.

"All Southerners are united in hoping that there will not again be armed troops guarding our school buildings. But let us make sure that the events which led to the sending of those troops will not again occur. That is the responsibility of state and local officials and of public opinion in the South.

"The President's statement will be greeted with the usual angry protests from some. We think that now, if ever, is the time for moderate Southerners of both races who do not share this contempt for law and for human rights to express their agreement with the President's calm insistence on legality."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1958

Ike Cites His Oath, Asks States' Help

President Eisenhower's Wednesday press conference heard him say the only thing any president could say concerning the support of federal courts in the field of school integration—or any other issue in which the courts may act.

He has an oath to carry out. He will do so. What he personally thinks is not relevant or important. He made a very powerful appeal to states' rights—namely, that the states themselves see to it that the laws and the courts are sustained and it not be made necessary for the federal government to use its powers—as it must if anarchy is the alternative.

"Every American must understand that if an individual community or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts, then there is anarchy . . . there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the federal government in that event. . . ."

The President, being bound by oath, cannot do otherwise.

The several states which wish so to do may, for example, go to the extreme of closing their schools. Tragic as this would be, it would be preferable to mob defiance of courts. At any rate, the federal position is clear and all states should understand the importance of staying within the law—in whatever they do—if federal intervention is to be avoided.

The President, in the field of economics, reassured the retailers and producers of the nation. He does not at this time plan any government controls. He was critical of the Congress which in an election year is on something of a spending spree. He thought it would have been wiser to have held to the policy of economy which dominated Congress a year ago.

He believes if the free world follows a steady course the Soviets may be dissuaded from their policy of indirect aggression.

This marked a retreat from the stronger Dulles policy on this issue. The new U.S. approach seems to be one of arranging to focus world attention and opinion on this type aggression. There has been a cooling off on requests that the U.N. "do something" about it.

The nation's defenses he believes to be adequate—stronger than ever in our history.

We'd like them to be stronger . . . and would like to hear that the gap between us and the Soviets in missiles is being hurriedly wiped out.

* * *

RALPH

McGILL

The President As Professor

President Dwight D. Eisenhower sought in his carefully prepared press statement of this week to place the school integration issue within a clear framework of law.

He reportedly was anxious that the White House position be made clear well in advance of any school crisis.

The oath of a president—any president—is clear. He cannot avoid it. President Eisenhower, whatever his faults may be, has always been a stickler for duty. The responsibilities of his oath of office, and the oath itself, are an integral part of him, as they must be of any person of honor and integrity. The fact of his long military service makes him more sensitive to the word "duty."

It is understood that he sought, as he should have, advice from the Department of Justice. And he worked carefully and personally on his statement. He feels that some of those who have been most defiant of the court have obscured the issue and made many people believe that the President may, by his own decision, take some other course. Some, apparently, have been caused to believe the President himself is trying to force something upon them.

Behind the President's preparation of his statement was his intent to remind the people of their government and its functions.

Interpretation

It is the Supreme Court which was given the duty of interpreting the Constitution of the United States. It has done this throughout the years. An interpretation allowed us to have selective service, social security and many things not "in" the Constitution. Many persons strongly have attacked many decisions of the past as being unconstitutional. Some persons still regard them as so being. But they are not. The court has the clear right of interpretations of the Constitution. Only the Congress, in some cases, and the people by amendment in others, may change the effect of such interpretation.

There are many who violently disagree with the court on the school decision. They declare the court has acted unconstitutionally. Many of the persons who take this position are sincere. They honestly believe it. But however right their legal arguments may be, the decision is constitutional. It will remain so until and unless the Congress shall adopt laws which reverse it. Or, until there is an amendment to the Constitution voted by the necessary states, which would reverse it. These are legal ways of so doing.

Obligation

The President called on the states and their officials to tell the people the truth. He did not say so in such bold words. But he was rather plain. He said:

". . . Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states, and to the union the obligation to suppress unlawful forces. It (the state) cannot by action or deliberate failure to act permit violence to frustrate the preservation of individual rights as determined by a court decree. It is my hope," he said, "that each state will fulfill its obligation with a full realization of the gravity of any other course. . . . Defiance of this duty would present the most serious problem, but there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the federal government in such an event . . . the very basis of our individual rights and freedom rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive branch of government will support and insure the carrying out of the decision of federal courts."

From:

The Atlanta Constitution

Friday, August 22, 1958
page 1

So said the President. He could not take a position of saying he would support the courts and the law in one case and not another.

The states have other legal courses open. Some are willing to pay the tragic price of closing their schools. That is legal. There are various other legal approaches which, while not legal if adopted for the purposes of evading law, will produce considerable delay. No state law, in conflict with the federal, is sovereign.

But we can hope that no leader, state or local, will suggest violence.

It would be helpful, too, if the people would be told the truth. However regrettable it may be, and however much it goes against long established customs and traditions, as it does, the court decision is constitutional until, and unless, changed by congressional act or constitutional amendment.

This was what the President was asking from the states.

Encls: Chatt. Times Story
Ralph McGills Column

BC Gordon Tiffany

VIA AIR MAIL August 25, 1958

Mr. Sherman Adams
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Adams:

It was most kind of you to see me on such short notice last Tuesday and to give me so generous an opportunity to discuss our letter to President Eisenhower. I am deeply appreciative.

We were, of course, gratified by the President's fine statement on law and order at Wednesday's press conference. It was a wise and effective announcement, and is sure to have a positive effect in the South.

I delayed writing you until I could send the enclosed evidence of the Southern Regional Council's public support of the President's views. There is ample indication that these sentiments are shared by many thoughtful Southerners of both races.

I know the officers of the Council would want me to express not only their thanks, but also our determination to support the principle of local responsibility which the President emphasized.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Rcd
aug 27, 1958

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

August 25, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was glad to have the opportunity of meeting you last week. The Attorney General has also talked with me concerning his discussion with you, and I am pleased to know you feel the questions posed in the Council's letter to the President have been adequately covered.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Bernard Rolman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 26, 1958

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

That was a magnificent letter you wrote the President. We are grateful to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

August 21, 1958

Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
The President of The United States
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Eisenhower:

I have read with great interest and satisfaction the strong statement which you made on yesterday affirming the position which the Federal Government must take in support of decisions and orders of the United States Courts having to do with the problem of public school desegregation.

As one who has spent his entire life in the South, I am convinced that our region has the capacity to solve this problem with calmness and "all deliberate speed" if proper leadership is given at the National and State levels.

Your determination to uphold both the Federal Constitution and the supreme authority of the courts which have been charged with the duty of interpreting it, lends strength and encouragement to countless southerners who have an earnest desire to exhibit, at the State level, the kind of leadership which will make our Southland a stronger segment in the American fortress of democracy.

Very respectfully yours,

John H. Wheeler

John H. Wheeler

JHW/p

COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

August 27, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Our letters of August twenty-fifth have crossed. Yours is most welcome and the expressions of support are indeed appreciated. Thank you and the Council.

Sincerely,

Sherman Adams

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 12, 1958

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

U. S. NAVAL BASE
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered a unanimous decision and has spoken in the matter of desegregation of Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas.

I appeal to the sense of civic responsibility that animates the vast majority of our citizenry to avoid defiance of the Court's orders in this matter.

All of us know that if an individual, a community or a state is going continuously and successfully to defy the rulings of the Courts, then anarchy results.

In addition, states and localities have a Constitutional duty to maintain peace and order. If state and local officials, in awareness of the gravity of this duty, will maintain peace and order, then lawless elements will not be able by force and violence to deprive school children of their Constitutional rights.

I hope that all of us may live up to our traditional and proud boast that ours is a government of laws. Let us keep it that way.

# # # # #

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I would appreciate it very much if you could stop by my office for lunch next Monday, March 6, at 12:45 PM. The address is Room 5113, Department of Justice.

I hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Kennedy

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

via air mail special

March 8, 1961

The Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

Monday's luncheon meeting in the Department was a most enjoyable occasion for me, as for all of the participants from the South. My hope is that our comments and suggestions will prove helpful to you.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the group asked me to transmit to you our collective suggestions of persons who might be considered for membership on the new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Enclosed is a brief list of names, with an identifying comment about each.

If I can be of further service in this or in any other respect, I hope you will call upon me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.
BC: Harris Wofford

PERSONS SUITABLE FOR CONSIDERATION AS PUBLIC MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

JOHN HOPE, II -- (Negro)
Associate Director
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

One of the nation's most experienced specialists in problems of employment discrimination. He was a staff member of the first FEPC established by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and is the author of Equality of Opportunity. He has participated in many studies in this field and has served as consultant to such organizations as the National Manpower Council, the Southern Regional Council, labor unions, and corporations. Mr. Hope is exceptionally competent and well qualified in this field and would merit consideration as a principal staff person of the new Committee as well as a public member.

JOHN H. WHEELER -- (Negro)
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Participated in discussions of March 6, 1961. Widely respected in his home state and elsewhere as a business man and as an attorney in civil rights cases. He is well acquainted with problems of employment opportunity through his leadership in such organizations as the National Urban League, Southern Regional Council, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, and others. (Biographical data sheet attached.)

BENJAMIN E. MAYS -- (Negro)
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Distinguished educator and religious leader.

McNEIL SMITH --(White)
Attorney
Suite 700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Participated in discussions of March 6, 1961. Chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S.

Commission on Civil Rights.

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR. -- (Negro)
18 Robinson Street, Apartment 32
Cambridge, Massachusetts
(Executive Director designate of the National Urban League)

Currently doing graduate study at Harvard under a Rockefeller Foundation grant. Previously Dean, School of Social Work, Atlanta University and a former local Urban League executive.

ELI GINZBERG -- (White)
Economist
Columbia University
New York, New York

Author of The Negro Potential. Adviser, Department of Defense. Directed studies in the National Manpower Council.

March 17, 1961

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
Vice President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 9. It was a great pleasure for me and my associates to meet with you last week and to have your encouraging assessment on the new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It was kind of you to take the time out of your very demanding schedule to see us on short notice.

I hope that you and Mr. Reedy will call upon the Southern Regional Council and upon any one of us individually for any assistance we can give you and the Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

March 9, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was a great pleasure to meet with you in my office the other night and I hope we will have another opportunity to visit again. Please keep in touch with the Committee so we can have the benefit of your advice in this field.

Sincerely yours,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

TELEPHONED IN JUNE 19, 1963

MR. KENNETH O'DONNELL
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WE ACCEPT WITH PLEASURE YOUR INVITATION TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT ON SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 22.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

21P EST JUN 19 63 AA415
RA394 R WWY024 WWZ7 WWZ007 GOVT RX PD THE WHITE HOUSE WUX
WASHINGTON DC 19 NFT
LESLIS DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
AT TEN THIRTY AM ON SATURDAY, JUNE 22, THE PRESIDENT IS MEETING WITH
A GROUP OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND WOULD BE PLEASED TO HAVE YOU ATTEND
PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL BE PRESENT
KENNETH ODONNELL.

accepted

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

201P EST JUN 19 63 AH249
RC314 R WWY023 WWZ7 WWZ007 GOVT RX PD THE WHITE HOUSE WUX
WASHINGTON DC 19 NFT
JAMES M DABBS, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
AT TEN THIRTY AM ON SATURDAY, JUNE 22, THE PRESIDENT IS MEETING WITH
A GROUP OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND WOULD BE PLEASED TO HAVE YOU ATTEND
PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL BE PRESENT
KENNETH ODONNELL.

accepted

Staff U.S. Govt
Geo. Branch
MJ file —

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 27, 1963

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1963

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

The President appreciated very much your message expressing approval of his address to the nation on civil rights. Your support is, of course, appreciated and particularly is that so in view of the President's reference in his address to the vital role individuals must play in making equality of treatment and opportunity for all a way of life rather than an empty Constitutional or legal right.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. James M. Dabbs
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
U.S. Govt
Exec. Branch

November 26, 1963

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I would like to express to you, on behalf of all the members of the Southern Regional Council, our sincere good wishes and confidence as you begin your Administration.

Chastened and horrified as all Americans must be by President Kennedy's assassination, we can at the same time be gratified that our federal government goes on with steadiness. For this we are grateful to you, and also for the moral guidance which you and other federal leaders have offered the last few days, as you have with wisdom and firmness sought to exemplify the perspective and the temper with which the nation should understand its tragedy.

We feel a special re-assurance that the government is in the care of a fellow Southerner. Our

problems in the South have been a great burden to the republic, and it is fitting and good that a Southerner leads now the struggle against them.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bcc: Mr. Dabbs
Mr. John Wheeler

See U.S. Govt. Exec. Branch

November 26, 1963

The Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
Attorney-General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

I was stunned and deeply grieved by the death of your brother and our President. The members of the Southern Regional Council would, I am sure, want me to express to you also their sorrow.

John F. Kennedy's Presidency was brief, but it will be as hearteningly memorable as it was eventful. The area of our chief concern dominated much of his policy and thought, and Southerners of both races owe special gratitude to his leadership in helping undo their historic burden.

In a report of ours of March 1962 we said that:

> The numerous executive decisions taken these last 14 months represent a development of importance comparable to that of the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, and deserving of as much study and comprehension. The executive branch has placed its power in support of civil rights. That power is immense.

I recall that the New York Times editorially doubted the first sentence of that statement, but we are more than ever, and notwithstanding any criticisms we have occasionally offered, convinced of its truth.

We wish for you the comfort of God in your own sorrow and that of all your family.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
bcc: Mr. Dabbs
Mr. John Wheeler

SEA FOAM BOND

See U.S. Govt. Executive Branch

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 4, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Nothing has meant more to me during these hours of sorrow after the death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy than the messages from friends like you.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness. I shall cherish your prayers in the days ahead.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
"U.S. Court
at Brand"

January 20, 1964

Mr. Brooks Hays
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hays:

We are sorry to see you leave the White House, sorry to see you get farther north of the Potomac, but delighted that Rutgers has wisdom enough to bring you onto its faculty. I think it is also very fitting that you become the Arthur Vanderbilt Professor. I was one of those who regretted that no President put him on the Supreme Court.

I hope you will not mind if we continue to keep you on our mailing list at your new position.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

January 20, 1964

NM & JS*

MMJ

Effective MARCH 2 Mr. Brooks Hays (now Special Assistant to the President, The White House, Washington, D. C.) will become Arthur Vanderbilt Professor at Rutgers University, News Brunswick, New Jersey. Will you, therefore, see that your mailing lists show this change as of March 2.

thanx, mmj

New Brunswick N. J.

ECHOES OF STORM LINGER OFF STAGE

With Ferrrer in Puerto Rico, One Curtain Didn't Rise

By SAM ZOLOTOW

"The Girl Who Came to Supper," starring José Ferrer and Florence Henderson, was the only Broadway show to cancel its Monday night performance because of the snowstorm. Mr. Ferrer failed to appear and his standby, David Brooks, was snowbound in New Jersey.

Mr. Ferrer had flown to San Juan, Puerto Rico, after Saturday night's performance to see his wife, Rosemary Clooney, in a nightclub act. He said planes were grounded there on Monday and he was unable to make the return flight to New York, which takes 3 hours 20 minutes.

The curtain was held for Mr. Brooks until 9:45 P.M., an hour and 10 minutes after it was supposed to go up. Mr. Brooks arrived about 10 P.M., after the audience had been dismissed with instructions to mail in their ticket stubs for refunds or exchanges.

Receipts for the night totaled $7,476, according to Herman Levin, producer of the Noël Coward-Harry Kurnitz musical. Levin said Mr. Ferrer had ought authorization to trip. e would try to re- Mr. Levin said: with the cir-

Theater Tonight

"TOO MUCH JOHNSON," Burt Shevelove's adaptation of William Gillette's farce, opens at the Phoenix Theatre, 334 East 74th Street, at 7:30.

Aid of President to Join Rutgers

WASHINGTON, Jan. 14 (AP)—Brooks Hays is resigning as a special assistant to President Johnson to become a professor at Rutgers University, the White House announced today.

Mr. Hays, a former Democratic House member from Arkansas, joined the White House staff during the Administration of President Kennedy as a specialist in Federal-state relations.

He is the first Presidential assistant to resign since Mr. Johnson took office. He will continue to serve as a White House consultant.

Mr. Hays will become Arthur Vanderbilt Professor at Rutgers and lecture on contemporary problems of government at the Eagleton Institute of politics there starting March 2.

Associated Press

Brooks Hays

ing World War II." Jonathan Miller is to direct the Alexander H. Cohen presentation for an April opening.

Partnership Is Formed

A stage and screen partnership has been formed by Frederick Brisson and David Swift. Their first venture will be Mr. Swift's thriller, "The Deadly," to be directed by the author for Broadway in October. The play was tested in Los Angeles in 1961.

After the stage production, "The Deadly" will be turned into a film by Mr. Brisson as producer and Mr. Swift as director. Both were associated with the film version of "Under the Yum Yum Tree." Mr. Brisson was the producer, while Mr. Swift was director and co-author of the screenplay.

THEATERS REPORT A $336,300 PROFIT

League Surveyed Broadway for 1962-63 Season

By MILTON ESTEROW

The League of New York Theaters reported yesterday that its survey of Broadway's 1962-63 season showed a profit of $336,300.

The league is composed of producers and theater owners. The survey included all shows produced on Broadway from July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1963; income from shows produced in previous seasons and still running at the end of the 1962-63 season, income from road companies and the sale of motion picture, stock, amateur and foreign rights.

The survey was made as a result of a financial review last May by The New York Times. The Times survey was based on investment in productions that opened last season. The figures, obtained from producers, showed that Broadway had experienced its most disastrous season in memory and that investors lost $5,574,944.

The league survey, made by Pinto, Winokur & Pagano, accountants, of said that

¶Forty-three and closed duri ing last June 3 $176,200 and lo 600.

¶Seventeen pla in previous seas running during t June 30 had ing $4,569,200 $410,400.

¶Ten plays tha July 1, 1962, and ning as of Ju profits totaling $1 losses of $861,100.

¶Motion-picture r ceived from July June 30 by prod plays that had cl July 1, 1962, totaled

¶Estimated amat and foreign royalti from July 1, 1962, to producers from play closed before July 1, $400,000.

League Official C

Herman Shumlin, ident of the league,

"The league's rep the finances of the imate theater in t season. What The T did was to mention produced in that se failed, or which if were just beginnin profits; profits w many of these show mounting.

"The league's rep the methods of an

RKO FIRST-RUN THEATRES

STARTS TODAY

MANHATTAN
23rd ST. near 8th Ave.
COLISEUM B'way & 181 St.
HAMILTON B'way & 146 St.
58th ST. at 3rd Ave.
86th ST. at Lex. Ave.
REGENT 116 St. & 7th Ave.
ALHAMBRA 126 St. & 7th Ave.

BRONX
FORDHAM Ford. Rd. & Valentine
CHESTER Boston Rd. & Tremont
FRANKLIN 161 St. & Prospect
ROYAL 150 St. & 3rd Ave.
CASTLE HILL at Westchester Ave.
MARBLE HILL B'way & 232 St.
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON 6 Gramatan Ave.

NEW ROCHELLE 580 Main St.
WHITE PLAINS 223 Main St.
YONKERS 53 South B'way
BROOKLYN
KENMORE Church & Flatbush
DYKER 86 St. & 5th Ave.
PROSPECT 9th St. & 5th Ave.
TILYOU Surf Ave. & W. 17th
MADISON Myrtle & Wyckoff

BUSHWICK B'way & Howard
GREENPOINT Manhattan & Greenp't
QUEENS
ALDEN Jamaica & 165 St.
KEITH'S FLUSHING Main St. & Northern
KEITH'S RICH. HILL 117 St. & Hillside
STRAND FAR ROCK. 714 Central Ave.
NEW JERSEY
ALBANY ** NEW BRUNSWICK

NOW

OIR BATTLE OF THE SEXES!' Wanda Hale, Daily News

NE OF THE YEAR'S BEST' —N. Y. Times —N. Y. Post

"GO SEE 'THE CONJUGAL BED'
So much conjugal

VIC
MI "Exec. branch"
file U.S. Govt.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your very thoughtful note regarding my appointment at Rutgers University.

Your comments on my service here and your good wishes are deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Brooks Hays

Thanks for keeping me on the mailing list.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
U.S. Govt - "Executive Branch"

January 31, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Mr. Roy Wilkins was the speaker at the Annual Dinner of the Southern Regional Council, January 29, meeting in Atlanta.

Some of Mr. Wilkins's remarks were released to the attending press, and because they address themselves, in a strikingly intelligent and courageous fashion, to a most complicated problem, I am transmitting a copy of them to you. Although it happened that Mr. Wilkins's address coincided with a very tense local situation, what he had to say was, I think, of great national concern.

Respectfully yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mayor Ivan Allen
Mr. Roy Wilkins
Attorney-General Robert Kennedy
Mr. Burke Marshall
Mr. Howard W. Rogerson

MIXED

Excerpt from remarks of Roy Wilkins of New York City,
Executive Secretary of the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
At the annual dinner of the Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia, January 29, 1964, 8:00 P.M.

We cannot have meaningful change in human relations, especially if these involve the revision of laws and the uprooting of tradition, without confrontation, tension and occasional strife. Thoughtful students of the national scene have marked the frank talk and direct negotiations of the Sixties as a most significant gain in the assault upon citizenship inequities based upon race.

In no quarter has the value of supplementary direct action and individual involvement been acknowledged more readily and with more warmth than among those who had employed other approaches and had found these, in and of themselves, agonizingly slow in producing the results desired.

But a program of conciliation alone (such as the early Inter-racial Commissions) or court action alone (such as the 1917 decision against municipally-established ghettos) or legislation alone (such as certain of the state and municipal civil rights laws) did not meet our varied needs and situations.

Events in both the North and the South would seem to suggest that today we need to study the efficacy of the exclusive direct action approach. Such a study should recognize the very obvious fact that circumstances may differ even when they appear similar. For example, is any different procedure indicated in a city at a time when desegregation is underway than at the time when the segregation front was solid?

If the problem in a public school system is the junior high school feeder system, is a city-wide, all-level pupil boycott the effective tactic to achieve the end desired? If a neighborhood selective buying campaign can win the employment of supermarket checkout cashiers, can the same tactic win jobs for unemployed laborers as electricians or sheeet metal workers?

Negro doctors last year staged a dramatically informative and persuasive picketing of the American Medical Association. They do not expect, however, that a picket line will solve the intricate, tradition-and-income-and prestige encrusted problem of hospital staff appointments, among other problems.

It may be that the time has now arrived when the civil rights forces need to go to a quarterback clinic. The goal of a football team is to make points enough to win the game. If points cannot be made with touchdowns, field goals can be called upon. If the line of the opposition is unyielding, end runs or forward passes are tried. No quarterback worth his salt keeps pounding away with line bucks that yield at best a yard or, worse still, a yardage loss.

The enterprise that engages us is not one against a single restaurant in Atlanta, Ga., or a single school board in Malverne, N.Y., or an employment policy in St. Louis, Mo., or police action in Plaquemine, La., or a single hotel in Salt Lake City, Utah. We are engaged in a comprehensive campaign for the civil rights of 18 million citizens scattered in 50 states, living under varied economic, social and political conditions and functioning with a variety of education and technical knowledge, training and skill.

The 18 millions are a minority in 186 millions of citizens. Thus even elementary reasoning would seem to indicate that allies among the

majority must be won and held if the minority's efforts are not to end in frustration and failure.

Craven tactics do not win allies; instead, they pile up contempt. Unending patience, ultra-conservatism and continuous conciliation win nothing except an occasional crumb or bone and the deeper entrenchment of the status quo.

But uni-racial assaults, brave and dedicated though they may be, which are rooted in one tactic and in no critical appraisal of pertinent factors in a particular encounter, could not only fail in their immediate objective, but could set back the whole civil rights army across the entire action front.

Is it too old-fashioned to suggest that we may need more flexibility in our campaign? Where our opponents have been most inflexible, they have been most vulnerable and we have won undisputed psychological victories, even though practical advances may have been delayed. When the Trojans formed a frontal assault, ineffective, they used a wooden horse. Hannibal surprised the Romans by bringing elephants the back way across the Alps.
David spurned the traditional sword against Goliath and used a slingshot. The females added Stuka dive bombers and V-2 rockets in World War II, and the Japanese went one better with their suicide pilots.

A bulldozer can excavate for a foundation, but a block and tackle is required to get a piano into the ninth floor.

Let us not become so inflexible in thought and method that we, too, become vulnerable. In some places outside the South some of our tactics are causing questions to be raised about our campaign among, not our expected opponents, but among some of our own people and our potential allies.

Here in the South some procedures are undermining those persons in strategic positions who have supported us. These procedures are also reviving hard-core opponents who had been repudiated and all but forgotten in the struggle. And, most seriously, some tactics have won support for the segregationists from that reservoir of public opinion that might well have been won--or neutralized--by us.

The plain lesson is that we must use every method, every technique, every tool available. We need to devise new tools. Our

attack must be across the board and must be leveled at all forms and degrees of second class citizenship. Where one weapon is sufficient, let it be employed. Where a combination is required, let it be used. Where variations in timing and methods will be effective, by all means let us employ these. But let none of us, in the North or in the South, "activists" or not, fall into the trap, at this crucial stage, of attempting to solve all problems everywhere by a single method.

If Negro citizens today need to re-examine their position, white people are under no less obligation to review theirs. Despite the bitter-enders, the question of the day is not whether racial inequality and its principal tool, segregation, shall survive. The question is only on the means and the pace of eliminating it. Die-hard opposition will but delay matters; it cannot win.

The Panama crisis came to a head because of many factors, but it was given emotional drive by the arrogant and contemptuous "white colonialism" of many Americans in the Canal Zone. The lid over the cauldron was kicked off by American high school youngsters who believed their parents' assertion that Washington agreements with the government of Panama did not affect their little racial empire. How like our states' rights "arguments"!

American Negro citizens are a unit in insisting that the Constitution of the United States guarantees protection of their citizenship rights against the abridgements and denials of any racist doctrine or practice, in Atlanta or in Spokane.

In 1964 they expect to move at an accelerated pace toward the practical realization of that goal. Peaceful, mutually respectful and brisk progress can result if the white majority will acknowledge the realities of the day and not persist in using turn-of-the-century blinders.

File
U.S. Govt: Ex. Branch

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The President has asked me to thank you for sending a copy of the remarks made by Roy Wilkins at the Southern Regional Council's Atlanta meeting on January 29.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
Congress, U.S.
Corresp. with
Senators, et al.

April 27, 1964

The Honorable Jacob Javits
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Javits:

Your press releast of April 10, "The White 'Backlash' on Civil Rights," is an admirable statement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: Govt - U.S. executive branch

May 19, 1964

Mr. Hobart Taylor
Associate Special Counsel
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Hobart:

This is a belated note of thanks for the prompt action taken by you following my telephone call about the Dinkler Plaza. I think you will be glad to know that the new practice has stuck, a fact as to which several of my friends and I can attest as of today.

The enclosed memorandum may be of some interest to you under your P.C. E. E. O. hat.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

PA's field trip report on Cocoa, Fla.
Ltr. May 18, 1964

December 29, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor of forwarding the enclosed resolution, adopted by the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting on November 21, 1964.

The resolution is directed to the deeply important question of the qualifications of federal judges in the South. Through the courtesy of your staff, an appointment was arranged on December 22 with Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., with whom a committee from the Council discussed this matter. My associates and I all felt confident, after the conversation with Mr. Macy, that your administration shares our deep conviction that the appointment or promotion of any person of well-authenticated segregationist views to anyvvacancy, existing or prospective, would be a severe set-back to the South.

Your own leadership has taught us all again how important to America are the values of unity, respect for the Constitution, and equality before the law. We believe sincerely that these values would be jeopardized by judicial appointments that would weaken the people's respect for the integrity of our federal courts.

While in Washington we called also on Mr. Katzenbach and Mr. Burke Marshall and on Senator Humphrey's staff, in order to discuss this same urgent matter.

I am further enclosing a list of the members of the Council who passed this resolution and directed me to bring it to your attention.

On behalf of these same men and women, I wish you all success at the start of your new administration, and for you and your family all health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW:nm
Enclosures
cc: Mr. John W. Macy, Jr.

MA 0 7 - 4 1 2

December 29, 1964

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator Humphrey:

I have the honor of forwarding the enclosed resolution adopted by the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting November 21, 1964. The resolution sets forth views on the crucially important matter of the qualifications for federal judges in the South.

On December 22, 1964, I and three associates from the Council discussed this resolution with Mr. John Stewart and Professor Carl Auerbach of your staff.

We sincerely believe that the appointment or promotion of any person of well-authenticated segregationist views to any vacancy, existing or prospective, would be a severe blow to progress in the South. We are deeply concerned at the effects such an appointment or promotion would have on the people's respect for the integrity of our federal courts.

While in Washington we called also on Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., at the suggestion of the White House, and on Mr. Katzenbach and Mr. Burke Marshall, in order to discuss this same urgent matter.

I am further enclosing a list of the members of the Council who passed this resolution and directed me to bring it to your attention.

On behalf of these same men and women, I wish you all success at the start of your Vice-Presidency, and for your family all health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW:nm
Enclosures

copy of ltr + card sent to Ben Muse

Rusk 2/19/65

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1965

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My colleagues in the Department of State and I extend to you a cordial invitation to attend the Department's 1965 Foreign Policy Conference for leaders of nongovernmental organizations, to be held in our International Conference Room on March 16 and 17. We hope very much that you can attend. If it is impossible for you to be with us, however, we would welcome a representative from your organization in your place.

These annual meetings provide unique opportunities for government officials to discuss current foreign policy and to explore with you ways in which we may cooperate more effectively in achieving our mutual goal of citizen understanding of foreign policy. Full information about arrangements and the conference program will be forwarded as soon as possible.

I look forward to hearing from you and hope we shall have the pleasure of having you with us in March.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Rusk

Dean Rusk

Enclosure:

Registration Card.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File - U.S. Govt "Executive Branch"

August 16, 1965

Mr. Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

The Southern Regional Council has long subscribed to the principle that the most effective contributions toward race relations progress are made by organizations and persons who do not seek credit for them. Consistent with that principle, I would not feel sufficiently detached to write this letter to you were I not on the point of leaving the Council's employment.

The Council is composed of white and Negro Southerners who believe not merely in civil rights but bi-racial cooperation toward a truly integrated political and economic order.

No other organization has longer or more constructively worked to end voter discrimination and to encourage Negro voter registration in the South. The Council's long involvement in this field has been climaxed, for the present, by our administration during 1962-64 of the Voter Education Project, through which at least 700,000 new voters were enrolled in the eleven southern states.

We find it strange that although a horde of people were invited to the August 6 signing of the Voting Rights Act, representation of the Council was not requested.

Our president, Mr. John H. Wheeler of Durham, was invited, but as an individual, and he was not among the score or so selected to witness the signing. Ironically, on that same day he was one of a small group meeting to form realistic plans for making the new Act a success. In devotion to that end, a devotion certainly not recognized by the White House planners, and despite fatigue, he flew back South to re-join the conference by 4:00 p.m.

As far as I can note, invitations to the affair of August 6 excluded Negro and white Southerners unequivocally committed to a bi-racial approach to an integrated society, and as retiring staff head of the Council I want to express my chagrin and regret.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mr. Wiley A. Branton
Mr. William L. Taylor
Mr. John Stewart
Mr. Louis Martin

bcL Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

File
U.S. Govt
Civ. Branch

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1965

Dear Les:

Needless to say, the Vice President and his staff were most chagrined about the terrible omission of the Southern Regional Council from the voting rights bill ceremony. The work of the Council has been crucial in these difficult years, and I can assure you the omission was one of oversight, and not deliberate.

I hope we will be getting together soon to get your further thoughts on plans for the Civil Rights Conference.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart
Assistant to the
Vice President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MJ - copy for John + Reny
Wheeler ✓

PA ✓

MJ - file

Lind –
Memo Submitted to
Vice President
Hubert Humphrey

✓ MJ - copy this &,
if needed but
already, earlier
letter from
John Stewart
for John & Roy
Wheeler

Done it

PA ✓

MJ - file

file - U.S. Govt
"Exec. Branch"

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1965

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have your letter of August 16 and fully appreciate the sentiments which prompted it.

I am certain that in our haste to set up the ceremony following the enactment of the voting rights bill, in order that it might be put into effect without delay, some individuals and representatives of organizations who should have been invited were not.

I agree that it would have been highly appropriate to have had representation from the Southern Regional Council at the ceremony. Please be assured that we are indeed very much aware of the superb work done by the Council in many fields, but particularly in the voter registration area. The tremendous achievement in registration accomplished in the past year or so under the most difficult of circumstances is a great tribute to the effectiveness of the Council and its determination to bring the benefits of our democratic process to all citizens. President Johnson has for many years been convinced that considerable progress will be realized by Negroes when they have secured full voting rights and exercise those rights. Your contribution to this objective has been most significant and merits the appreciation of all.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Fike
from
U.S. Ex. branch

ing back down to 60.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Vice President Humphrey Briefs Reporters on Rights Reorganization

Johnson Tightens Government Rights Agencies

Wellons 9-25-65

By W. B. RAGSDALE JR.

WASHINGTON (AP)—President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered a shakeup Friday in federal civil rights activities aimed at ending duplication and overlapping authority in efforts to end racial discrimination.

Johnson abolished the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, transferring their functions to the attorney general and secretary of labor.

And he transferred the Community Relations Service from the Commerce Department to the Justice Department, a move which will require congressional action next year. Other phases of the executive order will take effect within 30 days.

The President, acting on the recommendation of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, also moved to more clearly define the roles of government agencies and better coordinate their efforts in wiping out racial discrimination.

Focus on civil rights problems is shifting from the South to the North, director of Community Relations Service says here. Story on Page 11.

"We want to get people out of each other's way," explained Humphrey, who attended the briefing by White House press secretary Bill D. Moyers where the changes were announced.

In a memo to Humphrey,

Continued on Page 9, Column 4

Johnson Tightens Agencies In Civil Rights Shakeup

Continued From Page 1

Johnson said, "I concur in your recommendations to streamline and strengthen the civil rights effort of this administration."

Shortly after Humphrey became vice president last January, Johnson assigned him to help coordinate federal efforts in the field of civil rights.

Moyers announced also that Wiley A. Branton will become special assistant to Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach with responsibility for overseeing the department's new civil rights duties.

Branton, presently executive secretary for the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, was chief counsel for the Negro plaintiffs in the suit that resulted in the 1957 desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Ark.

A Justice department spokesman said that John Doar, head of the Civil Rights Division, will continue to be responsible for all litigation involved in enforcement of civil rights laws.

SIX-POINT PLAN

Moyers outlined a six-point reorganization:

1. The Civil Service Commission will be responsible for preventing discrimination by the federal government on the basis of race, cred, color or sx in employment, promotion and other personnel policies.

2. The secretary of labor will assume responsibility for reviewing discrimination complaints and insuring compliance by government contractors with nondiscrimination requirements — the job now done by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., will continue to promote nondiscrimination among private businessmen who are not government contractors.

POSITIVE PROGRAMS

3. Transfer of the Community Relations Service to the Justice Department and an increased emphasis on positive programs in the field of race relations rather than merely mediating disputes which arise. This will be submitted in a reorganization plan to Congress next year.

4. The Civil Rights Commission will take over the clearing house and data-gathering functions of the Community Relations Service. The commission already has broad responsibility in this field.

5. The Justice Department will coordinate all federal enforcement policies in the civil rights area, some of which have rested with the Council on Equal Opportunity.

6. The Plans for Progress program to encourage voluntary nondiscrimination pledges from private employers will be continued.

In his report to Johnson, Humphrey said the broad acceptance of the 1964 act by business has ended the basis for the original decision to place the Community Relations Service in the Commerce Department, and also its primary function of mediating civil rights disturbances.

Katzenbach, who also attended the briefing, said he hopes the transfer to his department might mean a reduction in court cases. He added he hopes more cases can be settled by reaching an agreement.

For example, Katzenbach said, conciliation of disputes over school desegregation might be handled by the commissioner of education under assignment from the Justice Department, while disputes involving housing could be handled by the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Tin Mines Reopened In Bolivia

LA PAZ, Bolivia (UPI)—The government Friday ordered full resumption of work in the southwest Bolivian tin mining complex where 28 pers

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

See U.S. Govt - exec. Branch

October 11, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

At its meeting today in Atlanta, Georgia, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council requested that I express to you its best wishes for a rapid and full recovery. We all have been greatly cheered at your progress.

We look forward to the time when you are in a position to resume again your full duties that have been executed so admirably.

Very respectfully yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

File - U.S. Govt: "Executive Branch"

Your thoughtful remembrance cheered me and I want you to know how much Mrs. Johnson and I appreciate it.

Lyndon B. Johnson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, OCT 20 AM 1965 D.C. 33

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File: Govt "Executive Branch" U.S.

MS file

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
CO-CHAIRMEN

BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL: 737-9010

November 12, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In his address at Howard University on June 4, the President announced that he would convene a White House Conference, the object of which would be to help the American Negro achieve "not just freedom but opportunity -- not just legal equity but human ability -- not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

As our telegram of today has indicated, we are inviting you to assist in developing the Conference by participating in the Planning Session, which will be held in the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C., November 16 - 18, 1965. We hope that you can accept this invitation and can participate in the working sessions on Education.

The concern of the Planning Session will be to determine the fields of inquiry, the problems to be explored, and possible proposals for social change which the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" will consider when it convenes next Spring. We hope to accomplish this purpose in two days of intensive discussion in which small groups of people with knowledge and skill in relevant fields will consider how the Conference may lead America to the breaking of new ground in achieving full and equal citizenship for all.

All participants in the Planning Session are expected to be present from 8 P.M. Tuesday, November 16 to 5 P.M. Thursday, November 18. There will be breakfast and luncheon sessions on the 17th and 18th and a dinner meeting on the 17th. Further information and background materials will be sent to participants in advance.

We hope that already you have wired your acceptance collect to the Planning Session headquarters, Room 1126, 1800 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. If not, would you please favor us with your telegraphed response without delay. In addition, would you kindly return the enclosed card today to make sure that appropriate arrangements are made as to travel and hotel accomodations.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman

Morris B. Abram

Morris B. Abram
Co-Chairman

William T. Coleman, Jr.

William T. Coleman, Jr.
Co-Chairman

Enclosure

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM ®

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

MS

1141P EST NOV 12 65 AH553
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WASHINGTON DC 12 1049P EST
PAUL ANTHONY, IF OFC CLSD DLR RES SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA
WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOU TO A PLANNING SESSION CALLED BY THE PRESIDENT TO CONSIDER ISSUES AND PROPOSALS FOR A SPRING WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS." MEETING WILL EXTEND FROM RECEPTION 8:00 P.M., TUESDAY NOVEMBER 16 TO 5:00 P.M. THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL. TRAVEL, CONFERENCE MEALS AND HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS TO BE PROVIDED. WE URGENTLY HOPE YOU WILL WIRE ACCEPTANCE COLLECT WITHOUT DELAY TO ROOM 1126, 1800 G STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. AND JOIN WORKING SESSION ON EDUCATION. DETAILS FOLLOW
A PHILIP RANDOLPH HONORARY CHAIRMAN MORRIS B ABRAM CO-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM T COLEMAN JR CO-CHAIRMAN

WUSF1201(R2-65)

MJ

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent letter enclosing a statement from the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council regarding judicial problems in the South and recommending any judge of well known segregationist views not be appointed to the Federal Bench.

He appreciates the helpful interest of his fellow citizens in making their views known to him and you may be sure your comments have been fully noted.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John B. Clinton

John B. Clinton
Staff Assistant
to the President

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April 12, 1966

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has requested that we forward to you the enclosed statement, along with our wish to be of any possible assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. GOVERNMENT - EXECUTIVE BRANCH

REGARDING

THE STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF SRC April 1966

DATE

APRIL 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FILED UNDER ~~SRC~~. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE STATEMENTS 1966

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

Good U.S. Information Branch

NO. WDS.	CL. OF SVC.	RD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To MR. CLIFFORD ALEXANDER June 28 1967

Street and No. THE WHITE HOUSE

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination* WASHINGTON, D. C.

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR APPOINTMENT AS CHAIRMAN OF EEOC. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE. ALL OF US HERE PLEDGE OUR FULL COOPERATION. PLEASE CALL ON US ANY TIME WE MAY BE OF SOME ASSISTANCE TO YOU.

PAUL ANTHONY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To THE PRESIDENT June 28 1967

Street and No. THE WHITE HOUSE

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination* WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT

THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. CLIFFORD ALEXANDER AS CHAIRMAN OF EEOC IS AN EXCELLENT ONE. WE SHALL BE HAPPY AND PLEASED TO ASSIST THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE.

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

file US Govt Ex Board cc ref E.E.O.

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The President has asked me to thank you for your kind message concerning the appointment of Mr. Clifford Alexander as Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The interest which prompted you to wire is certainly appreciated.

The President sends his best wishes.

Sincerely,

Matthew B. Coffey

Matthew B. Coffey
Assistant

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

File
U.S. Govt – Executive Proceds
Cr. ref – 1967 Annual Mtg.
Re: Pit's ltr. to Harry McPherson
re greetings from
LBJohnson

October 18, 1967

Mr. Harry McPherson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McPherson:

Each year the Southern Regional Council holds its Annual Meeting in November. This is the gathering of 100 Southerners who direct the affairs of the organization. A list of Council members is attached.

This letter is to request your assistance in having the Council receive a communication from the President, if he is so disposed. The meeting begins on November 1 at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia. A communication addressed to us there or at the office would reach us promptly.

Enclosed are copies of past messages.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, currently President of the Potomac Institute in Washington, is a former director of the Southern Regional Council and could

provide you with additional information should you need it. Please know we will be deeply grateful for any assistance you can give us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Bring up March 11, 1968

File

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

File Govt "U.S. Exec. Branch"

February 7, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Department of State will hold its annual Foreign Policy Conference for leaders of national organizations on Tuesday and Wednesday, March 19 and 20. My colleagues and I look forward to meeting with you and exchanging views on world developments.

The conference will deal with perspectives of U.S. foreign policy and current issues. Our guests will have the opportunity to discuss these issues with senior government personnel during plenary and concurrent panel sessions, and at our informal reception on the first day.

I look forward to seeing you at the conference. If you have questions concerning the conference, our Office of Public Services, telephone 202 DUdley 3-4692, will be glad to be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Rusk

Dean Rusk

Enclosures:

1. Tentative Program
2. Registration Card
3. Hotel List

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File
U. S. Govt
"Exec" Branch

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 19,1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The President has asked me to thank you for your telegram. He is pleased to know of your favorable reaction to his Message to the Congress on Civil Rights.

It was good of you to give him the benefit of your comments. You have his appreciation and very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Whitney Shoemaker

Whitney Shoemaker
Assistant to the President

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

See — U. S. Govt: "Executive Branch"

TELEGRAM: February 28, 1968

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

We wish to emphatically express our support of the Ad Hoc Committee to Save the Children of Mississippi in its efforts to remedy the Headstart crisis presently facing Mississippi.

The nine Headstart agencies represented in this coalition, who operate programs in 34 counties in the state for 14,000 children are threatened with emasculation as the result of the Green Amendment and the $25 million cutback in Headstart funds.

Of the $25 million transferred from OEO to the Department of Labor for crash job training in urban ghettos, $7 million -- or nearly 30% -- is coming from Mississippi. Programs there are faced with cutbacks of 20 to 50%. We feel the special circumstances which justified OEO's expenditure of 10% of its Headstart funds to Mississippi still apply. We are convinced that the cutbacks will both return to despair and arouse to new bitterness thousands of Mississippi parents and their children.

We urge you, together with the committee and the thousands of ppor who met Saturday, February 24th in Jackson, Mississippi, to immediately seek restoration of Headstart cutbacks by requesting supplemental anti-poverty appropriations from Congress.

Finally, we urge you to insure that the Friends of Children of Mississippi, a private organization which for more than 18 months has operated Headstart centers on a volunteer basis for more than 1,600 children, be funded. This self-help effort which has been denied funds despite unending patience and reasonable negotiation, must receive the support it so richly deserves if the integrity and good intentions of the federal government are to be preserved in the eyes of Mississippi's poor.

Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D.
Chairman, Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEGRAM: February 28, 1968

Mr. Sargent Shriver
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

We wish to emphatically express our support of the Ad Hoc Committee to Save the Children of Mississippi in its efforts to remedy the Headstart crisis presently facing Mississippi.

The nine Headstart agencies represented in this coalition, who operate programs in 34 counties in the state for 14,000 children are threatened with emasculation as the result of the Green Amendment and the $25 million cutback in Headstart funds.

Of the $25 million transferred from OEO to the Department of Labor for crash job training in urban ghettos, $7 million -- or nearly 30% -- is coming from Mississippi. Programs there are faced with cutbacks of 20 to 50%. We feel the special circumstances which justified OEO's expenditure of 10% of its Headstart funds to Mississippi still apply. We are convinced that the cutbacks will both return to despair and arouse to new bitterness thousands of Mississippi parents and their children.

We urge you, together with the committee and the thousands of poor who met Saturday, February 24th in Jackson, Mississippi, to immediately seek restoration of Headstart cutbacks by requesting supplemental anti-poverty appropriations from Congress.

Finally, we urge you to insure that the Friends of Children of Mississippi, a private organization which for more than 18 months has operated Headstart centers on a volunteer basis for more than 1,600 children, be funded. This self-help effort which has been denied funds despite unending patience and reasonable negotiation, must receive the support it so richly deserves if the integrity and good intentions of the federal government are to be preserved in the eyes of Mississippi's poor.

Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D.
Chairman, Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

TELEGRAM TO: PRESIDENT JOHNSON, SARGEANT SHRIVER, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ blind copy to David Emmons, P.O. Box 3285, Jackson, Miss. 355-4489

We wish to emphatically express our support of the Ad Hoc Committee to Save the Children of Mississippi in its efforts to remedy the Headstart crisis presently facing Mississippi.

The hine Headstart agencies represented in this coalition, who operate programs in 34 counties in the state for 14,000 children are threatened with emasculation ~~approaching destruction~~ as the result of the Green Amendment and the $25 million cutback in Headstart funds

Of the $25 million transferred from OEO to the Dept. of Labor for crash job training in urban ghettoes, $7 million - or nearly 30% - is coming from Mississippi. Programs there are faced with cutbacks of 20 to 50%. We veel the special circumstances which justified OEO's expenditure of 10% of its Headstart funds to Mississippi still apply. We are convinced that the cutbacks will both return to despair and arouse to new bitterness thousands of Mississippi parents and their children.

~~The Green Amendment, by allowing political officials, who in Mississippi are almost universally opposed to the poor controlling the decisions which affect their lives, the option of new control over anti-poverty efforts will result in the death of maximum feasible participation of the poor, ~~which~~ a principle which has received its fullest implementation in Mississippi, the nation's poorest state, among the programs represented on the above committee.~~

We urge you, together with the committee and the thousands of poor who met Saturday February 24 in Jackson, Miss., to immediately seek restoration of Headstart cutbacks by requesting supplemental anti-poverty approrpiations from Congress.

~~We additionally urge you to insure that steps be taken immediately to insure that implementation of the Green Amendment not result in the takeover or alteration of the very programs in Mississippi which have done the greatest credit to the original intent of the War on Poverty.~~

Fihally, we urge you to insure that the Friends of Children of Mississippi, a private org nization which for more than 18 months has operated Head Start centers on a volunteer basis for more t an 1,600 children, be funded. This selfOhelp effot which has been denied funds despite unending patience and reasonable negotiation, must receive the support it so richly deserves if the integrity and good intentions of the federal government are to be preserved in the eyes of Mississippi's poor.

Ray Wheeler, M.D.
for Ed
P. A. Ed
S.R.C

file
U.S. Govt.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Kennedy, Atty. Gen. Robert F.

REGARDING:

Feasibility of setting up a national service corps.
(Ltr. addressed to Harold C. Fleming, Potomac, Inc.)

(DATE)

Undated

SEE
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Potomac Institute, Inc. (Washington, D. C.)

Excerpts from President Kennedy's Special Message on Civil Rights to the Congress of the United States:

"...No American who believes in the basic truth that 'all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights,' can fully excuse, explain or defend the picture these statistics portray. Race discrimination hampers our economic growth by preventing the maximum development and utilization of our manpower. It hampers our world leadership by contradicting at home the message we preach abroad. It mars the atmosphere of a united and classless society in which this Nation rose to greatness. It increases the costs of public welfare, crime, delinquency and disorder. Above all, it is wrong....

"The right to vote in a free American election is the most powerful and precious right in the world -- and it must not be denied on the grounds of race or color. It is a potent key to achieving other rights of citizenship. For American history -- both recent and past -- clearly reveals that the power of the ballot has enabled those who achieve it to win other achievements as well, to gain a full voice in the affairs of their state and nation, and to see that their interests represented in the governmental bodies which affect their future. In a free society, those with the power to govern are necessarily responsive to those with the right to vote....

"Nearly nine years have elapsed since the Supreme Court ruled that State laws requiring or permitting segregated schools violate the Constitution. That decision represented both good law and good judgment-- it was both legally and morally right....

"... progress toward primary and secondary school desegregation has still been too slow, often painfully so. Those children who are being denied their constitutional rights are suffering a loss which can never be regained, and which will leave scars which can never be fully healed....

"Racial discrimination in employment is especially injurious both to its victims and to the national economy. It results in a great waste of human resources and creates serious community problems. It is, moreover, inconsistent with the democratic principle that no man should be denied employment commensurate with his abilities because of his race or creed or ancestry....

"No act is more contrary to the spirit of our democracy and Constitution -- or more rightfully resented by a Negro citizen who seeks only equal treatment -- than the barring of that citizen from restaurants, hotels, theatres, recreational areas and other public accommodations and facilities...."

Set up file

MJ file

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 12, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
3 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please accept my sincere thanks, in behalf of the Conference and its staff, for your substantial assistance in setting up my pre-Conference visits to New Orleans and Houston. Marshall Bragdon found invaluable your knowledge of key people and groups to contact, for setting up meetings and interviews in both cities. Your aid was especially vital because we were pressed for time in planning schedules for those cities early on my itinerary.

If urgent responsibilities here had not forced cancellation of the tour after visiting six cities, we would have been similarly assisted by the leads you gave us in Miami, and by your willingness to help set up the program in Atlanta.

Please share with your staff and Board our appreciation of services rendered by yourself and your organization.

Sincerely yours,

Walter E. Fauntroy

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy
Vice Chairman

Tiger
U.B. Grant

Rec'd 5/23/66

MT - file

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 17, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You should have received by now an invitation from the President to participate in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", to be held Wednesday and Thursday, June 1 and 2, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The President first proposed the Conference in June 1965 in his speech at Howard University. He announced that he would call the Conference "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure." The President closed his speech with the prediction that "Together...we can light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America. And, once lit, it will never again go out."

The Conference will bring together a cross section of our society to consider action proposals.

Enclosed, for your convenience, is information regarding the location of the headquarters of the Conference, hotel accommodations, meals and registration. All hotel reservations for participants in the Conference will be arranged by the Conference staff. Please complete and promptly return to this office the enclosed self-addressed hotel reservation card.

I look forward to seeing you at the Conference.

Sincerely,

Ben W. Heineman

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

ADVANCE INFORMATION FOR THE CONFERENCE

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS

The SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, 2660 Woodley Road, N.W., at Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., will be the Official Headquarters for The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on Wednesday and Thursday, June 1 and 2, 1966.

INVITATIONS

The invitation from the President requested that a response be made within five days. It is important that the replies are returned within that time. The invitations are *not* transferrable. Please return the completed reply card to The White House immediately.

RECEPTION

A reception for the Conference participants will be held at Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel at 6:30 p.m., Tuesday, May 31, 1966.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Accommodations for participants of the Conference have been arranged and reservations will be made by the Conference staff. Hotels will *not* accept reservations directly.

A hotel reservation card indicating types and prices of accommodations is enclosed. Reservations will be made on a first-come, first-served basis. It is, therefore, requested that you select the type of accommodations you desire, indicate time of arrival and departure, and return the self-addressed card to us immediately. (Note: If a double or twin bedroom is requested and will be shared with another, please give name of person sharing room with you.) Participants will be responsible for all hotel charges.

Arrangements have been made with the hotels to permit the participants who desire to leave Washington immediately after the dinner to check out of their hotels as late as 7:00 p.m. on June 2. Unless check out is accomplished by this time, participants will be required to pay for an additional day.

MEALS

Arrangements have been made for two luncheons and two dinners—June 1 and 2. Cost of meals will be $25.00 per person. It is requested that you send your check or money order (do not send cash)—made out to The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"—to us with your acceptance. A receipt will be mailed you immediately.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

It is requested that all participants register at Conference Headquarters Registration Desk—Concourse of States Area—Sheraton-Park Hotel as soon as they arrive. Registration Desks will be open:

Tuesday, May 31st	10:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.
Wednesday, June 1st	7:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.
Thursday, June 2nd	7:30 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

At time of registration, all participants will receive:

Identification badge to be worn throughout Conference
Book of tickets for all functions
Program, discussion papers, etc.

OTHER INFORMATION

Request for additional information regarding Conference may be sent to:

The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Room 1121
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Read 5/31/66
cc: RHA 6/6/66 wy

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

1

May 26, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of The Community Resources Institute, Inc., please accept our sincere thanks for the $10,000.00 contribution of Southern Regional Council, Inc., in support of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

At the conclusion of the Conference a financial report will be made to you and to the other contributors of this special fund.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Ben. Bernhard

Ben I. Bernhard
General Counsel
The Community Resources Institute, Inc.

cc: Ben W. Heineman, Esquire
Chairman, White House
Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

Make folder "Community Resources Institute"

May 24, 1966

Mr. Berl Bernhard
Community Resources Institute
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Suite 1035
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

In response to our recent conversations, the Southern Regional Council is interested in assisting with the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," which are not fundable from government sources. Accordingly, our check for $10,000 is enclosed.

We would appreciate receiving, in due course, a report on the expenditure of these funds.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $10,000.00)

file - Community Resources Institute -

June 6, 1966

Mr. Berl I. Berhhard
General Counsel
The Community Resources Institute, Inc.
1800 "G" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

Enclosed is our contribution of $10,000.00 in support of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

At an appropriate time we would appreciate a financial report on the use of these funds.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $10,000.00)

Ck 971

Mailed 6/23/66

REQUESTS FOR LITERATURE FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

R. Sobol 1229 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.	"Southern Schools" - Token Segregation and Beyond Ken Morland "The Continuing Crisis" (May 1966)
Carolyn Hardy Rt. 2, Box 502 Boones Mill, Va.	"Southern Schools" - Token Segregation and Beyond "Special Report on School Desegregation" (Sept. 1965) School Desegr: old problems under a new law
Owen Birnbaum 6431 Bannockburn Drive Bethesda, Md.	"Racial Discrimination in the Courts" "Southern Justice" - An Indictment "The Continuing Crisis"
H. Rhett James 919 Bagel Dallas 4, Texas	"The Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South" (by V.W. Henderson)
Felton J. Capel City Councilman Southern Pines, N.C.	"Special Report-Southern Regional Council-Southern Justice, and Indictment"
Ruth Schwartz 225 East 73rd Street New York, New York 10021	"New South - Violence"
Othello W. Poulard Executive Director N.W. Settlement House 448 Ridge Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.	"The Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South" (by V.W. Henderson) List of Publications of the Southern Regional Council

Rec'd 6/20/66

File - Govt - U.S. Executive Branch.

MS

Please handle attached

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

June 16, 1966

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I want to express our appreciation for your help in providing materials for the White House Conference. They were highly valued by the participants, and we received many compliments on the service provided.

Enclosed is a list of request for publications from your agency, compiled when our supplies ran out. I am sorry that we have delayed getting them to you, but hope that you will be able to fill them right away.

Again our appreciation for your help.

Sincerely,

Evelyn Idelson

(Mrs.) Evelyn M. Idelson
Information Officer

Enclosure

Rec'd 6/24/66

LAW OFFICES
VERNER, LIIPFERT AND BERNHARD
SUITE 1035
UNIVERSAL BUILDING NORTH
1875 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009

JAMES M. VERNER
EUGENE T. LIIPFERT
BERL I. BERNHARD

RONALD B. NATALIE
WILLIAM C. EVANS

CABLE ADDRESS
VERLIP

TELEPHONE 265-1070

Received copy to RBH 6/27/66 wy

File: ~~"Community Resources Institute"~~ "White House Conf. To Fulfill These Rights"

See also: "Community Resources Inst."

June 22, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I would like to acknowledge, and thank you for the second contribution of $10,000 received from Southern Regional Council, Inc. to help defray the expenses incurred during the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

We are in the process of compiling the information necessary for a financial report which will be made to you and the other contributors of this special fund as soon as possible.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Berl I. Bernhard

65
$260

December ten, 1953

U S Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and
Welfare
Washington 25, D C

Dear Sirs:

We would be grateful for a copy (which we would be glad to pay for) of the issue of SCHOOL LIFE which contains the article on school building unit costs referred to on Page 172 of the Attorney General's supplementary brief in the segregation cases now before the Supreme Court.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

March 13, 1956

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner and
Chief, Adult Education Section
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambrose:

Hi! Thank you very much for your kind remarks about New South.

About a year ago we did stick together the best of what had been in the maggie during the last six or eight years. I send you a copy separately. It is called Changing Patterns in the New South. You could help us get it sold or at least more widely known.

Special P.S. to thy secretary: The booklet is a grey and orangish color. Do please put it on Mr. Caliver's desk.

P.P.S. I send also ten promotion leaflets about Changing Patterns in the New South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 9 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

For sometime I have been planning to write you concerning the delight and profit which I receive from New South. You folks are doing an excellent job in providing provocative articles about the most critical issue of our day. Keep up the good work. I shall have to send you a second subscription in order to have an extra copy for circulation through the Office of Education. (I dare not risk sending my only copy.)

It has occurred to me more than once that you would render a real and more permanent service if you should compile the best of these articles in a book. I feel certain some publisher would jump at the opportunity to publish such a compilation.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner and
Chief, Adult Education Section

September 25, 1956

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner and
Chief, Adult Education Section
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Ambrose:

I appreciate your letter.

I really think that a guy in my kind of job is expendable, and that after sitting in such a seat for a dozen years, he ought to move on and make way for others. And the Council has available Harold Fleming, a most able successor. The actual election is in the gift of the Board of the Southern Regional Council, which meets November 14-15 at Williamsburg.

One of my purposes is to burrow out a convenient spot for my friends to come to. I haven't as yet quite selected the spot, but I have narrowed it down considerably, and it will be in the remotest Highlands with narrow paths across the heather, seventeen miles to the nearest pub. Come and try the paths!

You have already put in a richly honorable career. I cut mine perhaps a bit short, but after I have rested a year or two, I will certainly be available on call for this or that short run job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 21, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 24 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I was in Atlanta a short time ago. I heard some very disquieting news. I know that you have been persuaded by all of the good people with whom you come in contact. I understand that you cannot be budged. All I can say is that the South and the nation will miss you, and there certainly will be a vacuum in my own life. In spite of the fact that I cannot forgive you for "running out" on us, I wish you the greatest of happiness in the years to come. America will be losing one of its keenest minds and greatest souls. I know the world will be the beneficiary.

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner and
Chief, Adult Education Section

November 29, 1960

Pull ltr. from Alvin L. Schorr (Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare)--dtd. Oct. 25, 1960 to HCF regarding interview on Dec. 1.

SEE: U. S. Government

Harold do you have this on your Calendar? WF.

file Health. Ed. Welfare

November 1, 1960

Mr. Alvin L. Schorr
Family Life Specialist
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Social Security Administration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schorr:

Barring unforeseen emergencies (which I mention only because they are so common these days), I will be in the office on December 1 and will be happy to see you.

Our progress in the field of welfare services has been practically nil since I saw you in Atlantic City. Mr. Wolfe has been submerged in other activities and sees no possibility of resuming his explorations before next spring. And we have made no other provision for looking into the matter.

Nevertheless, I should welcome a chance to discuss this whole matter with you and will look forward to doing so on December 1.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Zone 25

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1960

OFFICE OF
THE COMMISSIONER

Division of Program Research

October 25, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I expect to be in Atlanta in the course of a trip to visit Universities and to gain some impression of their research activities in connection with a number of problems that concern us. I should explain that I am charged with evaluating the effects of our programs on families.

You may remember that I spoke to you briefly at the National Conference on Social Welfare in Atlantic City. We had been approached about a study of the relative availability of our programs to whites and Negroes. I shall be interested in whether you are proceeding, and what you have learned in this area.

Would you have time during the late afternoon of Thursday, December 1? I look forward to meeting you under less hectic circumstances than a National Conference meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Alvin L. Schorr

Alvin L. Schorr
Family Life Specialist

June 20, 1961

Mr. James Quigley
Assistant Secretary
Health, Education, and Welfare Department
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Quigley:

I enjoyed meeting you at Capahosic, even though we did once or twice diverge in our comments. I do not, you notice, say "disagree" because I think our differences were pretty largely simply a matter of my patience being a bit more frayed than yours.

Opening my mail after I got back, I came across one letter which I am venturing to quote to you in full (see attached). But let me say quickly that I do not know whether the facts are correct and that we shall not have time to look into them. The point of my quoting this letter to you is only this: we get dozens of reports like this a year; some of them we check out and they turn out to be true, some only partially true. Almost without exception, when we look into these things there is some basis of fact in the allegation. This sort of complaint is a symptom of how widespread are the activities of the Federal Government and how frequently they impinge upon upon civil rights and race relations. I don't envy the Federal administrator faced with the responsibility of insuring that all his programs make no contribution to segregation or discrimination. The kind of complaint which the quoted letter recites is itself an indication of how hard it would be for someone in Washington to foresee difficulties that exist in the South. But it also suggests that there is a real need for the closest kind of scrutiny of programs.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

An institute for guidance teachers will be held at State College, Orangeburg, S. C. (Negro) for the first time this summer. It will offer elementary courses only. The University of South Carolina is holding a similar institute. However, I have been informed by a Negro guidance teacher in Columbia that it is offering much more advanced work, and that this is the third successive summer that the University has held such an institute. The institutes at both State College and the University of South Carolina are being sponsored jointly with the Federal Office of Education and at least partly financed under the National Defense Education Act.

My informant has already completed the work being offered at State College. However, she does not plan to apply at the University of South Carolina because she feels sure she would lose her job in the public schools of Columbia. I believe she is an excellent teacher. However, she has heavy home responsibilities and is unwilling to jeopardize her job.

In view of your interest in the role of the Federal Government at the present time, I am writing to suggest that discriminatory practices financed at least in part by the Federal Office of Education doubtless need to be explored. I don't know whether the SRC Research Division may be able to look into this. However, I hope that it may and that we may hear from you, soon.

BUCKLEY--WO 2-2445

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE IN P.M. NEWSPAPERS
Wednesday, July 5, 1961

HEW-Q13

Average salaries for full-time faculty members in four-year undergraduate colleges rose to $7,330 in the current academic year 1960-61, up about 6.5 percent from the $6,880 average of the previous year, the U.S. Office of Education announced today. Tables containing detailed figures will be available in a few weeks.

Figures for the two years are not precisely comparable because not all of the 1,458 colleges and universities responding to the current survey had answered the 1959-60 questionnaire.

Institutions covered in the latest survey account for 91.6 percent of the enrollment in public 4-year undergraduate institutions and 82.3 percent of enrollment in private 4-year undergraduate institutions. Had every college in the country reported, averages for the United States as a whole might be somewhat lower than indicated, but the percentage change is probably the same, the Office of Education emphasized.

The Office of Education said that average salaries in four-year public undergraduate institutions of higher education is now $7,570, up 7.1 percent from the 1959-60 figure. In private undergraduate institutions, it is $6,960, an increase of 5.5 percent.

Average salary for nine or 10 month service in junior colleges and other 2-year institutions rose to $6,620, up 8.3 percent from the $6,110 the previous academic year. This breaks down to an average of $7,000 in public 2-year institutions, compared with $6,560 the previous year and to $4,910 in private institutions, compared with $4,640.

(More)

The study also shows a decided increase in costs for full-time students in both public and private institutions, the Office of Education pointed out.

For example, resident students in private institutions paid an average tuition and fee of $859 in this academic year, an increase of more than 9.9 percent over the comparable 1959-60 average of $782. In public institutions, the figure is $206 in 1960-61 compared with $193, a 6.5 percent increase from the comparable figure.

Average charges for dormitory rooms for students is $187 for men and $189 for women in public institutions this academic year compared with $168 and $174 respectively in 1959-60.

In private institutions, male students today are paying an average of $216 and women students $231 for dormitories. The previous year the figures were $201 for men and $220 for women.

Average dining hall charges to students in public institutions on a 7-day week basis this academic year are $383 for men and $379 for women, compared with $374 and $372. In private institutions, current charges average $404 for men and $436 for women compared with $401 and $431.

The annual survey was conducted by Dr. W. Robert Bokelman, Chief, Business Administration Section and Dr. Louis A. D'Amico, Specialist for Business Administration, Division of Higher Education.

# # #

BUCKLEY--WO 2-2445

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

HEW-Q14

FOR RELEASE
Thursday, July 6, 1961

United States Commissioner of Education Sterling M. McMurrin today announced the appointment of Dr. Nathan A. Pitts as Program Specialist in the Office of Education's International Education Division.

In his new post, Dr. Pitts will be chiefly responsible for coordinating the Office of Education's participation in the Technical Assistance Program of ICA. This will include recruitment of education specialists and their orientation for duty overseas.

Dr. Pitts, 48, has been an educator for more than 20 years. From 1938 to 1942 he was principal of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute, Ridge, Maryland. Following that, he became instructor in sociology, North Carolina College, Durham, North Carolina. From 1950 to 1957 he was professor of social science, Coppin State Teachers College, Baltimore, Maryland. After a two year absence, during which he was teacher training adviser to the ICA in Tabriz, Iran, Dr. Pitts returned to Coppin as chairman of the social science department.

He received the B.S. degree from Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1936. In 1944, he received the Masters Degree and in 1950 the Ph.D., both from the Catholic University of America.

Dr. Pitts is married and lives with his wife and daughter in Baltimore, Maryland.

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BUCKLEY--WO 2-2445

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE
Friday, July 7, 1961

HEW-Q15

President Kennedy's hemispheric Alliance for Progress is being further strengthened by a special program for improving instruction in Spanish and Portuguese and related studies in both schools and colleges, U.S. Commissioner of Education Sterling M. McMurrin announced today.

The Latin American Studies Program, to be implemented by the Office of Education under the Language Development Program of the National Defense Education Act, will include language and area centers for the support of instruction at graduate schools in Spanish, Portuguese, and related studies; graduate and postdoctoral fellowships for students undertaking advanced training in a Latin American language; and special institutes for elementary and secondary school teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, to be conducted by U.S. institutions in Latin American countries.

In addition, the Latin American Studies Program will conduct a series of studies and research projects. These include a survey of teaching and research resources dealing with Latin America, development of a roster of U.S. manpower available for Latin American assistance, a linguistic survey of Latin American languages and dialects, and creation of Portuguese language-teaching materials for secondary schools.

(More)

By the end of this summer, a total of 2,700 elementary and secondary school teachers of Spanish will have received training at National Defense Language Institutes conducted in the U.S. and Puerto Rico since the program began in the summer of 1959. This program will be further expanded.

Dr. McMurrin pointed out that the language and area centers, graduate fellowships, institutes, and research and studies to be supported under the Latin American Studies Program would be carefully designed so as to meet specific needs at all levels of education.

Particular effort will be made to improve and strengthen instruction in Portuguese, the language of Brazil, which has been neglected by both schools and colleges.

Referring to the President's Alliance for Progress, Dr. McMurrin said that the Latin American Studies Program has been implemented because of the critical need for numbers of specialists who will be called upon to work in Latin America on projects of social and economic development and who must have a knowledge of the language and the area in which it is spoken.

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BUCKLEY--WO 2-2445

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE
Saturday, July 8, 1961

HEW-Q16

Distribution of improved televised instructional materials such as film and tape to the Nation's public schools and to universities on a nonprofit basis was recommended today by two University of Nebraska educators, as part of a national study of the use of television in education. The study is being conducted under Title VII of the National Defense Education Act.

The report written by Dr. Wesley C. Meierhenry, Assistant Dean of Teachers College at the University of Nebraska, and Jack McBride, Director of Station KUON-TV at the University, estimates that 500,000 school children and 100,000 college students were taught directly by television in regular courses in 569 public school systems and 117 colleges and universities in 1959.

"The 1961-1962 school term likely will find a proportionately greater number of schools and students participating in the use of television for instructional purposes. This is evidenced by the increase in the number of participating schools, the increase of population in urban areas in which instruction by television is available, and the increase in the number of operating closed and open-circuit broadcasting stations," the two University of Nebraska staff members said.

Data collected from interviews with elementary and secondary school and university educators and from a sampling of public school systems representing 97 percent of the public school enrollment revealed "a definite receptiveness toward the use of television for instructional purposes and a

(More)

very favorable attitude toward the use of recorded televised instruction," the Office of Education was told. The study was conducted by an eight-member advisory committee at a cost to the Office of Education of $47,500.

Dr. Meierhenry and Mr. McBride recommended distribution and exchange of film, tape, and other instructional materials at a national center and a number of regional centers. This would, to a large extent, eliminate needless and expensive duplication of materials and programs by individual schools and universities.

Local school districts could, for example, produce television programs featuring historic shrines in their own areas and these could be exchanged so that all school districts participating under the plan would obtain information about historic areas in other parts of the country, it was pointed out. Similarly a television series on the industrial and economic resources of Omaha, for example, could be circulated through the rest of the country in exchange for similar studies of other metropolitan areas.

Cost to the educational systems must be kept low if the plan is to succeed and if televised instruction is to be encouraged in schools and universities where it has not yet been employed, the report said.

A series of advisory committees representing the whole range of educational interest in this country -- academic, professional, administrative and supervisory -- will be necessary, the report asserted. State departments of education and classroom teachers would be represented.

# # #

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter addressed to me and dated March 6, has been circulated throughout our Office. We are most appreciative of the information and suggestions you have made, and we will do our best to follow your instructions.

During the past few days, I have been reading reports prepared by the American Civilization group and they have been unanimous in their praise of the program and hospitality arranged for them in Atlanta. We are deeply grateful to you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Lykes
Program Specialist
International Teacher Development
Educational Exchange and Training Branch

March 28, 1962

TELEGRAM

To: James M. Quigley, HEW
Washington 25, D. C.

WILL ATTEND YOUR MEETING TOMORROW. THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME.

Lewlie W. Dunbar

Rec'd 3/22

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY

March 20, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Secretary Ribicoff and we in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are seriously concerned with problems involved in assuring that all persons have equal access to the benefits of the programs administered by our Department. For this reason we are inviting representatives of leading interested organizations to meet with us in the Department for an informal discussion of these problems.

We will appreciate it very much if you or a representative of your organization would meet with us on March 29, 1962, at 10:00 A.M. in Room 5542 of the Health, Education, and Welfare Building, Third and Independence Avenue, S.W.

Please let us hear from you as to whether you or a representative will attend. We hope your organization will find it possible to participate.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Quigley

James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director, Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Telegram

[illegible]

[illegible]

Lord.

April 12, 1962

Ben,

This is a draft which I have not had an opportunity to read over.

LWDunbar

Ben's Copy Mailed to: His Georgia Hotel Luckie St. for Saturday Arrival

DRAFT

Mr. James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Quigley:

I want to express my apologies for not returning on the evening of March 29 to meet with the Secretary and you. I am afraid that I had let myself get over-scheduled.

Thank you, however, for inviting me to the conference, which proved very interesting. Your plans for involvement of the Office of Education in the problems of school desegregation were particularly gratifying, as was your announcement that a directive will be soon issued against racial determination of job needs in vocational training programs. These actions can be of great importance.

I think it also encouraging that plans are now far enough advanced that the Secretary could announce on March 30 before the House Sub-committee that a suit to desegregate an impacted area school is under active consideration by HEW and Justice.

At our March 29 meeting you invited those present to offer suggestions as to how the Office of Education could best contribute its services in the school desegregation process. According to my notes, the Office has decided to establish a sort of "clearinghouse" where there will be pooled the experience of all desegregating areas and the findings of scholarly research; and to provide, in some manner, consultant services.

We do have some thoughts and I would like to accept your invitation and send them to you. The enclosed memorandum is based not only on our observation of the problems but on several year's experience in attempting on a modest scale what the Office is in a position to do so well. I hope the memorandum may be of some use to you as you frame and carry out your plans.

Thank you also for your good letter of March 26 regarding our Executive Support for Civil Rights.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours, LWD

Bcc: Muse, Brewbaker, Fleming, Freeman, Eagle Foster

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM April 1962

To: Mr. James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare

From: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Re: CONSULTATIVE SERVICES - U.S. Office of Education.

- : -

The conclusions and beliefs expressed in this memorandum derive principally from the Southern Regional Council's experience in administering three programs of recent years:

1. Since July 1960 we have employed Mr. J. J. Brewbaker as a Public School Consultant. His assignment, to which he gives 120 days per year, is to visit school superintendents and occasionally school boards in still-segregated or newly-desegregated districts and advise them regarding the educational and administrative problems of school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker is uniquely qualified for this task: he is the retired superintendent of Norfolk (Va.), having been superintendent there during Norfolk's crisis, and is widely known among southern schoolmen.

2. For some years we have had a Consultant Service Program, headed until a year ago by John Hope, II, formerly of Fisk and now Assistant Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. The method of C.S.P. is to send, at request, social scientists into southern communities for quiet consultations on racial

problems. While not restricted to school problems, C.S.P. has provided school consultants in a number of localities, including Charlottesville,

3. Since 1954 we have prepared and distributed numerous publications on school desegregation; a selected sample is enclosed.

What we have through these programs tried to do is, we are convinced, a thing of very great value; viz. the bringing of objective information and professional judgment to the assistance of school desegregation. What we have attempted on a small and limited scale the Office of Education can, and should, do widely and adequately.

Entrance of the Office of Education into this field will, however, be of little or no value unless clearly and firmly based on two premises:

--an explicit recognition that the question of the necessity of desegregation is a closed issue;

--that the Office of Education has no contribution to make unless guided solely by professional judgment and interests.

Informed, professional guidance is needed by southern school officials and southern school patrons chiefly on two subjects: How to desegregate? and What to expect after desegregation?

HOW TO DESEGREGATE?

The Office could render distinct service by preparing an up-to-date manual along the lines of The Delta Kappa's Action Patterns in School Desegregation. This would be a description of the various plans used throughout the 17 statesand the District of Columbia where segregation was the rule prior to 1954, together with a summary and analysis of post-desegregation experience.

Moreover, the Office could do perhaps an even greater service by submitting the most widespread types of plans (pubil placement, grade a year, free choice, etc.) to evaluation by authoritative panels, and publishing their conclusions. As matters presently stand, desegregation plans are chosen to fit the political, not the educational, conditions of a locality. The underlying aim of the Office should be to reverse this practice. School boards need professional insights in the adoption of policies and plans, and local school administrators need the support of their profession in order to be free to advise their boards and their communities according to their best judgment. Furthermore, federal District judges have both a responsibility to pass upon desegregation plans and the privilege of taking judicial cognizance of experience and professional opinion.*

Field consultants employed the Office should similarly be free to advise on basic planning. In making consultants available, the Office must guard carefully against their being used as advisor on how to limit desegregation to the smallest possible numbers.** If consultants are sent in to a locality prior to actual desegregation, they will inevitably be engaged in a discussion of plans. In happy circumstances, they will find themselves advising

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*Court decisions during the past year in cases affecting, among others, Dallas, Knoxville, New Orleans, and Memphis have put the question of what is a legally acceptable plan into more flux than a year ago would have been predicted. The present is an especially apportune time, therefore, for new ideas and professional guidance.

**We raise this caution out of our own experience. It has sometimes been hard to dissuade superintendents and others from thinking that Mr. Brewbaker is not being sent for the putpose of advice on successful tokenism.

on how to apply sound educational principles to the transition from a racially based to a non-racial school system. In other circumstances, they would be hard put to avoid complicity in planning whose end is solely to the minimal adjustment required by the court. In these latter circumstances, it would seem best for the United States government not to be represented. The Office takes a risk when it enters the consulting field. We think it should take that risk, because the government has an obligation. We think the risk will be small if the Office relies solely on its professional judgment and if it confines its consultant services to those situations where a favorable climate exists among the decision-makers for school reform guided by professionalism.

Field consultants could also be profitably used to advise on classroom practices, on disciplinary policies, on playground and extra-curricular questions. The consultants should also be persons able to interpret to local administrators and teachers the nature and complexity of the personality adjustment which Negro students entering predominantly white schools must undergo.*

Consultants should, probably, be sent to a locality or to state officials only on request. Their availability should be, however, in some manner made known.** To use

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* We are presently administering a study by Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, of the emotional problems and adjustments of the Negro youth in formerly all-white schools of Atlanta and New Orleans; Dr. Coles has worked full-time since August 1961 on what is projected as a two year study. If his interim findings would be of interest to the Office he can be made available for discussions.

**Mr. Brewbaker's experience is again in point. Although he does some knocking on doors, which might be an impropriety for a government consultant, the number of requests from superintendents that he visits have been astonishing.

them only for consultation with schoolmen would be wasteful. Their availability could well be made known also to federal judges and to state advisory committes to the Commission on Civil Rights. In any case, it should be the responsibility of the consultant to come and go without public notice, unless his host should prefer otherwise.

Field consultants, whether engaged for full time or occasional assignments, would need to be not only persons of professional competence but also of skill in sensing community problems and in securing the confidence of southern schoolmen. We could suggest, as persons whose work we have seen, a number of men who, whether or not they would be available, are illustrative of the type. William Bagwell, American Friends Service Committee staff, High Point (N.C.); Horace Mann Bond, Professor of Education, Atlanta University; J. J. Brewbaker, Public Schools Consultant, Southern Regional Council; D. Ross Green, Associate Professor of Teacher Education, Emory University; Edward Ladd, Chairman, Division of Teacher Education, Emory University; Kenneth Moreland, Professor of Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; Richard Shapiro, Anti-Defamation League staff, Atlanta; Frank H. Stallings, Associate Professeor of Education, University of Louisville; Preston Valien, Fisk University; J. B. White, Dean, College of Education, University of Florida.

WHAT TO EXPECT AFTER DESEGREGATION?

There is, and the fact should be recognized, widespread and genuine apprehension among a great many white Southerners about academic and social results of school desegregation. This apprehension may be a compound of ignorance, misinformation, fears, and provincialism; it is nonetheless real.

Consequently, it stands ready to believe the worst.*

The Office of Education should not propagandize and certainly should not distort or cover up. We believe, on the contrary, that it should acknowledge that the racial integration of student bodies is one of the largest -- perhaps the largest -- of educational issues of today, North and South. We think the Office should report -- regularly, comprehensively, meticulously -- on the academic problems implicit in integration, and on the academic experience over a period of years of school districts which have integrated or merely desegregated. We think this should be done not in the spirit of arguing a case, but in the spirit of outlining the dimensions of a problem. We think there should not only be factual reporting, but interpretation of the facts both scholarly and generally intelligibly.

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*The one undisputable propaganda success which the segregationists have had is the Davis sub-committee report of 1956 on the Washington schools. This has got through to the man in the street, it has been believed, and has proved to be almost impossible to catch up with and dislodge.

April 16, 1962

The Honorable James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Quigley:

I want to express my apologies for not returning on the evening of March 29 to meet again with the Secretary and you. I am afraid that I had let myself get over-scheduled.

Thank you, however, for inviting me to the conference, which proved very interesting. Your plans for involvement of the Office of Education in the problems of school desegregation were particularly gratifying, as was your announcement that a directive will be soon issued against racial determination of job needs in vocational training programs. These actions can be of great importance.

I think it also encouraging that plans are now far enough advanced that the Secretary could announce on March 30 before the House Sub-committee that a suit to desegregate an impacted area school is under active consideration by HEW and Justice.

At our March 29 meeting you invited those present to offer suggestions as to how the Office of Education could best contribute its services in the school desegregation process. According to my notes, the Office has decided to establish a sort

of "clearing house" where there will be pooled the experience of all desegregating areas and the findings of scholarly research; and to provide, in some manner, consultant services.

We do have some thoughts and I would like to accept your invitation and send them to you. The enclosed memorandum is based not only on our observation of the problems but on several year's experience in attempting on a modest scale what the Office is in a position to do so well. I hope the memorandum may be of some use to you as you frame and carry out your plans.

Thank you also for your good letter of March 26 regarding our Executive Support of Civil Rights.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Bc: BMuse, JJBrewbaker, HCFleming, DFreeman, VEagle, WFoster

MEMORANDUM April 16, 1962

To: The Honorable James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare

From: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Re: CONSULTATIVE SERVICES - U. S. Office of Education.

- 1 -

The conclusions and beliefs expressed in this memorandum derive principally from the Southern Regional Council's experience in administering three programs of recent years:

1. Since July 1960 we have employed Mr. J. J. Brewbaker as a Public School Consultant. His assignment, to which he gives 120 days per year, is to visit school superintendents and occasionally school boards in still-segregated or newly-desegregated districts and advise them regarding the educational and administrative problems of school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker is uniquely qualified for this task: he is the retired superintendent of Norfolk (Va.), having been superintendent there during Norfolk's crisis, and is widely known among southern schoolmen.

2. For some years we have had a Consultant Service Program, headed until a year ago by John Hope, II, formerly of Fisk and now Assistant Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. The method of C. S. P. is to send, at request, social scientists into southern

communities for quiet consultations on racial problems. These were held usually with community organizations and civic leaders, not usually with officials; they have, however, added to our experience in the consultant field.

3. Our regular field staff has engaged in a variety of consultations in different problems situations with community leaders over the South.

4. Since 1954 we have prepared and distributed numerous publications on school desegregation; a selected sample is enclosed.

What we have through these programs tried to do is, we are convinced, a thing of very great value; viz. the bringing of objective information and professional judgment to the assistance of school desegregation. What we have attempted on a small and limited scale the Office of Education can, and should, do widely and adequately.

Entrance of the Office of Education into this field will, however, be of little or no value unless clearly and firmly based on two premises:

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The Office could render distinct service by preparing an up-to-date manual along the lines of Phi Delta Kappa's Action Patterns in School Desegregation. This would be a description of the various plans used throughout the 17 states and the District of Columbia where segregation was the rule prior to 1954, together with a summary and analysis of post-desegregation experience.

Moreover, the Office could do perhaps an even greater service by submitting the most widespread types of plans (pupil placement, grade-a-year, free choice, etc.) to evaluation by authoritative panels, and publishing their conclusions. As matters presently stand, desegregation plans are designed by the school board to minimize possible community friction and disorder. This is a meritorious aim. It does, however, give little or no weight to the needs of the students involved. The underlying aim of the Office should be to stress these, and to lead school boards and administrators to give equal consideration to educational principles.

School boards need professional insights in the adoption of policies and plans, and local school administrators need the support of their profession in order to be free to advise their boards and their communities according to their best judgment. Furthermore, federal District judges have both a responsibility to pass upon desegregation plans and the privilege of taking judicial cognizance of experience and professional opinion.*

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*Court decisions during the past year in cases affecting, among others, Dallas, Knoxville, New Orleans, and Memphis have put the question of what is a legally acceptable plan into more flux than a year ago would have been predicted. The present is an especially opportune time, therefore, for new ideas and professional guidance.

Field consultants employed by the Office should similarly be free to advise on basic planning. The consultants would not be expected to engage in a crusade; on the other hand, in making them available, the Office must guard carefully against their being used as advisors on how to limit desegregation to the smallest possible numbers.* If consultants are sent into a locality prior to actual desegregation, they will inevitably be engaged in a discussion of plans. In happy circumstances, they will find themselves advising on how to apply sound educational principles to the transition from a racially based to a non-racial school system. In other circumstances, they would be hard put to avoid complicity in planning whose end is solely the minimal adjustment required by the court. In these latter circumstances, it would seem best for the United States government not to be represented. The Office takes a risk when it enters the consulting field. We think it should take that risk, because the government has an obligation. We think the risk will be small if the Office relies solely on its professional judgment and if it confines its consultant services to those situations where a favorable climate exists among the decision-makers for school reform guided by professionalism.

Field consultants could also be profitably used to advise on classroom practices, on disciplinary policies, on playground and extra-curricular questions. The consultants should also be persons able to interpret to local administrators and teachers the nature and complexity of the personality

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and adjustment which Negro students entering predominantly white schools must undergo.*

The Office will have to decide on the procedure of offering the services of consultants to localities and to state officials. One method would be for the Office itself to make the offer; another would be for the consultants to make the approach directly. Their availability must be made known.** To use them only for consultation with schoolmen would be wasteful. Their availability could well be made known also to federal judges and to state advisory committees to the Commission on Civil Rights. In any case, it should be the responsibility of the consultant to come and go without public notice, unless his host should prefer otherwise.

Field consultants, whether engaged for full time or occasional assignments, would need to be not only persons of professional competence but also of skill in sensing community problems and in securing the confidence of southern schoolmen. We could suggest, as persons whose work we have seen, a number of men who, whether or not they would be available, are illustrative of the type. William Bagwell, American Friends Service Committee staff, High Point, (N.C.); Horace Mann Bond, Professor of Education, Atlanta University; J. J. Brewbaker, Public Schools Consultant, Southern Regional Council; A. Lee Coleman, Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky; D. Ross Green, Associate Professor of Teacher

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**Mr. Brewbaker's experience is again in point. Although he does some knocking on doors, which might be an impropriety for Superintendents or their staffs, the number of unsolicited requests from

Education, Emory University; John A. Griffin, Director of University Relations, Florida State University; Lewis Killian, Professor of Sociology, Florida State University; Edward Ladd, Chairman, Division of Teacher Education, Emory University; Eric Lincoln, Professor of Sociology, Clark College; Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; Richard Shapiro, Anti-Defamation League staff, Atlanta; Frank H. Stallings, Associate Professor of Education, University of Louisville; Herman Long, Director of the Race Relations Department, Fisk University; J. B. White, Dean, College of Education, University of Florida. We think you should carefully consider the advantages of having at least one or two full-time consultants on the Office's staff.

WHAT TO EXPECT AFTER DESEGREGATION?

There is, and the fact should be recognized, widespread and genuine apprehension among a great many white Southerners about the academic and social results of school desegregation. This apprehension may be a compound of ignorance, misinformation, fears, and provincialism; it is nonetheless real. Consequently, it stands ready to believe the worst.*

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of school districts which have integrated or merely desegregated. We think this should be done not in the spirit of arguing a case, but in the spirit of outlining the dimensions of a problem which the schools must solve. We think this should include not only factual reporting, but interpretation of the facts both scholarly and generally intelligibly.

-;-

Enclosures:

<u>If the Schools Are Closed</u>, Green-Gauerke
"Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools,"
Mary Ellen Goodman, (SRC Special Report), February 8, 1961
L-Reports Nos. 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 27 and 29
<u>School Desegregation: the First Six Years</u>
Southern Regional Council <u>Policy Statement</u>, December 6, 1959

April 18, 1962

Mr. Robert M. Rosenzweig
Assistant to the Commissioner
of Education
Department of Health, Education and
Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of April 9. I am sorry that we did not get a chance the other week to get into a corner and talk. Maybe we could have exchanged gossip about the Connecticut Valley.

The other day I sent Mr. Quigley a memorandum. I think there would be no indiscretion in my enclosing a copy for you. It concerns, as you will notice, the plans of your office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 4/11/62

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 9, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Commissioner McMurrin has asked me to thank you for sending us a copy of your Executive Support for Civil Rights.

I think you will agree that the last year has seen a new climate develop in the Office of Education. I would call it a willingness to confront issues. It has resulted in some significant departures from past practices and a willingness to consider constructive alternatives to existing policies. I daresay that we cannot do everything that your group, or others, believe desirable, but the fact that we can converse about the best means to reach a common objective surely gives hope for the future.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Rosenzweig

Robert M. Rosenzweig
Assistant to the
Commissioner of Education

April 24, 1962

Honorable Abraham Ribicoff
Secretary
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D. C.

My dear Secretary Ribicoff:

Thank you for your letter of April 17, 1962 and your valued comments about our Executive Support of Civil Rights.

I believe all those who were at your March 29 meeting profited; certainly I did. I hope that if there are any occasions when our organization can be of service to you that you will let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON

Rec'd 4/19

APR 17 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in regard to your letter of March 21st with which you were kind enough to forward a copy of the Southern Regional Council's report on "Executive Support for Civil Rights".

I found the report most sympathetic with some of the problems which a federal administrator faces during this period of social change. At the same time the report's criticisms of operations of the Department's programs will be quite helpful in the continuing review which we are making with a view to assuring equality of opportunity in the benefits of these programs. I appreciate the recognition that the Department has taken constructive steps in this direction.

It was very good to have an opportunity to meet with you on March 29th and to discuss frankly problems in this area of mutual concern. You may be assured that we will continue to do whatever we can, within the limits of our authority, to promote equal opportunity for all citizens.

Sincerely,

Abe Ribicoff
Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY

PR
PA
MJ file

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1962

JUN 15 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in reply to your letter of April 16th with which you were kind enough to send material of the Southern Regional Council related to school desegregation.

Please excuse the delay in acknowledging this letter, as you can guess, our pending legislative program before the Congress has been taking a good deal of the time of most of us here.

I have forwarded your material to Dr. Robert Rosenzweig of the Office of Education, who you may remember from the March 29th Conference. Dr. Rosenzweig is closely involved with establishing the clearinghouse on school desegregation and I am sure he will find this material useful and he will undoubtedly want to be in contact with you about it.

We are pleased to know that you found the conference interesting. We hope that those who attended went away with a feeling that while we have many problems here, we recognize that we have them and are trying to face up to some of them.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Quigley

James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

via air mail

July 18, 1962

Dr. Robert Rosenzweig
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and
Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I wonder if you could send me another copy of the press release you put out a few months ago announcing that your Language Counseling Institutes this summer would have to be without racial restrictions. We seem to have misplaced our copy. If there are any additions to the list of colleges and universities which, as you recall, was appended to the release, I would be grateful if you could note that.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

June 18, 1963

Mr. Arthur E. Carpenter
Health, Education and Welfare Building - North
Room 5449
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carpenter:

Here are some notes which we hurriedly pulled together. Please let us know if you have any questions or if we can do anything else.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures:
List of Bi-racial Cities (prepared by B. Patterson 6/18/63)
L-Reports #20, #25, #35, #40 + #43

Leslie - did you want to send this, check it oout and or have Mildred retype it since my machine is not very neat???

Arthur Carpenter | Wilbur Cohen
Community Relations Service

Official or well-established

Arthur E. Carpenter

Room 5449
Health, Education & Welfare Bldg - North
Washington, 25, D C

11 + Okla $ty

1) State Com - Ky Mo

2) Local bodies created by ordinance ex. Louisville.

3) other we know anything alt

4) ~~local CHR~~
State CHR & locals where there are staffs

file

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

BP - fyi
MJ - file

June 20, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the material you so promptly furnished us. It will be put to good use.

Sincerely,

Arthur E. Carpenter

Arthur E. Carpenter
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

via air mail

August 12, 1963

Mr. Arthur E. Carpenter
Special Assistant to the Assistant
Secretary
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carpenter:

It was a special pleasure meeting you the other day in Washington. I hope that we may see more of you sometime in Atlanta.

Belatedly, here are some names. Enclosed is also, as requested by your letter of August 5, a biographical sketch of Harold Fleming. The first five names listed would be, I believe, good candidates for the top job.

(1) John Feild -- former staff head of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and now with Potomac Institute; former administrative assistant to Senator Hart, former staff head of the Michigan FEPC, etc. A native of Arkansas.

(2) Harold C. Fleming -- (see attached biog.)

(3) Lucius Pitts -- president of Miles College in Birmingham, and former director of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association. Played a key role in the settlement of the Birmingham crisis.

(4) Ralph Purcell -- chairman of the department of political science, University of Delaware, and visiting professor last year at the Naval War College. Active in local and state politics. Spent several years with the State Department in India. Deeply interested and well informed in southern race relations. A native of Florida, and resided in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama.

(5) John Siegenthaler -- editor of the Nashville Tennessean, and former assistant to Robert Kennedy.

(6) William Bagwell -- staff member of the American Friends Service Committee at High Point, North Carolina. An unusually hard working and skilled field man.

(7) George Barrett -- Nashville attorney, and active in state and local politics and racial relations. Played a key role in settlement of recent Nashville crisis. Known by several C.R.D. and CCR officials.

(8) Oliver Wendell Holmes -- associate director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. An excellent man with proven skills in mediation.

(9) Norman Jimerson -- director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Experienced in crisis.

(10) Harry Jones -- director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. A well qualified and experienced man.

(11) Courtney Siceloff -- director of the Penn Community Center, Frogmore, South Carolina; consultant to the CCR.

(12) Tinsley Spraggins -- now with the Democratic National Committee, on leave from Virginia Union University where he is professor of political science. Good man.

(13) Ozell Sutton -- associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. An excellent man, with proven skills in mediation.

(14) Charles Wittenstein -- American Jewish Committee representative in Atlanta region. Excellent man.

(15) Andrew Young -- a leading staff man of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Experienced and highly regarded by all who have worked with him.

Maybe this list will be of some help. Let me know if we can supply more information.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

August 5, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I enjoyed having an opportunity to talk, however briefly, with you Friday morning.

It would be helpful if, when you forward the personnel list to me, you would include a detailed biographical statement on Harold Fleming.

Very truly yours,

Arthur E. Carpenter

Arthur E. Carpenter
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 18, 1963

U.S.

Mr. Arthur E. Carpenter
Health, Education and Welfare Building - North
Room 5449
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carpenter:

Here are some notes which we hurriedly pulled together. Please let us know if you have any questions or if we can do anything else.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures:
List of Biracial Colleges (prepared by B. Patterson 6/18/63)
L-Reports: #20, #25, #35, #40 & #43

August 26, 1963

Mr. Arthur E. Carpenter
Special Assistant to the Assistant
Secretary
U. S. Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carpenter:

One day last week I had a caller who came specifically for the purpose of asking me for advice as to how he might get consideration for appointment to the staff of the proposed Community Relations Service. He is a man whom I could recommend to you.

His name is Dudley Morris, and for a year or more he has been the number 2 man at the Atlanta Time-Life Bureau; has had lots of experience these past months in watching and reporting on racial crises. Dudley is a very intelligent fellow, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1960, and a major in political science while there.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

U.S.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

August 29, 1963

file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of August 26 calling our attention to Dudley Morris as a possibility for the staff of the proposed Community Relations Service. I will see that he is considered.

Your help is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Arthur E. Carpenter
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Secretary

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

U. S. GOVT. - DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

REGARDING:

RE: PRINCE EDWARD DECISION AND PRIVATE SEGREGATED SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY TUITION GRANTS AND ATTENDED BY WHITE PUPILS WHO ARE BOY-COTTING DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS.

DATE

June 9, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under AMERICAN FRIENDS SER. CTTEE - Jean Fairfax.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

U. S. GOVERNMENT - DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

REGARDING:

RE: SURRY COUNTY CASE

DATE

June 22, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed in AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE CTTEE....Jean Fairfax.

File
U. S. Govt. Ed.
Dept. of Health Welfare.

June 24, 1964

The Honorable Francis Keppel
Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Keppel:

I would like to thank you for inviting me to the discussion in your office last Friday, and more particularly for having convened the group to consider the southern private school issue.

A few things are enclosed which may be of interest to you and your associates.

Judge Butzner's ruling in the Surry County case about coincided with our talk. Strong and excellent as was his decision, I would not believe that it will undo what is by all evidence a strongly developed movement. I doubt, in fact, that any legal attack will suffice.

On the legal side, however, the Surry County ruling still leaves some questions undecided, as well as being, of course, subject to perhaps lengthy appeal. Judge Butzner specifically noted that his ruling did not confront the question of whether tuition grants -- even if used for attendance at segregated schools -- are invalid in a school district whose public schools were not found to be unconstitutionally segregated.

His ruling may not, therefore, reach the tuition grant issue in a place such as Charlottesville or, on a southwide basis, New Orleans.

Miss Fairfax was correct in her assumption during last Friday's meeting that the Mississippi bill does not limit grants to attendance at non-sectarian schools. My guess is that this departure from the Virginia-Louisiana practice strengthens the bill both legally and politically. Legally, my reading suggests that a strong argument for tuition grants is the child benefit theory, and state exclusion of sectarian schools dilutes that. Politically, Mississippi may gain important allies by this generosity, and might also dim the vigor of opposition from an administration interested in extending federal school benefits to parochial school children (a policy, I might add, with which I happen to sympathize).

But whatever the legal outcome, we have a deeply-rooted problem. I doubt very much that any court will ever say that the spending power of a state is so limited that tuition grants per se are invalid. And I similarly doubt that after some years of experience with them there will be a realistic chance of repealing grants in Virginia, Louisiana, and perhaps other states as well; once you open this door, vested interests keep it open. Those 20,000 parents of Virginia and Louisiana have something, and realism alone would propose that their numbers will grow and that their neighbors in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia may also want what they have.

The issue has nothing necessarily to do with legally recognizable segregation. Where we are likely to come out is an option for the parent of sending his child to a desegregated public school or, with the aid of a state subsidy, to a private school desegregated at least in policy. The private school may be a long established one. On the other hand, it may be a new community enterprise, pre-empting many or most of the white children of the locality, the experienced teachers, and the

loyalties of the people, public in everything except name and legal control, and secure from constitutional assault (which could apply if it were legally "public") against token desegregation or a mere non-discriminatory admissions policy.

As desegregation penetrates the small town and rural Deep South, one does not have to be a Cassandra to foresee a multiplication of school districts in which the public schools are largely deserted by white pupils. This may be only the southern version of what is happening elsewhere as well, but the desertion will likely include not only the well-to-do, and it will be accomplished at state expense. To whatever degree this happens, the public schools, being largely Negro, will exist with only the barest and grudging public interest; note the meager sum voted by Prince Edward County for re-opening its public schools.

If I am correct in these gloomy anticipations, I can recommend at this time no recourse except to get people who are devoted to the public school system, and especially authoritative educators, actively concerned. At the same time, I suggest that federal agencies have an obligation to scrutinize most carefully their powers and their disbursements of funds to assure that no additional governmental aid and comfort is given to this withdrawal from public education.

I chanced to spend a couple hours last weekend with Dr. Donald Agnew of the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, and discussed this

at length with him. I hope, as you suggested, to see Dr. Dickey soon.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. William Taylor
Mr. Burke Marshall

Enclosures: PAR Analysis, October 1963, "Louisiana's Grant-In-Aid Program"
Green-Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed...
Goodman, Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools
April 1964, NEW SOUTH (attached is a letter of reply from Leon Dure which, in an excess of fairness, we are printing in the June New South)

Bc: Miss Jean Fairfax
Mr. Donald Agnew w/enclosures

Rec'd 7/1/64

file

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20202

June 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Commissioner Keppel is out of the city for several speaking engagements. Your letter of June 24 has been received and will be brought to his attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth H. Worsley

Ruth H. Worsley
Administrative Assistant to the
U.S. Commissioner of Education

File: U.S. Govt Dept. of Health Education & Welfare

July 21, 1964

Dr. A. W. Christensen
U. S. Public Health Service
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Room 5006, South Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Christensen:

Thank you for your invitation to the Council to be represented at your meeting on July 30. I am glad to inform you that Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte will attend. Dr. Wheeler is chairman of our Executive Committee. His address, in case you should need to be in touch with him, is 1900 Brunswick Avenue, Charlotte, North Carolina.

I have told Dr. Wheeler that the meeting will be in Room 5006 of the South Building of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1:30 p.m., July 30.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

File: U.S. Govt. Dept. of Health Ed. + Welfare

August 11, 1964

The Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze
Secretary
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Secretary Celebrezze:

On several recent occasions, officers or staff members of the Southern Regional Council have been consulted by constituent agencies of your Department, as they plan for their very heavy and vital roles under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, particularly its Titles IV and VI.

We have been extremely glad to give whatever help we can in interpreting some of the problems, needs, and methods we have met within our rather long and sustained work in this field.

These consultations have caused us to see how crucially important will be the regulations drafted by your agencies to implement the Act. We believe that the experience we and one or two other private agencies have had could be of usefulness and value to the Department, not only in these preliminary consultations, but in reviewing the drafted regulations before they are sent to the President for approval. If we could

be of service to any of the Department's agencies in this way I hope that you will call on us.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Miss Jean Fairfax
Mr. William Taylor (CCR)

Pers. 3/15/65

file - U.S. Govt.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

March 10, 1965

PAR
SW file

Office of Equal
Educational Opportunities

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your recommendation on Miss Revelle Pergament.

We have forwarded her application to the Board of U.S. Civil Service Examiners which conducts the exam for Program Specialist and Advisor. She will hear directly from them regarding her eligibility. The rating process takes approximately one month.

Things have been quite hectic and right now Herb Wey is here giving us a much needed hand. Let's get together when you are up this way.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Seeley
Director

March 1, 1965

Mr. David Seeley
Special Assistant to the
U.S. Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education and
Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Seeley:

Miss Revelle Pergament has requested that I write to you regarding her qualifications for work with the Equal Educational Opportunity Program.

I am very glad to recommend Miss Pergament to you. I have known her for two or more years and have been able to observe her work with the National Student Association. I have been impressed not only by her very high personal qualities but also by her evident intelligence and sincerity. I believe that she has learned a great deal regarding the whole span of the human relations movement in the South. She has also shown first rate ability to work with people in a constructive manner and with good judgement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director

LWD:p

File
U. S. Govt.

Cross ref. attached notes in "Staff-Look Random Notes"

April 20, 1965

Mr. David S. Seeley
Special Assistant to the
U. S. Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dave:

I appreciate very much your letter of April 7. Sorry that you did not get down this way last week, but enjoyed meeting those of your office who did. Mr. Quigley had some difficulty (so I understand; I was not there) in making positions clear. The attached set of thoughts may not be of any help to you all, but at least it has the merit of being brief.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

bc: Mr. Eugene Patterson

April 20, 1965

Issuance of more instructions, revision or supplementing of those already issued, would probably not be advisable between now and June 30, 1965, unless corrections are plainly needed. It would be helpful, however, in any statements from HEW to mute and gradually abandon the precept "may differ from community to community." This (a) invites experimental evasion; (b) produces suspicion and sharp criticism from Negro and civil rights groups; (c) will in practice likely prove impossible for O. of E. to make intelligible and to administer.

Alternatively, O. of E. might stress in its various public statements that, for those districts not eligible to sign the 441, what counts is the policy direction of the school board, not the specifics of its plan. In practice, this would be more susceptible of determination. In every locality, there are knowledgeable people who can see the probable effects of a plan and concretely interpret them to O. of E. Indeed, in many cases probable effects will be apparent on the face of the plan submitted to O. of E. Probable effects which are generally acceptable to the Negro community of a locality should be acceptable to O. of E.

On one point, O. of E. should be especially firm, both in its own thinking and in its statements: teacher integration. This is because (a) few really believe that

O. of E. is firm on this point; (b) non-racial assignment of teachers is an effective encouragement for the long haul of de facto desegregation; (c) the O. of E. has an obligation to the profession it represents not to accede to racial restrictions within the profession.

Geographic zoning will characterize many if not most plans. Rational zoning will in many cases maintain de facto segregation. Inevitably, O. of E. will be pushed by civil rights groups (despite Sec. 401b) to adopt policies that counteract this. O. of E. could provide needed educational leadership for the whole country by early adopting the position that the schools cannot be intelligently expected to overcome segregation created by housing and other social causes. Such a position would draw heavy fire from civil rights groups, but perhaps less the sooner it is adopted and, quite possibly, O. of E. will have to adopt it in time anyway. Some of us would find ways to support this position. Furthermore, it would help O. of E. in its vexed relations with southern school boards; probably, it would also be gratefully received by school administrations over the country.

The lack of a clear statement from O. of E. regarding the permissible pace of desegregation for non-441 districts is a serious defect. All plans should be required to specify

a date by which the district will be able to satisfy O. of E.'s criteria for signing a 441. For <u>any</u> district, the outside date would seem to be the <u>earliest</u> date allowed by a federal court in <u>any</u> of the court cases within its state.* O. of E. might, in fact, consider whether the interests of clarity and certainty would not be served by its disclosing that it will in all cases accept such a date, revising it from time to time as new court decrees are made. This would put some of the burden for accelerating desegregation on the Legal Defense Fund but that would be (a) the existing situation and (b) an incentive to the Fund, knowing that whatever it could win in one case as a final date would apply state-wide.

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*Or, to allow for judicial eventualities, 1967 at the earliest.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

Reid

April 7, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in mailing the interesting newspaper clippings to Bill Foster and me. We could hardly get along without your help.

Sincerely,

David S. Seeley
Special Assistant to the
U.S. Commissioner of Education

File - U.S. Govt

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

Read 6/9/65

TA ✓
PW ✓
VFV ✓
MJ - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your letter of April 20. I am indeed sorry to be so late in acknowledging it.

It was thoughtful of you to send your notes from the Atlanta meeting. I am sharing them with my co-workers.

Sincerely yours,

Dave Seeley

David S. Seeley
Director
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Les.

We are in the thick of the teacher integration problem. We've made our stand clear on the need to desegregate faculty eventually but at the moment the major problem is teacher downgrades when Negro schools are being closed or as a threat to discourage Negro students from switching to the white schools.

file - U.S. Govt

MS - file

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

September 14, 1965

Gentlemen:

The Educational Research Information Center has/~~[illegible]~~ selected documents collected from the Southern Regional Council for dissemination to school administrators and State Departments of Education.

Each document will be abstracted, indexed, microfilmed, and distributed in entirety and in abstract form by means of microfiche. Sources will be cited.

We would appreciate copyright release for the following documents for microfiche reproduction and dissemination purposes.

If the Schools are Closed ...

We look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

James L. Eller

James L. Eller
Chief, Input Operations
Educational Research Information Center

Note: Direct questions and replies to:
Miss Helene Cacioppi
Research Assistant, ERIC

See U.B. Govt - H.E.W.

November 1, 1965

Mr. Kenneth J. Neubeck
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
6th and Jefferson Drive, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear MR. Neubeck:

Under separate cover we are sending the requested materials. Please note, however, the dates of some of these.

It's a pleasure to be of assistance and, from time to time, we shall certainly call on you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

October 20, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wonder if I may call upon you once again to obtain some SRC materials which we feel would be of interest to our staff in the course of our work here. These are as follows:

Mizell, M. Hayes. "Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities." Mimeographed.
"The Washington School Story--Transcript of an Atlanta Television Program Featuring Carl F. Hansen." Special Report--July, 1959. Mimeographed.
"The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South." November, 1961.
Price, Margaret. "The Negro and the Ballot in the South." 1959.
"What Happened in the South." Mimeographed press release, November 15, 1964.
"The Louisville School Story--Transcript of an Atlanta Television Program Featuring Mr. Omer Carmichael." Special Report--December, 1959.

In addition to the above materials we would like to obtain a dozen of the "School Desegregation Kits" which were prepared by SRC in cooperation with AFSC.

I am enclosing a copy of a list of selected readings on school desegregation prepared by our staff. This was designed as a "technical assistance tool," primarily for school personnel.

Thank you for your kind assistance and for any of the above materials your supply may permit you to provide us. Please do not hesitate to call upon us if we may be of help to you.

Sincerely,

Kenneth J. Neubeck

Kenneth J. Neubeck
Materials and Research Branch
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
6th and Jefferson Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C.

Enclosure

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

MS file

Rec'd 12/13/65

December 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We hope it will be possible for you to come to our session at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, the 16th and 17th to discuss problems in southern school desegregation. If you cannot rearrange your schedule on such short notice, we will be happy to have your representative. As you know, the Office of Education is facing a number of difficult decisions as to the next steps required in this area, and we are determined to get the best advice we can.

The Office will not be able to pay you for your time and services. We will provide your lodging and meals at Airlie House and your travel expenses. My secretary will call your office Monday to see who will be coming from the Council. We will also arrange for a prepaid Government plane ticket for the trip which can be picked up at the airport in Atlanta.

As a matter of record, would you be good enough to sign the attached Agreement to Serve Without Compensation form and bring it with you to the meeting? If you can't come, I am enclosing a blank form for your representative to complete.

As I mentioned to you over the telephone, we hope several of the participants will be able to arrange to arrive in Washington Wednesday, December 15, in time for a dinner at Airlie House. When we know your plans, we will make arrangements for getting you from Washington to Warrenton, which is about 48 miles.

Thanks again for your cooperation. We look forward to a stimulating and rewarding meeting.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Seeley
Acting Assistant Commissioner
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Attachments

January 11, 1966

Mr. Kenneth J. Neubeck
Materials and Research Branch
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Mr. Neubeck:

Under separate cover we are sending four copies of Black Belt Schools. More are available if you have need of them. You should have received a copy of this routinely. We will try to see that you do in the future.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enn. - 4

EL - interagency list

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

January 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Several persons have recently called to my attention a new SRC pamphlet which I would like to obtain for our Branch collection. Its title is "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation." Several copies would be appreciated if they are readily available.

Thank you for your kind cooperation in the past.

Sincerely,

Kenneth J. Neubeck

Kenneth J. Neubeck
Materials and Research Branch
Equal Educational Opportunities
Program

January 17, 1966

Mr. Harold Howe II
U. S. Commissioner of Education'
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Mr. Howe:

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee has shared with us your exchange of correspondence.

We agree, of course, with the statement issued by that Committee and share the concerns which caused the statement.

This letter, however, is merely to express our admiration and appreciation for your very fine response to Mr. Schwarzschild in your letter of January 5.

We extend every good wish as you take over this difficult and vital assignment. Please know also, that we are anxious to be of any possible assistance to you and to the Office of Education.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mr. Harold Howe II, U.S.Commissioner of Education

[redacted]

Dear Mr. Howe:

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee has shared with us your exchange of correspondence.

We agree, of course, with the statement issued by that Committee and share the concerns which caused the statement.

This letter, however, is merely to express our admination and appreciation for your very fine response to Mr. Schwarzschild in your letter of January 5.

We extend every good wish as you take over this difficult and vital assignment. Please know also, that we are anxious to be of any possible assistance to you and to the Office of Education.

With best wishes, sinc.pa

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
OF
THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
(212) YUKON 9-7530

PRESIDENT
LEO PFEFFER
Special Counsel
American Jewish Congress

VICE-PRESIDENTS
JOHN M. PRATT
Counsel, Commission on
Religion and Race
National Council of Churches

CARL RACHLIN
General Counsel
Congress of Racial Equality

SECRETARY
MELVIN L. WULF
Legal Director
American Civil Liberties Union

TREASURER
EDWIN J. LUKAS
National Affairs Director
American Jewish Committee

GENERAL COUNSEL
CLARENCE B. JONES
Counsel to the
Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

ROBERT L. CARTER
General Counsel
National Association for
the Advancement of Colored People

THE REV. ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.
Counsel
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice

HOWARD MOORE, JR.
Counsel
Student Non-violent
Coordinating Committee

CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
Southern Regional Director
American Civil Liberties Union

JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, JR.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
HENRY SCHWARZSCHILD

SOUTHERN OFFICE
603 North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
(601) 948-4191
ALVIN J. BRONSTEIN
Staff Counsel

January 10, 1966

Hon. Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20202

Dear Mr. Howe:

I am grateful for your thoughtful response of January 5 to my telegram of December 23.

Your opening words suggest that you may not have received my telegram promptly. If so, I hope you were aware that I sent the rather long wire for arrival at your office the afternoon before I released the text. I apologize if this arrangement went awry.

I am sure you are right in thinking that the differences between us are smaller than my somewhat combative message might indicate. But, as you are yourself fully aware, the problem is not so much what you and I, in our private persons, think about these matters, but what we in our institutional functions and responsibilities say and how we thereby affect the political and moral context in which we all act.

The energy with which we pursue our common objectives is drawn upon so massively in part because of a subtle but distinct attitude on the part of the Federal establishment in the entire civil rights area that voluntary compliance is working and should be relied upon to preserve the national consensus, except where flagrant and scandalous defiance reduces the political liabilities of enforcement. This posture is politically disastrous, because it prolongs and deepens the divisions in the country (just as the failure to enforce Brown v. Board of Education extended the painful civil rights struggle by a full decade). It is humanly intolerable since it excludes from the consensual unity precisely that part of our citizenry at whose expense justice is delayed.

The report of your press conference in the New York Times gave the impression that the tenor of your remarks had been quite in keeping with the recent, deplorable history of compliance enforcement by the Office of Education in setting standards for school desegregation that give sanction to the most regressive tokenism (free choice and pupil placement plans), and then compromising below even that level at the slightest sign of reluctance from a Southern

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Contributions to LCDC of ACLU are tax-deductible.

school board. I know of no instance where the Office of Education has insisted on true school desegregation against the will of the school authorities or where it has used the sanctions available to it (e.g. withholding of Federal funds) to enforce the clear will of the Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court. Two rationalizations are usually advanced for this posture: One, that after all, cutting off Federal money will hurt Negro schoolchildren, and that segregated education is at least better than none at all; and secondly, that the institution of pupil placement plans now is a great step ahead and that greater desegregation can be insisted upon in future years. Neither argument is persuasive in the slightest.

What hurts Negro schoolchildren is the continuing delay, twelve years after the Brown case, in affording them equal educational opportunity. Nothing would be quite so educational for the South as two or three examples of vigorous enforcement by means of withholding funds. So long as the South's experience reinforces its instinct to resist, delay, and receive a Federal imprimatur in the bargain, just so long will your task be complicated, the confidence of the Negro community in justice be undermined, and the racial problems of this country aggravated. Tokenism through pupil placement plans is almost always a means of avoiding desegregation, not the first step in its direction. But even if it were not: the educational rights of Negro schoolchildren are for the here and now. Surely deliberation is no longer a substitute for speed. Consideration of the pain and difficulties that change imposes upon the South can no longer prevail at the continuing expense of those who have for so long been victims of the Southern system.

I mean no disrespect when I say that advocacy of vigorous enforcement is merely one of the jobs of the U.S. Commissioner of Education from which you may not be dissuaded by criticism and for which you can expect little praise. When this verbal advocacy is framed by expressions of gratification over what has already been done in North Carolina, where 2% of Negro children attend desegregated schools in 1965, and by a call for a "still (sic) greater spirit of cooperation in the South," where the overall rate is about 5% after twelve years of exasperating litigation and after a year's passage since the Civil Rights Act, then our sharpened senses react in despair -- and telegrams.

Again: I know that you are right about the work of white Southerners of good will. And I urgently commend to your attention the product of one group of them, namely the enclosed school desegregation report of the Southern Regional Council. I am quite sure that they and their isolated brethren in the South will be encouraged by nothing less than a forthright affirmation by you that you will not be apologetic in standing with them against the overwhelming forces of a conservative tradition and by your absolute refusal to speak in terms which the

./.

unregenerate South may interpret as a signal to stiffen its resistance. I would submit, at the same time, that the Southern Negroes (Southerners all) have a far greater claim upon your solicitude and upon the manner in which you choose your words.

My allegations about the desegregation figures put out by the Office of Education were carefully not laid at your feet -- they clearly antedate your assumption of office. It is, however, essential that you be able to comment on them with authority at the earliest possible moment. The SRC report will speak for itself--the U.S. Office of Education, after the publication of the report, did not speak at all. The Office had been found out to be an egregious liar. It proceeded to refuse an apology to the country and to use the same lies at the Planning Session of the White House Conference. Statistical errors can indeed be innocent, but when they reach the dimensions of 2,000%, remain unexplained and uncorrected--and, indeed, are reused, then you will understand that it is difficult to credit the integrity of the operation.

Finally, let me assure you that I warmly welcome your assurances that we are on the same side of the battle. I never doubted it. Your understanding of our role conforms precisely to my own, and it was, of course, in this spirit that I sent you the telegram. I am genuinely grateful to you for taking the time and thought to write as well considered a letter. We are grateful, as well, for your invitation to remain in contact with you, and shall use the privilege when the occasion seems to warrant.

Sincerely,

Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary

Enc./

HS:hdl

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

January 5, 1966

COPY

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schwarzschild:

I have recently received a copy of your telegram of December 27. Although I am in no position to provide a detailed answer right now, I would like to make a few observations:

1. I believe so strongly in the objectives you are seeking and in the energy with which you pursue them, that I suspect the difference between us is smaller than your telegram about my very brief statement to the press would indicate.

2. My statement to the press did advocate vigorous enforcement of desegregation. Indeed, this matter was headlined in a good many newspapers throughout the South, and I have been receiving considerable criticism from viewpoints opposite to yours.

3. While I agree with you that there are a great many uncompromising people attempting to slow desegregation in the schools, I also know that there are some Southerners of good will actively involved in trying to integrate the schools and to bring quality education to all Southern children. They have not received much credit for their quiet and constructive efforts, and I think they deserve it. Indeed, I would go further and say that the encouragement of this group of people is one of the keys to progress in desegregation in the South. Obviously they should not be encouraged in a way to lend comfort to the backsliders and racists, and I have no intention of doing so.

4. I cannot comment with authority at this time on your view that Office of Education figures on the progress of desegregation are "outrageously false and inflated." But I will be glad to work with you or anyone else to make sure that a true national picture is presented concerning what is going on in school desegregation. I do have to say that the persons whom I have met in the U.S. Office of Education and who are responsible for advancing desegregation in the schools do not seem to me to be the kind of people who would purposely falsify the record.

5. I suspect that there will continue to be some differences between those who hold administrative responsibility for implementing Civil Rights legislation in the complex arena of national and local authority and those in private organizations who are deeply committed to redressing injustice immediately. Private groups like yours perform real service by keeping the pressure on those of us carrying official responsibilities, and I hope that you will continue to do so. But as you do so I hope that you will not forget we are on the same side in this battle.

Please continue to advise me about your concerns with the posture of the U.S. Office of Education in these matters. I cannot promise to accept your viewpoint in every situation, but you will always find me willing to listen.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Howe II

Harold Howe II
U.S. Commissioner of Education

MJ file Mr Anthony SRC for your info.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Rec'd 1/24/66

January 20, 1966

Mr. Clarence D. Coleman
Southern Regional Director
National Urban League
78 Marietta Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Thank you for your letter of January 10 and your kind invitation to meet with your staff and regional representatives in Atlanta on February 1 or 2.

I am most anxious to meet you and to do so soon. However, my immediate obligations here and the press of urgent problems requiring resolution make it impossible for me to be away from Washington in early February. Would it be possible to arrange a meeting during the first week of March?

I would appreciate a chance to meet informally with a small group of people in addition to whatever other kind of meeting you plan to arrange.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Pete Libassi

F. Peter Libassi
Special Assistant to the Secretary

(212) YU 9-7530
(212) OR 5-5990

HENRY SCHWARZSCHILD

Thought you might like to see this.

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL
DEFENSE COMMITTEE

156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

Was not able to get back to you when this happened. There is such flurry of meaningless activity now & the worse people have risen to the top in reorganization. Several good people are leaving this month, one a young Negro lawyer whom Seeley pressured out.

February 6, 1966

Dear Paul,

Can you get any protests to D.C.? Distortions of CORE's negotiations by HEW Officials have been most disturbing

Thanks - Ann

On Jan. 7, I was fired with 4 days' notice from the Office of Education's school desegregation program, the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities. The firing took place 4 days before my year's probation--a standard probation for "career conditional" appointees-- ended. The timing is significant, since such arbitrary action would be difficult once Civil Service status was acquired.

Read 2/9/66

The "problem" was that I pushed within the OEEO for a forthright program and that I was critical--within the agency--of OEEO's increasingly timid and ineffective stance vis-a-vis the agency's responsibility to desegregate the schools. I also continued to work actively in Washington CORE, mainly in housing, despite signs that an activist role in local affairs was increasingly unwelcome--"embarrassing to Commissioner Keppel" as OEEO officials phrase it.

File N. G. W.

The firing shook the OEEO staff greatly and many of them have rallied to my support, despite their own probationary status. (See enclosed petition) Many of the staff see the firing as I see it--as part of a pattern of retrenchment which accelerated greatly following HEW's backing down on the Chicago funds. Since Chicago, leadership positions, responsibility and important assignments have tended more and more to go to "safe," conservative staff who will not make the kinds of reports and recommendations that will lead to another Chicago. The more militant and concerned staff are being ignored, frozen out and pushed out. Some staff are leaving and others fear their probation will prove "unsatisfactory" and they will be "separated" as I was.

Some of us who are greatly concerned about school desegregation hope that my case can be used as a means of inquiring into and criticizing the total OEEO program. As one of the CORE picket signs protesting my firing read, "Civil Rights Law Demands Civil Rights Staff." I have asked for full reinstatement and Washington CORE and others who are backing me have also asked for a reversal of the policy that persons such as myself with pro-civil rights attitudes and activities are disqualified from civil rights programs within HEW.

Would you (1) Get one or more organizations or committees in which you are active to wire or write John Gardner, Secretary, Dept. Health, Education and Welfare, 330 Independence SW, Washington, D. C., protesting my dismissal and asking (a) full reinstatement and (b) a reversal of the policy that pro-civil rights attitudes and activities disqualify persons for staff within HEW civil rights programs.

(2) Ask your Congressman to protest my dismissal to Secretary Gardner and call for an investigation of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities.

(3) Protest to the Civil Service Commission and ask for favorable action on my appeal and petition. Ask your Congressman to inquire about my petition and express the hope that HEW's position will be reversed. Communications

should be addressed to James T. Masterson, Chief, Appeals Examining Office, #1416B, Civil Service Commission, 1900 E St. NW, Washington, D. C.

(4) Send me copies of any wires or correspondence, or resolutions passed at meetings.

Under Secretary Wilbur Cohen of HEW and others are currently answering inquiries with the statement that I was fired for "inadequate performance, of which she had been advised," or "inadequate performance of duties." "Inadequate performance" entered the picture after all the official documents and discussions had taken place. There is also misinformation as to the circumstances of the firing and my job history circulating in Washington, so that it would be well to check with me concerning any reports you might get that I "turned down a reasonable compromise," "refused a transfer to another department," "demanded an apology," etc.

I hope that you can find time to rally to this request. Without support from persons such as yourself, there is little hope for my reinstatement. More important, without your expressed concern, there is little hope for federal responsibility in carrying out the national mandate to desegregate the public schools.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden

5061 New Hampshire Ave. NW
Washington, D. C. 20011
Phone: 726-0059

Date: February 5, 1966

Subject: Firing of Anna Holden from U. S. Office of Education, Office of Equal Educational Opportunities

1. Circumstances of Firing

Dismissal Letter. On Jan. 3, 1966, Miss Anna Holden, Education Research and Program Specialist, GS-11, Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C., was handed a letter stating she would be separated from her job Jan. 7, 1966 "for failure to qualify during probation." Miss Holden began work for OEEO Jan. 11, 1965 under a "career conditional" appointment with a standard probation of one year.

The dismissal letter, signed by David Seeley, Acting Director, OEEO and dated Dec. 28, 1965, gave the following reasons for dismissal: (1) "failure to accept direction without resentment and bad grace; (2) "failure to cooperate with other staff members in gathering information from files assigned to [her] charge; and (3) "failure to use sound judgement in handling inquiries and proposals assigned to [her] for staff work."

Lack of Early Warning. Miss Holden was first warned of pending dismissal Dec. 21, 1965 on the eve of a 12-day Christmas leave. Mr. Seeley then told her that, despite her "competence," which competence was currently needed by OEEO, he would recommend termination of her appointment because (1) "personality problems" prevented her from working cooperatively with the staff; and (2) her strong, personal position and "inflexibility" on civil rights interfered with "objectivity" in her work.

Mr. Seeley also stated on Dec. 21 that he did not know what action the Personnel Department would take on his recommendation or when the action would be taken; he indicated his personal desire that she stay with OEEO "up to five more months."

Violation of Civil Service Commission Regulations. Mr. Seeley's recommendation to Personnel on Miss Holden's separation was filed Dec. 23, 1965, contrary to Civil Service Commission regulations which require that such recommendations be certified at the beginning of the 9th month of probation (Sept. 11 in this case) but no later than the end of the 10th month (Nov. 10).

No Discussion of Work Evaluation. Prior to Dec. 21, no official or unofficial evaluation of Miss Holden's work was discussed with her or shown to her. The Research and Materials Branch in which she worked had no functioning head or supervisor 8 of the 12 months of her employment, including the past 6 months. Since Jan. 3, the Personnel Office of the Office of Education has refused to show Miss Holden any evaluations of her work.

Staff Support. On Jan. 7, 1966, 19 OEEO professional staff members, including 3/4 of the professional staff of the Technical

Assistance Section in which the Research and Materials Branch is located, signed a petition and letters supporting Miss Holden and expressing concern over her treatment. (The text of the petition is attached.) Many of these staff members are also on probation as career conditional appointees and fear similar treatment.

Civil Rights Stand Real Basis. A personnel memo dated Dec. 23, 1965 and signed by Mr. Seeley included the statement that Miss Holden displayed "A lack of objectivity and a tendency to allow her emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights to cloud sound judgement..." This portion of the memo was deleted from the final letter of dismissal.

2. Present Status of Case

Early Appeals Denied. Miss Holden's dismissal became effective Jan. 7, despite efforts by Washington CORE and others to have the action withdrawn. CORE picketed HEW on Jan. 7 in protest.

On Jan. 10, the HEW Personnel Director turned down a Jan. 7 appeal "for review and a hearing" and also denied Miss Holden's request for "all particulars in writing which constitute the factual basis of termination."

Petition to HEW and Civil Service Commission. On Jan. 17, Miss Holden filed a sworn affidavit and petition with HEW and the Civil Service Commission stating that her dismissal is based on her beliefs and activities in support of the constitutional rights of citizens, "which involvement is within the purview of the function of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, and, further, ... is an entirely improper ground for discharge."

The petition, turned down by HEW on Feb. 1, also charges that the dismissal violates (1) Civil Service Commission regulations governing probationary career conditional appointees; (2) the HEW Personnel Guide for Supervisors with respect to evaluation and supervision of employees; (3) Civil Service Commission regulations that "No action against a probationer may be based on political discrimination"; (4) HEW and federal policy forbidding discrimination by race or creed; and (5) the 1st Amendment and the Due Process Clause of the 5th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

Civil Service Commission Appeal Pending. The Civil Service Commission has not yet acted on this petition and appeal. Mr. Paul Miller, Howard University Law School, is representing Miss Holden on behalf of Washington CORE.

3. Relationship of Holden Case to OEEO Program

Miss Holden's dismissal appears to be related to a general deterioration of the school desegregation program and a "tightening up" on staff committed to maximum use of the Civil Rights Act and official agency policy to desegregate the schools.

Deterioration of School Desegregation Program. The first big "cut back" came late last summer when, due to outside pressure, considerably watered down school desegregation plans from the South were accepted by OEEO.

Following reversal of the decision to withhold Chicago's funds in the early fall, the OEEO staff, particularly the Complaint Department, was almost completely immobilized. A large portion of the staff were without assignments during October - December. Investigation and action on complaints was virtually halted. A 2-month course in speed reading was instituted for professional and secretarial staff; Director Seeley was first to sign up for this 1½ hour course, 3 times per week. Most of the staff became completely demoralized.

Changes in utilization of staff became obvious in the fall. Persons who had pressed for as forthright a program as possible were no longer given responsibility or meaningful assignments and, in some cases, were completely ignored.

"Tightening Up" on Civil Rights Activities. Beginning in the late summer, OEEO staff were also under increasing pressure not to participate in or be identified with local civil rights activities. While these pressures were never applied directly to Miss Holden, possibly because there was no "head" to her Branch to report back oral directives, (1) in August, Area Captains (Title VI) were told to inform staff they could not participate in local civil rights activities or wear "=" buttons; demonstrating and wearing buttons were said to be "embarrassing to Mr. Keppel"; (2) about October, inquiries were made among staff concerning Miss Holden's practice of taking leave when she engaged in civil rights activities during working hours; (3) beginning some time in the fall, persons interviewed for OEEO employment were told "hands off local civil rights" as a condition for employment; (4) in December, an OEEO staff member was told his role in local civil rights organizations (outside the field of education) interfered with his ability to represent OEEO and that he could not continue his present civil rights activities and his present position at OEEO; and (5) at a Jan. 7, 1966 staff meeting, Mr. Seeley stated that OEEO staff should not wear "=" buttons and that visible participation in local civil rights activities conflicts with the ability of staff to carry out OEEO duties, specifically, to negotiate and "conciliate" with Southern school superintendents.

4. Organizations and Individuals Expressing Concern and Support

Americans for Democratic Action, Greater Washington Chapter; Ann Arbor, Mich. CORE; Ann Arbor, Mich. Democratic Party; James Banks, Supreme Grand Master, International Masons, Detroit, Mich.; Rev. Cameron Byrd, President, Grass Roots Organization of Workers, Detroit, Mich.; Detroit CORE; Eugene Feingold, Dept. Political Science, University of Michigan; Warren Haggstrom, Director, Community Action Training Center, Syracuse, N. Y.; Rep. Frank Horton, Rochester, N. Y.; West Central Organization, Detroit; Neighbors, Inc. (D. C.); Philadelphia CORE; Marvin Rich, CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund; Rep. Weston Vivian, Ann Arbor; United Auto Workers; Washington CORE; Washtenaw County, Mich. Democratic Committee; Meyer Weinberg, Editor, Integrated Education, Chicago; Wolverine Bar Assn.

The following petition was presented to David S. Seeley, Acting Director, Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, U. S. Office of Education, January 7, 1966 by members of the OEEO staff.

Nineteen members of the professional staff of OEEO, some of them also probationary appointees, signed the petition or submitted personal, written statements of concern and support for Miss Holden's case.

The signers of the petition include 3/4 of the professional staff members assigned to the Title IV section of OEEO(the technical assistance section), the division to which Miss Holden was assigned.

"Dear Mr. Seeley:

"We have learned that Miss Anna Holden will be dismissed from the staff of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities on January 7, 1966 because of her failure to cooperate with other staff members in gathering information from the files assigned to her charge and her failure to use sound judgment in handling inquiries and proposals assigned to her for staff work.

"As staff members of OEEO, we would like to express our support for Miss Holden. Each of us knows her, either personally or by reputation, to be most cooperative and objective in gathering information for members of the staff and for educators with whom the staff has put her in contact. Indeed, she has often worked long into the evening on her own time to fill urgent requests for information. The library which she has developed has been invaluable to many of us in the pursuit of our professional duties.

"Not only have we known Miss Holden to be most cooperative in working with us, but we feel that she is one of the most knowledgeable people in the entire country on research materials related to school desegregation. We think it would be exceedingly difficult to find someone to replace her who has her degree of knowledge and personal commitment in the area of civil rights.

"We feel that you would want to know the feelings of respect and gratitude we have for Anna Holden who has made such an important contribution to our work."

Washington Afro-American

JANUARY 15, 1966

Miss Holden's Firing

There is a note of irony in the firing of Miss Ann Holden from her job with the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, because, as her supervisors noted among their other reasons for releasing her, she had a tendency to allow her "emotional reactions" over civil rights, to cloud her judgement.

How strange it is indeed that an office — whose very name would indicate its concern in this area — would release an employee because that employee is too concerned. Strange indeed are the ways of government.

The treatment meted out to Miss Holden forces us to ask the question —what type of employee does the office want? Should the employee be anti - civil rights, or should he just not care about the issue one way or the other? Whatever the answer, it is clear that Miss Holden, a veteran of the civil rights wars, did not fit into the scheme of things.

The betrayal of this type of attitude on the part of the administrators of the office, is reason to pause and wonder aloud whether the powers that rule it are for the cause, or against it.

If they are for what is right and just, they have a very odd way of showing this. Miss Holden's firing might have been justified on other grounds — which is a question we are not prepared to discuss — but to drag in her involvement with the rights issue as a justification, raises doubt about the office's sincerity, and its ability to recognize a paramount fact—that bringing about equality does require "involved" people, and the more "involved," the quicker will come equality.

The office blundered badly in firing Miss Holden and accusing her of being too emotional about civil rights. Little can be expected from an agency with such a narrow-minded attitude.

JET, v.29, No. 16, Jan. 27, 1966, p11

White Rights Advocate Fired From HEW Post

Civil rights and civil liberties organizations are protesting the firing of a former CORE representative from the Health, Education and Welfare Dept.'s Equal Educational Opportunity (EEO) program. Anna Holden, 37, a white educational research and program specialist, lost her $9,000-a-year job despite high professional qualifications and experience because of her "lack of objectivity and emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights," according to David Seeley, acting director of the EEO. HEW officially said that Miss Holden was fired for "inadequate performance of duties assigned to her," but her competence was strongly defended in a petition by other staff workers. Miss Holden claims that her dismissal is part of a HEW attempt to suppress people with active concern about civil rights, noticeable in the department ever since the "Chicago incident" when federal funds were temporarily withheld from the Chicago school system.

Washington Post
January 11, 1966

'Cynicism' Is Denied By Seeley

David S. Seeley, acting director of the Office of Equal Education Opportunity, denied yesterday a charge of "cynicism" about integration.

"I'm sure I never expressed cynicism about integration or I would not be working for it," he said. He noted that as an undergraduate at Yale he was president of the college NAACP chapter and that he has consistently advocated racial justice.

The charge arose from Seeley's dismissal of Anna Holden, a former national secretary of CORE, for "letting her emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights cloud sound judgment."

The charge was made by the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, minister of Lincoln Temple United Church of Christ, at a press conference also conducted by the Rev. Samuel K. Frazier, associate vicar of St. Philip's Episcopal Church.

Mr. Phillips said that Seeley, in a panel talk at Plymouth Congregational Church a year ago, "publicly expressed cynicism about the ability of integration to work in the United States."

The minister, who heard the talk, added, "You begin to question the ability of an agency to enforce civil rights laws when the director of that agency is cynical about the workability of integration and fires those workers who pursue it positively."

Seeley recalled that his talk was on the importance of integration and that he said "it would be a tough struggle and there were many forces working against it."

MISS ANNA HOLDEN

Claims rights work caused her firing

By MARY STRATFORD

An appeal by Miss Anna Holden from her dismissal from the Office of Equal Education Opportunities, U. S. Office of Education, has been turned down by the parent agency, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

Miss Holden, who believes her civil rights activities led to her termination from the post as an education and program specialist, said she plans further appeals.

* * *

THE CONTROVERSIAL dismissal which has stirred protests from several organizations and individuals was upheld by HEW in a letter received by Miss Holden Tuesday stating her "notice of termination fully complied with the requirements of the Civil Service Commission."

Miss Holden had requested a review and hearing and asked to be given the particulars of the reasons for her dismissal from the GS-11 post.

* * *

IN HIS letter recommending Miss Holden's dismissal, David Seeley, acting director of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, gave as reasons her failure to cooperate with other staff members in gathering information from the files assigned to her and her failure to use sound judgment in handling inquiries and proposals assigned to her for staff work.

He also stated she has a tendency to allow her emotional reaction on matters affecting civil rights to cloud her judgment in answering inquiries or proposals assigned to her.

Refuting the "failure to cooperate" charge, three-fourths of Miss Holden's coworkers at HEW signed a petition supporting her.

"Each of us knows her, either personally or by reputation, to be cooperative and obective in gathering information for members of the staff and for educators with whom the staff has put her in contact.

"Indeed, she has often worked long into the evening on her own time to fill urgent requests for information. The library which she has developed has been invaluable to many of us in the pursuit of our professional duties."

* *

TWO RELIGIOUS leaders spoke in support of Miss Holden. Father Samuel K. Frazier,

(Continued on Page 8)

-Miss Holden

(Continued from Page 1)

said "It is of growing concern that laws, official government statements and policies are now 'pro civil rights,' but the people who are most qualified to carry them out are too often kept out or pushed aside."

The Rev. Channing Philips, pastor, Lincoln Temple, United Church of Christ stated he is troubled by "the incongruity of an ageny charged with responsibility to enforce the specifics of a civil rights law not wishing to employ staff who attempt to perform their duties in a positive manner."

Washington CORE members demonstrated at the agency last Friday in protest against the firing. Miss Holden is chairman of CORE's housing committee.

Other agencies which have supported her include the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the United Auto Workers, Ann Arbor CORE and Ann Arbor Democratic Party.

Miss Holden is a former national secretary of CORE, and former midwest regional representative for the CORE National Action Council. She was chairman of the Ann Arbor, Mich. CORE for two years and was also chairman of the Nashville, Tenn. CORE.

She received her B.A. degree in sociology from Florida State University, her M.A.

MJ -

Feed in Research

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

March 4, 1966

Paul,

The Commissioner of Education will issue revised school desegregation guidelines on Monday, March 7. I enclose a copy for your information and use.

Additional copies are available upon request from Mr. David S. Seeley, Assistant Commissioner, Equal Educational Opportunities Program, Office of Education.

With best wishes,

Pete

F. Peter Libassi

March 4, 1966

Mr. Dwight H. Ferguson
Children's Bureau
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

Thank you for your generous check. Our receipt is enclosed.

Under separate cover we are sending you an additional copy of the Winter issue of New South. We will add you to our mailing list for other publications.

We enjoyed having you at our staff meeting. As you saw, we try to keep this bureaucracy very informal. Please come by often.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

REGIONAL OFFICE

WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323
March 2, 1966

~~H.P.A.~~
J. Smith
M-J-file

File U.S. Govt

Please place on interagency mail list
J N S Sub -
JB

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Emory F. Via, the Director of your Labor Program, recently furnished me some excellent research material which has been published by the Council. This was of great assistance to me as I presented a request to our Bureau for a region-wide study of child neglect in the southeastern region.

I was particularly interested in your new journal "New South," and I am attaching a check as I would like to receive this journal on a regular basis. This check is made out for more than the amount of the journal and I would like to have this go to the support of your Council.

Please send the journal to me address as follow, and I would also appreciate receiving an additional copy of the latest issue of the journal: Dwight H. Ferguson, Regional Child Welfare Representive, Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30323.

It was a real treat to me to be able to attend your recent staff meeting for a short time and I will be looking forward to dropping in more often to the Regional Council as I am sure there are many ways in which we can be mutually helpful as we work toward the betterment of families and children in the southeastern region.

Sincerely yours,

Dwight H. Ferguson

Dwight H. Ferguson
Regional Child
Welfare Representative
Children's Bureau

Enclosure: 1
Check $20 2-3-66 nh

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Ferguson, Mr. Dwight H.
Regional Child Welfare Representative
Children's Bureau
Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Dept. of

REGARDING

ltr. to PA dtd March 2, 1966 thanking him for materials &&&&&& furnished him by EVia, requesting materials published by SRC, and enclosing contribution of $20.00

DATE
March 22, 1966
PA's reply dtd. March 4, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See Ed. Lewis and/or Emory Via for original ltr. and green copy.

March 25, 1966

Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Special Assistant to the Secretary
for Civil Rights
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pete:

Here is our list of suggestions of persons who may be of some help as consultants.

A copy is also being sent to Mrs. Idelson.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
cc: Mrs. Evelyn Idelson

File U.S. Govt.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

Rec'd 4/25/66

mt file

REFER TO:

April 22, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear. Mr. Anthony:

I want to thank you for participating in the training program for Public Health Service Compliance Officer personnel. You were most generous of your time and also gracious in being available at inconvenient hours. The panel presentations prompted at least some of the participants to look at themselves and their own attitudes, and I believe they "grew" as a result of this experience. In addition, of course, the panel produced worthwhile factual information concerning the Negro "community" and the temper of Negro People.

It was a pleasure for all of us to have you meet with us and again our thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Nash

Robert M. Nash, Chief
Office of Equal Health Opportunity

PA - fyi + Central files

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To THE HON. JOHN GARDNER 6/16/66 19

Street and No. U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination* WASHINGTON, D. C.

WE STRONGLY SUPPORT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 15th REAFFIRMING HIS DEDICATION TO DECENCY AS SET FORTH IN THE RECENT HOSPITAL GUIDELINES. WE IN THE SOUTH RECOGNIZE THE TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITIES RESTING WITH YOUR OFFICES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE GUIDELINES, AND WE URGE YOU TO CONTINUE THE HIGH STANDARDS WHICH YOU HAVE SET.

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Senders's name and address (For reference) *Sender's telephone number*

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

file
file "U.S. Govt"

JAN 20 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am delighted that you will be able to come to Washington on Friday, January 27, to discuss with us implementation of the Revised Statement of Policies for the coming school year, as well as other related problems having to do with school desegregation.

The meeting will be held in Room 4173 of the HEW Building, 330 Independence Avenue, S.W., beginning at 10:30 a.m. We will adjourn the meeting around 3:30 p.m.

As my Deputy, Mr. Harold B. Williams, has told you we will pay your transportation and per diem at the rate of $16. If you will have your secretary make your travel arrangements we will be in touch with you by telephone for this information so that we can send you a Government Transportation Request for your use in purchasing your ticket. If you prefer to purchase your own ticket, we will, of course, reimburse you. As a matter of record, would you please sign the attached copy of this letter and return it to me in the enclosed envelope.

Questions concerning this meeting may be directed to my secretary, Mrs. Margaret F. Hughes, Area Code 202 - 962-0333.

I hope you will have an opportunity to study the enclosed materials before the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Seeley

David S. Seeley
Assistant Commissioner
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Enclosures

I (do, do not) accept your invitation to attend the meeting. I will purchase my own transportation for which I will be reimbursed, (or) I wish the Government to purchase my transportation tickets. (Cross out the inappropriate statement.)

_____
(signature)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Rec'd 2/3/67

File H. S. Goot N. E. W.

FEB 1 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I discussed the possibility of a delegation representing SRC coming to Washington with Clarence Mitchell. Clarence advised adding a few names to the list and suggested that you write letters to the leaders of the House and Senate asking for specific appointments. He volunteered that if you would send copies of your letters to Marvin Caplan, Marvin would make the follow-up telephone calls and set up the specific appointments for you. This is a service they provide for other organizations and they would be glad to do this for you.

Clarence also suggested that Bill Phillips could be contacted by Marvin Caplan and asked to set up a meeting with a group of the Democratic Study Group. This would give you a meeting with Congressmen such as James Corman, James O'Hara and others.

Clarence said that he would be happy to meet with you and the delegation the night before if he could be of any assistance.

Sincerely yours,

F. Peter Libassi
Special Assistant to the Secretary
for Civil Rights

Enclosure

1. Congresswoman Edith Green (D-Oregon)

2. Congressman Carl D. Perkins (D-Kentucky)

3. Congressman Phil M. Landrum (D-Georgia)

4. Congressman L. H. Fountain (D-North Carolina)

Congressional Leaders

1. Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Montana - S. Majority Leader)

2. Senator Everett Dirksen (R-Illinois - S. Minority Leader)

3. Congressman Gerald R. Ford (R-Michigan - House Minority Leader)

4. Congressman Carl D. Albert (D-Oklahoma - H. Majority Leader)

5. Congressman Melvin R. Laird (R-Wisconsin - Ranking Minority Member of the House Subcommittee on HEW

McCormick -

1. Senator John O. Pastore (D-Rhode Island)

2. Congressman) Flood (Chairman, House Appropriations Subcommittee)

3. Congressman George H. Mahon (D-Texas)

4. Senator Lister Hill (D-Alabama)

1. Congressman James C. Corman (D-California)

2. Congressman James G. O'Hara (D-Michigan)

(These can be contacted through Bill Phillips-Democratic Study Group)

1. Congressman Charles McC. Mathias (R-Maryland
2. Congressman Clark MacGregor (R-Minnesota)
(Young liberal Republican Congressman)

Marvin Kaplan

ABC talks here

FEB 1 1967

File
U.S. Dept. of
Health, Ed + Welfare

February 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Rilling
230 South Carolina Avenue, S. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

For sometime Dr. Mark Chesler, Project Director of Institute for Social Research, of the University of Michigan has been doing some very interesting work in Alabama in both reaction of both school pupils and teachers to desegregated situations. Shortly we will be publishing a study of Dr. Chesler's on the experiences of children.

Recently, during a lunch here in Atlanta, Dr. Chesler informed me that he was going to be in Washington soon. I took the liberty of giving him your name on the assumption that you would find his work of interest and that getting to know each other might be mutually beneficial. I think you could be especially helpful, if you would, in seeing that Dr. Chesler gets to meet the appropriate people that he should know and who should know of his work.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See U.S. Dept of Health, Educ., Welfare

jl

May 19, 1967

The Honorable Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Individual
and Family Services
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Mr. Carter:

This will acknowledge receipt of your invitation to Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, to attend the National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency. Mr. Dunbar is no longer the Director of the Southern Regional Council, and his successor, Mr. Paul Anthony, is in Europe. Nevertheless, the Southern Regional Council is tremendously interested in juvenile delinquency, and initiated a special project on delinquency and corrections in July of last year.

We would be priviledged to be represented at the National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, and will arrange for the Director of our Project on Crime and Corrections, Mr. John O. Boone, to attend.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNWjr/vmb

Enclosure:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Rec'd 5/19/67

May 12, 1967

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Secretary Gardner is calling a National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, Thursday and Friday, June 1-2, in Washington, D.C. The theme of the conference will be "Perspectives on Juvenile Delinquency - Past, Present, and Future."

I cordially invite you to attend this important conference.

In the six years since passage of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, the Federal Government has joined with States and localities in many significant delinquency control projects.

We look to this conference for the opportunity to share experiences in this critical field and to discuss future patterns of public and private cooperation. Conference participants will include individual professionals in the delinquency control field and representatives of Federal, State and local agencies as well as from universities, and voluntary organizations.

We will forward you more detailed information on the conference program. You may use the enclosed form to reply. I hope you will be able to attend.

Sincerely,

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Individual and Family Services

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Enclosures

Ltr from Harold B. Williams of Sept 13, 1967 turned over to H.B. with attachments 9/22/67 mj

File: Govt - U.S. Dept. of H.E.W.

September 22, 1967

Mr. Harold B. Williams
Assistant Director for Special Projects
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education and
Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20901

Dear Harold:

Thank you for the questionnaires. We very much appreciate being kept informed on this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Ref to PA

File
U.S. Gov't
Dept. of Health Educ. & Welfare

October 3, 1967

Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Special Assistant to the Secretary
for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Pete:

I have your message from Paul Rilling about a small meeting at 8:30 p.m. on Wednesday, October 11. The list I have drawn up includes: (1) John Griffin (whom, of course, you suggested). John is out of the city and may or may not be able to be free that evening. I expect he will make a particular effort to be there, however. (2) Ed Stanfield (Director of Field Activities, SRC). (3) John Boone (Director of Project on Crime and Correction, SRC). John is also heavily involved as a private citizen in some of the Atlanta school systems and would bring a particular representation of the city school systems, I think. (4) Connie Curry (whom I cannot confirm but feel certain either she or Winifred will make a particular effort to be there and one of them should be. (5) John Lewis (who has just come to work for us as Director of our Community Organization Project.

This is an embarrassing collection of SRC people, but I assume we do not have to be sensitive to agency representation, but rather a meeting of a few people of different perspectives. There is one other idea that

occurs to me. One of the members of the Atlanta School Board, the best one, is Mrs. Sara Mitchell. I am sure she would keep in confidence any discussion held and it might be interesting to get this experience and non-agency perspective. I will not, however, invite her without your permission. If you think this a worthwhile idea, please have someone call me.

Will let you know of the site later, but I do look forward to seeing you at 8:30 p.m. on October 11.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthon
Executive Director

PA/km

file
U.S. Dept of Health Ed + Welfare

November 13, 1967

Mr. Peter Libassi
Commissioner of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pete:

Surely many people have by now sent you the clipping from the Charlotte Observer on your remarkably candid appraisal of the action of school officials. However, just in case they have not, the enclosed is sent.

With admiration!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

JAN 31 1968

filed in Research 2/13/68 MJ

Dear Paul:

Enclosed please find a copy of the latest Interagency Report which gives you the status of HEW compliance efforts ~~since the last~~ issue was forwarded to you.

We are tooling up to move forward swiftly in the following areas:

1. Compliance reviews will be made of institutions of higher education across the nation within the next two months.

2. In accordance with Secretary Gardner's instructions to this Department and Congress, by March 1 over 250 school districts will be sent letters indicating that unless substantial and meaningful changes are made in the desegregation of their schools they will be cited for hearings and termination.

3. Within the same period of time as stated above new programs will be announced in the areas of health and welfare.

4. Our first reviews of State agencies were begun on Monday of this week.

Secretary Gardner's resignation certainly comes as a jolt to the HEW Office for Civil Rights. His philosophy and commitment to civil rights represented the strongest asset to this Department for carrying on programs of civil rights. Nevertheless, our compliance program will continue without diminution in policy or effort.

If you have any questions or suggestions, please call me.

Sincerely yours,

Harold B. Williams
Assistant Director
Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Enclosure

file
U.S. Govt -
H. E. W -
[redacted] Atlanta folder

LWD:

Talked with Harper who was pleased to know of results of your talk with Hollowell. Harper was available anytime Monday or Tuesday morning to see Hollowell and Ward. Found Don about 11 a.m., who said he would immediately call Harper and arrange for afternoon appointment.

PA

do you know of any reason?

LWD - no

PA

CARL H. HARPER

REGIONAL ATTORNEY

DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE (U. S.)

526-5381

50 SEVENTH STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

TR. 6-3311
X - 5381

File
U.S. Govt
Dept of H.E.W.

February 12, 1968

The Honorable John Gardner
Secretary
Department of Health, Education and
Welfare
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gardner:

We deeply regret your decision to resign. However, please know all of us at the Southern Regional Council are grateful and most appreciative of the outstanding contributions you have made under the most difficult circumstances.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

File

MAR 12 1968

Dear Paul:

Meyer Weinberg has completed a pamphlet for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education entitled, "Race and Place: A Legal History of the Neighborhood School." I thought you would be interested in having a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Harold

Harold B. Williams
Assistant Director
Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Enclosure

file

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Free Post U.S.

MAR 27 1968

Dear Paul:

Please be advised that for the time being the duties of maintaining contact with constituency groups in the civil rights program of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will be assigned to Joshua B. Zatman, Director, Congressional and Public Information Branch, Office for Civil Rights.

I have appreciated the opportunity of working with you in the past. I am sure I shall contact you again in the near future.

If you have any questions or suggestions please contact Mr. Zatman until further notice.

Sincerely yours,

Harold

Harold B. Williams
Assistant Director
Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Spec - U.S. Govt - Health, Educ. + Welfare

April 27, 1967

Mr. Robert P. Bynum
Regional Assistant Commissioner
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Room 404
Peachtree-Seventh Building
50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Bynum:

Thank you for sharing with me the report of the Seminar. I shall read it with interest and will share it with others on our staff. I, too, was very sorry that I was unable to attend the meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Room 404, Peachtree-Seventh Building
50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

SOCIAL SECURITY
ADMINISTRATION

April 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am sorry you were unable to attend and participate in our Equal Employment Opportunity Seminar for medicare contractors held on April 10. The consensus indicates that this was a fruitful meeting.

Although you were unable to attend, we thought you would be interested in receiving a copy of the report which includes a summary of the sessions, a listing of the participants and copies of news stories of the conference. It is enclosed. We hope this will help stimulate more and closer cooperation among company and community representatives in promoting equal opportunity in those insurance and Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizations with medicare contracts.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Bynum

Robert P. Bynum
Regional Assistant Commissioner

Enclosure

See U.S. Govt Dept. of H.E.W.

May 20, 1968

Mrs. Ruby G. Martin
Director
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Mrs. Martin:

Thank you for your letter of May 14th.

While I am delighted at your appointment, I am well aware of how difficult the position will be. If I or any of us here can be of any assistance to you, we will be more than happy to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

May 14, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As you may know, I have been appointed the Director of the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare succeeding Pete Libassi who resigned to accept a position with the Urban Coalition. I also have been named the Special Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights.

Those of us who worked with Pete over the years are well aware of his very considerable contribution to the development and effectiveness of the Title VI compliance program of this Department. He will be missed, but his departure and my appointment does not indicate any change in policy or in the procedures we will be following in enforcing the nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

We in the Office for Civil Rights shall continue, to the best of our ability, to administer the Title VI compliance program in a manner which will merit your support. If you believe there are instances in which the Title VI responsibilities of this Office are not being met, please do not hesitate to let us know. We need and want your advice and counsel.

Thank you in advance for your continued interest in our Title VI compliance program.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby G. Martin

(Mrs.) Ruby G. Martin
Director, Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

See Dept of H.E.W.

May 31, 1968

Mrs. Virginia M. Smyth
Regional Commissioner, SRS
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Virginia:

It was a pleasure being with you earlier this week in San Francisco and hearing your excellent address. I do hope we can get together soon in Atlanta.

Enclosed is a list of current SRC publications. If you wish copies of any of them, simply indicate on the list those you're interested in and return the list to us. We are also adding you to our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - Publications List

MEMORANDUM May 30, 1968

To: Janet Smith

From: Paul Anthony

Please add the following person to our GOVERNMENT mailing list:

Mrs. Virginia M. Smyth
Regional Commissioner
Social and Rehabilitation Service
Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare
Atlanta, Georgia

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE

SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION
SERVICE

May 10, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Civic Organization
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I regret the delay, but enclosed is a copy of the paper which I will present at the National Conference on Social Welfare, May 28.

I had hoped we could get together in Atlanta, but my schedule has been hectic and the one time I called, you were out of town.

I'll be staying at the El Cortez Hotel in San Francisco and will be registered as Mrs. J. M. Smyth. We are leaving the 18th in order to have a little vacation before the Conference.

Sincerely,

Virginia M. Smyth

(Mrs.) Virginia M. Smyth
Regional Commissioner, SRS

Encl.

U.S. Govt

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

file!

JUN 11 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of May 20.

Your personal offer of assistance and that of your staff is appreciated.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby G. Martin

(Mrs.) Ruby G. Martin
Director, Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sally Grant
U.S. H.E.W.

June 23, 1967

Mr. Peter Libassi
Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pete:

The enclosed has probably been called to your attention already. If not, thought you would enjoy it.

We are hearing down here so much criticism of Pete Libassi that you must be even better than I thought.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

June 23, 1967

Mr. David Seeley
c/o Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dave:

If you have not seen the enclosed, I thought you would enjoy it.

Hope all is going well in your new job. Do send us your address so we can keep in touch.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

June 23, 1967

Mr. Harold Howe
Second Commissioner of Education
Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Howe:

The enclosed has probably already been called to your attention. If not, I thought you would enjoy it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

June 22, 1967

EDITORIALS

Ignoramuses

REMEMBER those earlier ignoramuses? Harold Howe II was one of them. David S. Seeley was one of them. Remember?

They were the ignoramuses, villains and whipping boys, combined, of those who like to go on playing the old game of ignoring what the federal courts say about school desegregation. It is a very old, old game. Many of the players in 1967 are the same players who were attempting to fool people, and about the same thing, in 1954, 13 years ago.

The reason Mr. Howe was a villain was that he was head of the U.S. Office of Education, and his office was in charge of enforcing a provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which called for a cutoff of funds to federally-aided programs guilty of racial discrimination. Mr. Seeley was a villain because he was in charge of the Office of Education's enforcement of that 1964 provision of law.

* * *

FIRST THE EDUCATION office declined to issue guidelines for school systems saying in effect that local systems could read the court decisions on advancing desegregation requirements as well as anyone. Some Southern school superintendents howled. How could they know whether their funds were going to be cut off if the Office of Education would not even provide guidelines for what was acceptable?

So guidelines were drawn up. They were a blend of what statutory law, passed by Congress, required, and what federal court decisions required. Then some last-ditch fighters assailed the guidelines. One criticism was that they went beyond the law—meaning statutory law. They did, of course; the country is governed not just by statutory law but also by the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the courts.

Even after the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals emphatically affirmed the legal validity of the guidelines, the same criticisms were made of them.

And of the people whose public duty is to enforce them.

But the villains have changed. Mr. Seeley, a man who seems to be highly regarded in education by everyone except the last-ditch fighters of school integration, has left Washington for a high post in New York. So he is no longer a villain. Mr. Howe is not now a villain because his office no longer is in charge of guidelines enforcement.

* * *

GUESS WHO THE VILLAIN is now. He is, of course, the CURRENT administrator in charge of enforcement.

That would be Peter Libassi, of the Department of Health Education and Welfare.

Mr. Libassi has been in charge of enforcement only since May 9—little more than a month.

Sen. Herman E. Talmadge has just fired a shot at him indicating that Mr. Libassi's thorough incompetence is already apparent and he should be fired unless his incompetence can be explained, or something like that.

If he should be fired—which is not likely—who may the next incompetent ignoramus in charge of enforcement be? We do not know. But we do know he will very quickly be found to be an incompetent, arrogant ignoramus.

Fire Grant
U. S. H.E.W.

July 15, 1968

Mr. Mark Israel
Regional Office
U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Civil Rights Division
50 - 7th Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mark:

I was delighted to learn that you are in Atlanta. I am writing this because I will be out of the office most of the time until the end of the month. After that, by all means let's get together.

In the meantime, welcome again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Rilling
Regional Civil Rights Director
Atlanta Division
Health,Education and Welfare
No. IV
50 - 7th Street, N. E., Room 404
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Paul:

As I hopw you know, I am very anxious to answer your letter which I received yesterday as thoughtfully and as thoroughly as I can. I do not want to attempt to do so until I can discuss this with the two people most responsible for the report. One of those persons is out of town, and I will be out of town for the next several days. However, please know that I shall respond at the earliest opportunity and, thereafter, we can discuss the matter.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

November 8, 1968

Mr. Paul Rilling
749 Peachtree Street, Apartment A-5
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

There is no doubt in my mind that your letter of October 25 was a difficult one to write -- just as I hope you know this letter is equally difficult, perhaps more so.

Enclosed are the memoranda to me from the two authors of the report. I felt they deserved an opportunity to respond to such sweeping and absolute criticism and that I should share with you their responses. However, you understand, of course, that I was apprised of the contents of the report and take full responsibility for it. Further, for both professional -- and in this instance personal -- reasons I would like to respond to it as fully as possible.

You are correct in pointing out that in one instance we did use the term "Office of Education" when we should have used the term "HEW." That error

does not change the thought or the correctness of the statement, but any error made by us is taken far more seriously here than by any critic.

Beyond this, I have read and re-read, three times, this report while awaiting the memoranda from the authors. I would like for you to know the following:

Last year we did not issue a school report, although we employed two senior law students, in addition to our other resources inside and outside the Council. We honestly felt the situation was in sufficient turmoil and that we were not in a position to comment authoritatively. We felt statistics were becoming increasingly insignificant relative to the reactions and manipulations of regional school officials and elected officials throughout the nation and the national commitment.

The current report, therefore, represents not the normal research of two to three months, but that of twelve to eighteen months. It is an attempt at the most serious commentary -- in a somewhat unorthodox manner -- because the times are unorthodox.

I think the thing that baffles me the most is that we -- and to me that comes through clearly -- attempted to defend first the Office of Education (see page 7) and later HEW (see pp. 18, 21, 22).

Whether we referred to the refusal of Congress to grant HEW the personnel it requested and needed, or to the national mood in general, this report was written in sympathy with the honorable persons in government and in criticism of those forces in the country in and out of government who prevented their adequate performance.

Much more importantly, it was written with the most serious concern that a generation of children -- white and black -- are being inadequately education except to the hypocricy of our times and our system.

And, frankly Paul, in our all-too-seldom conversations since your return to Atlanta, I would have surmised, prior to your letter, that you felt the things we said even more strongly than we said them.

We at SRC -- somewhat to my surprise and my relief -- emerge as the moderates. We honest-to-God believe in integration and democracy. But, we are fearful, or rather doubtful, that at this point they can be achieved. One comment on what to do and say in that report is spelled out -- quite well -- in the introduction to it. I urge you to read it again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

MEMORANDUM November 7, 1968

To: Paul Anthony

From: Bob Anderson, Jr.

The thrust of the School Report was to indict the lack of national concern and commitment. Mr. Rilling agrees with us on that point -- but, yet, seems to be chastising us for our impatience with 14 years of tokenism. Incidentally, the 14% figure he mentions is due to high figures in such states as Texas and Tennessee and is not reflective of the pace in the Deep South.

I think we do not minimiz the Green decision -- at least not the potential inherent in it. Our point -- and I stick with it -- is that we have good reason to be pessimistic until we see it work. The year is 1968 and not 1954 and we know only too well the South's capacity for mischief and delay.

His response is natural enough, I suppose. Yet it reminds me somewhat of Mr. Letson's response to the Better Schools Atlanta report, i.e., there are later figures available which we don't mention; there is progress being made of which we are not aware. Meanwhile, he misses the point altogether -- in the same way that the Charlotte News does. We have not attacked HEW (as he feels) nor, really, the South (as the Charlotte paper feels) -- but the hypocrisy of the nation.

Finally, unless I totally err, Glenda talked to HEW, even read them her comments to the effect that "the old pattern seemed to hold," and after a few moments of hesitant sparring, their spokesman said something to the effect of "Yes, you're right. Go ahead and publish it."

I can't be dismayed by his letter any more than I can be dismayed by the editorial criticism of the Charlotte paper. We have not lied. Both have selected the portions to criticise which they feel is reflective upon a special concern of theirs. That is all that I read into either criticism. I think we have to expect that what we publish is sometimes going to bother even our friends.

-o-

MEMORANDUM November 7, 1968

To: Paul Anthony

From: Glenda Bartley

The report said, "New guidelines were issued in December, 1966, but it was about over -- the administrative era." Perhaps I should have mentioned the Office for Civil Rights, but had I done so, I would have had to explain my opinion of the second-class nature of the concept of "civil rights;" as HEW applies it. And, I felt that personal opinions of this nature do not belong in SRC special reports.

I wish now that I had acted on my initial inclination to outline HEW's failure in the matter of record-keeping. I did not do so because I felt that concentrating on numbers often concealed the real issue of elimination of the dual school structure. Now, however, in the face of Rilling's attack, I feel that I should point out that it is November, and there are as yet no official figures on the number of Negro children attending "white" schools, to say nothing of the dearth of data on white children in "Negro" schools. (In 1966 when I called HEW in Washington to inquire about whites in "Negro," schools, the startlement was ludicrous.) Mr. Rilling indicates that information for his six-state compliance district is available -- one wonders to whom.) I think both Bob and I dealt gently with HEW, pointing out more than once that they were charged with enforcing a law which Congress did not really wish enforced and which had built into it fatal contradictions.

As to Rilling's defense of fund termination: the fact that SRC in 1966 (and I co-authored the report he refers to) advocated fund termination does not to my mind refute the 1968 statement that termination "did not prove effective."

Mrs. Ruby Martin stated in October, 1968: "We are fast getting to the point where there is a serious question of whether withholding funds is still a viable tool for achieving desegregation .... The primary job of enforcing school desegregation may well shift to the judiciary in the future."

Wilbur Cohen was reported to be drafting a proposal shifting school desegregation enforcement to the Justice Department. (Atlanta Constitution, November 7, 1968).

SRC has gained the respect of those who work in the cause of human dignity (and of scholars as well) for its honest presentation of the facts. In light of all the myths and distortions circulating in this country now, I think we are obligated to continue to be as honest as we know how to be.

-0-

B.A.
GB.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGIONAL OFFICE
Peachtree-Seventh Building, Room 404
50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

OFFICE OF
THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

October 25, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This is not an easy letter for me to write. My emotional ties with SRC run deep. I realize, too, that my present position must affect my own thinking and objectivity.

I find SRC's report on "Lawlessness and Disorder" to be a most superficial, inaccurate, and harmful document. It is not a research report in the SRC tradition. There are few facts and little objective analysis. The report does reflect effectively the frustration and disillusionment that is endemic in our field. Such attitudes are hard to avoid in these times. But, is this SRC's most effective role? We have a multitude of agencies mirroring despair.

The report writes off as "failure" as of 1966 our efforts at administrative enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Miss Bartley's article reflects little knowledge of our program since that time. Our December 1966 guidelines are mentioned, nothing later. I believe that few school administrators would agree with your implication that there have been no administrative changes of substance since 1966. I certainly would have expected that SRC would know that the program is no longer administered by the Office of Education.

The report correctly critizes us for our earlier approval of the "free choice" approach, but does not bother to note that we no longer accept this approach since our new guidelines of March 1968. The concept of zoning, et cetera, to achieve desegregation is noted as a new court development. HEW has been using this concept since some months before the Green decision by the Supreme Court.

Unadilla and the Hunter family are cited as evidence of the failure of our program. The argument is made, as it so often is by the segregationists, that fund terminations only harm Negro children without advancing desegregation. You will remember that SRC and other civil rights organizations, back in 1966, were urging that funds be terminated to some districts to demonstrate our will to enforce the law. Some 115 districts are now under termination. These actions have had an impact on other districts which have moved toward meaningful desegregation. Over 100 districts in our Southeastern region have filed plans calling for important movement in 1968 and the achievement of the complete elimination of the dual school system by 1969 or, in some cases, 1970. These districts may not keep their promises, but should this be conceded in advance?

Commissioner Harold Howe is quoted, in terms of the Green decision, as suggesting that it means "It's not as necessary now as it formerly was for those of us in education to have a role in civil rights compliance." A statement made by Commissioner Howe many months after he was no longer responsible for civil rights compliance cannot fairly be cited as indicative of present HEW policies.

I cannot disagree with the report's indictment of the lack of national concern and commitment. It is true that the nation's efforts to overcome school desegregation have not yet moved us beyond tokenism, although it could be maintained that the desegregation of 14% of the Negro schoolchildren of the 11 deep Southern states last year is not irrelevant as compared to 2% in 1965.

SRC is, however, doing a real disservice to the cause by minimizing the impact of the Green decision. There are real indications that the courts will, now, finally, require desegregation. The most recent decisions in the Alabama situation, not included in the report, are most hopeful in this regard. Many school boards and superintendents, since the Green decision, have finally proceeded to develop and even implement plans of pairing, zoning, and class reorganization which move well beyond tokenism.

Your report states that nothing has changed, "the old pattern seemed to hold" during the current school year. The report admits that the facts are not yet available to support this conclusion. I am not known as a rosy optimist, but it is a fact that in scores (at least a few score) of school districts this year, for the first time in the deep South, desegregation has moved beyond the token level. SRC's report cites the case of Chesterfield, South Carolina, a district where the board went back on its plan, as a typical case. I could show you five other South Carolina

districts which are significantly desegregating this fall, for the first time. We have much information available, on a district by district basis, showing what is happening across the region. It would be available to anyone wishing to do an analysis of trends and developments.

It is easy to despair in the face of past disappointments. These current efforts, too, may fail. They do constitute new approaches, based on a changed legal situation. To write them off in advance may well constitute a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling
Regional Civil Rights Director
Office for Civil Rights

PMR:jh

December 9, 1968

Mrs. Ruby Martin
Director
Office of Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Martin:

The enclosed clipping has just been called to my attention.

I am distressed at the reporter's interpretation and apparently your own, as, incidentally, Paul Rilling also interpreted it, that the Council in its recent report attacked HEW. We did, to be sure, have several critical observations to make about HEW, but the thrust of our report meant to be, and I believe it was, not a criticism of the Office of Education earlier or HEW currently, but rather a criticism of:

(1) the punitive measures against HEW, specifically, and the school desegregation goal generally by the Congress;

(2) A criticism of the national will once school desegregation became a national rather than a regional matter;

(3) The way in which southern public officials, particularly school administrators, have not only thwarted the orders of the courts, but in many instances have done so with particular cruelty to children.

(I have on my desk today for instance, a report from parents in South Georgia that last Wednesday their two children were arrested on leaving the school bus, charged with being juvenile delinquents on the basis of refusing to sit in the seats assigned to them, placed in the juvenile detention home, refused bond, and as of Saturday, the parents had been denied the opportunity to even speak to them.)

An unnamed official in your Department is quoted as saying that our report was "like helping a drowning man by hitting him over the head with an oar." I think we did, honestly, in our best judgment imply that those people who were attempting to affect school integration were like the drowning man, but we honestly did not believe that we were hitting that man, but rather pointing out who had pushed him in the water, and how tragic that was.

You may well not agree with the above interpretation of our report, but I at least wanted you to know what our purposes were. I have nothing but sympathy for the difficult job which you, Paul Rilling and your other colleages have.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Paul Rilling

file

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

January 13, 1968

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 9 and the newsclips which you brought to my attention.

Please forgive the delay in responding to your letter, but I have been away from the office, out of town a lot, and somewhat involved in preparing for the transition.

Let me say first that I am not the "unnamed official" at HEW who said the Southern Regional Council Report was "like helping a drowning man by hitting him over the head with an oar." Nor does this statement reflect my feelings about your report or its impact. I suppose that if the report had been released at another time the overall reaction would have been somewhat different. It was, however, released almost in the midst of a Congressional fight (over the Whitten Amendment) wherein the very life of the Title VI school desegregation program was on the line. It is sometimes extremely difficult to muster Congressional support for Title VI, period, and if people who are inclined to lend their support feel that what is being accomplished is not really worthwhile (or is not worth fighting for); you can see the dilemma for those of us involved.

While I agree the progress in school desegregation over the last three and a half years has been less than we had hoped for, it is clear to me, at least, some progress has been made and that solid and sound constitutional rights in this area have been well established.

Perhaps it has taken too long to do this, but no matter what happens to any of us personally, or to this program, I believe the courts have made it perfectly clear (some of us like to

think that we have assisted the courts in its clarifications) that constitutional rights will no longer be delayed and I expect that we will see substantial progress made in the next year.

I certainly appreciate your taking time out to explain your position, and I hope that I have also explained our feelings. My reaction to your report was a personal one having nothing to do with you or the Southern Regional Council, for your organization is greatly respected by all of us at the Office for Civil Rights.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby G. Martin

(Mrs.) Ruby G. Martin
Director, Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File
U.S. Grant
H.E.W.

526-5817

Pete Page
Reg. Dir.
~~Atla~~ Office of H.E.W.
Peachtree - 7th Bldg.
Atlanta Ga
526-5817

via air mail special

Mr. Pete Page
c/o Mr. Melville H. Hosch
Regional Director
Office of Health,Education and Welfare
New Post Office Building, Room 712
Chicago, Illinois 60607

Dear Pete:

As you have undoubtedly determined by now, we simply could not get the enclosed material to you before you left town.

As it is, these are Zeroxed copies of our uncorrected proofs. I hope you do find it of interest.

In the report we attempt to say that we have all respect for the personnel at HEW, and we hope a proper understanding of the tremendous, almost impossible, responsibilities they have. Our criticisms which we hope are constructuve are aimed at procedures and results and certainly do not question the integrity of that office. I trust this is reflected in the report.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

PA - for (discussed with Bob T.)

BP

MJ - file

Sandra: for make folder U.S. Govt Section: "Housing and Home Finance Agency"

405 Whitehead Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.
June 13, 1964

Mr. McClellan Ratchford, Regional Director
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Peachtree-Seventh Building
50 - 7th St., N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, 30323

Dear Mr. Ratchford:

On June 10 at a meeting of the Chapel Hill Housing Authority two members of the Atlanta Regional Office of the Public Housing Administration, Mr. William Mann, Project Adviser, and Mr. Bert Adams, Land Adviser, gave recommendations and opinions about parcels of land under consideration as sites for low rent housing. Statements made by Mr. Adams at this meeting were so at variance with my understanding of the aims of federal housing that I wish to bring them to your attention.

At issue in the meeting, which was in the nature of a public hearing, was the consideration of parcels of land other than the original site chosen by the Chapel Hill Housing Authority, the location of which is contested by a large group of Chapel Hill citizens because it perpetuates a very rigid pattern of segregation, racially and economically, consigning our children to schools so segregated. These ditizens as individuals and groups are seeking to have parcels of land in other parts of the town considered. During the course of the discussion about a large tract of land which is about one quarter of a mile from a major shopping center and one mile from grammar school and a junior high school (in the eastern part of Chapel Hill), Mr. Adams made statements expressing the following opinions which he said were his personal opinions: low rent public housing does not belong out in that area which is an area of higher class real estate; there will never be a chance of the planning body of the town approving a low rent housing unit in that section; the town council will not approve it. In conclusion he said, "In my opinion, we don't belong out there."

Such opinions, personal or not, have the effect of official pronouncements when made in a public meeting, and also most importantly have the effect of cutting off consideration of land in any thorough and unprejudiced way before the planning board and the town aldermen have been approached. Such opinions publicly expressed also invite opposition to low rent housing, and fail to present the attractive features of low rent housing. In addition, as a matter of fact, this parcel of land is not entirely surrounded by high value real estate. Yet, because these opinions come from a representative of the Regional Office they bear much weight with the local Housing Authority.

Our town is growing rapidly with several subsidiary centers developing away from the old down town shopping district. It probably is not the primary job of the Housing Authority itself to plan for elasticity in the community's growth but it surely should not act to tend to cut off any consideration of such flexibility.

From the Housing Act of 1949 comes this statement: "The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the nation and the health and living standards of its people require ... the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." Surely finding a location for a "suitable living

environment" for the families who will occupy the public housing to be built here requires a thorough, unprejudged consideration of potentalities, advantages, and disadvantages of all sites and this should be encouraged by the federal agency. Instead, with the approval of the federal agency, the site affording the most depressed environment and the most rigidly segregated environment in our town was approved by the Chapel Hill Housing Authority in an emergency meeting on June 11. (I refer to "Site B", the Gomains Ave. area site.)

I will appreciate hearing from you what remedial action will be forthcoming in the Chapel Hill situation. I of course do not know what it is possible for you to do but I think perhaps the most constructive step would be to have a delay or stay of approval of the sites now under consideration until an enlarged team from your office can review the situation again. On Monday night, June 15 the Board of Aldermen will hold a special hearing on annexation of this site so that if at all possible steps need to be taken on Monday informing the Aldermen and the Housing Authority of whatever action your office may take.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. T. Franklin Williams)

Copies to: Mr. Robert C. Weaver
Housing and Home Finance Agency

Mr. Milton Semer, General Counsel
Housing and Home Finance Agency

Mrs. Marie McGuire, Commissioner
Public Housing Administration

Mr. William Taylor, General Counsel
U. S. Civil Rights Commission

Mr. Hubert M. Jackson
Public Housing Administration

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

File: U.S. Govt Housing & Home Finance Agency (Make folder)

June 15, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: The Staff

Mr. Robert A. Thompson (BOB), formerly Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League has a new address as follpws:

Assistant to the Regional Director
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Peachtree Seventh Building, Rm. 646
50 - 7th Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

PLEASE SEE THAT HE IS CHANGED ON ALL OUR MAILING LISTS.

NOTE: Mr. Harold N. Arnold is now Executive Secy. of the Atlanta Urban League office.

NEW ADDRESS:

Mr. Robert (Bob) A. Thompson
Assistant to Regional Director
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Peachtree Seventh Building
50 - 7th Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323
Rm. 646

Tel. 876 - 3311, Ext. 5819

6/11/64

NOTE: Harold N. Arnold is Executive Secretary of Atlanta Urban League

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Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Bob T

Assistant to the Administrator
for Intergov Relations

Room 646

June 15, 1964

Mr. Robert A. Thompson
Assistant to the Regional Director
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Peachtree Seventh Building, Room 646
50 - 7th Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I am enclosing, at Mr. Dunbar's request, a copy of Mrs. T. Franklin Williams's letter of June 13 to Mr. Hatchford.

Congratulations on your new appointment.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

MEMO

to NM

From: ~~NMB~~ MMJ

Nov. 3, 1965

Tele U.S. Govt Housing & Home Finance Agency

I got a telephone call from a man at Housing Home Finance Agency this morning who wants to be put on our mailing list. He wants our mailings to' come to him at his home address: Would you oblige, please?

Mr. A. Y. Brown
115 Biscayne Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

thanx, mmj

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File U.S. Govt → make folder

MS - file

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

JAN 27 1967

Mr. Moreland Griffith Smith FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thanks for your letter of December 29 and copy of the pamphlet, "A Home of Our Own," which you so kindly brought to our attention.

We note that Assistant Secretary-Commissioner Brownstein who is responsible for the administration of the Federal Housing Administration's complaint procedures has already made available to you information thereon which should serve to clarify your questions.

We believe it could have been mutually helpful to all concerned had our Department been given the opportunity to react to your manuscript and provide clarifying information before, rather than after, its publication. I am sure you will recall that during the course of your previous conversation with the Secretary and me concerning mutual liaison between your and our organizations, you were given a list of our Department's Top Intergroup Relations Officers and urged to keep in close touch with these officers based in Atlanta, Georgia, where your organization too is based.

Sincerely yours,

B. T. McGraw

B. T. McGraw
Assistant to the Secretary
(Intergroup Relations)

Moreland Smith
Ret MMJ

File: U. S. Govt

January 25, 1968

Mrs. Pauline O. Dement
Department of Housing and Urban
Development
Peachtree Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mrs. Dement:

By now you will have learned that I am unable to attend your meeting tomorrow and have to fall back on our agreement to have Moreland Smith in my place.

I regret any inconvenience this may have caused you and will be more than happy to come at some future date should you wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

HUD-96 (11-63)
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DEPARTMENT OF
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

TO : Housing Interns, Region III

DATE: January 24, 1968

FROM : Pauline O. Dement, Chairman
Bob Dennis, Recorder

SUBJECT: Housing Intern Seminar - Friday, January 26, 1968
Urban Renewal Project Management and Human Renewal in Housing

PART I - URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT MANAGEMENT

8:05 Assemble in Motor Pool

Upon arrival at the West End Urban Renewal Site Office, Mr. Wilson McClure, Project Manager, will meet and talk with us in the Idea House. Mr. McClure will then use the West End Project for physical demonstration of aspects and problems of management.

12:00 Depart for Peachtree-Seventh Building

Lunch

PART II - HUMAN RENEWAL IN HOUSING

1:30 Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

2:30 Break

3:00 Mr. George L. McCown, Director
Georgia Council of Human Relations

Pauline O Dement
Pauline O. Dement, Chairman

Cindy Hung (Acting Recorder)
Bob Dennis, Recorder

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
PEACHTREE SEVENTH BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30323

REGION III

January 24, 1968

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Code 3RP

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a copy of the schedule for Friday's seminar which is being sent to Department of Housing and Urban Development and Atlanta Housing Authority interns.

We are certainly looking forward to meeting you and talking with you at 1:30 p.m. in Room 658 of the Peachtree Seventh Building on Friday.

Sincerely,

Pauline O. Dement

Pauline O. Dement

FILE

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
PEACHTREE SEVENTH BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30323

January 19, 1968

REGION III

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for consenting to participate in a seminar on January 26, 1968, for the Department of Housing and Urban Development interns. I will look forward to meeting you in Room 658 of the Peachtree Seventh Building shortly before 1:30 p.m. on that day.

The group to which you will be speaking is composed of twenty-four housing interns, recent college graduates who are training for careers in urban development. A portion of the interns are technicians--city planners, real estate men, lawyers, and engineers. Other interns are generalists--primarily Urban Renewal or Housing Assistance field representatives.

Every two weeks an intern conducts a seminar on some phase of urban affairs so that we can reach outside of the scope of our individual jobs for a broader understanding of urban problems. Since "human renewal" has become a serious objective of HUD, I would like for you to talk with us about (1)ways in which human rehabilitation can be incorporated along with physical rehabilitation, and (2) what the Southern Regional Council does toward alleviating the housing problem and the human problems which accompany it. We would also appreciate your critical comments on HUD programs and their implementation. As trainees for the Department we also are inquisitive and critical, and seek ways to improve the programs and ourselves as their administrators.

Again let me thank you for consenting to talk with us. I have read publications of the Southern Regional Council and have heard you speak, and feel that you will be quite a stimulus to our group. Our seminars are usually informal and full of dialogue, so perhaps through our discussion we can partially reciprocate the learning experience which you will be giving to us.

Sincerely,

Pauline O. Dement

Pauline O. Dement

File Govt - U.S. Housing & Dept. of Urban Development

July 31, 1968

Mr. Robert A. Thompson
Deputy Assistant to the Regional
Administrator, Region III
Department of Housing and Urban Development
Peachtree Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Bob:

Needless to say, we are more than anxious to do anything we can to help in the situation in Tifton, which you describe in your letter of July 29th. I am passing your letter on to Moreland Smith, who assures me he will be in touch with you shortly to discuss this. He is willing also to make a trip to Tifton.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

April 17, 1969

Mr. James A. Stolpestad
Technical Assistance Representative
Office of Equal Opportunity
Department of Housing and Urban
Development
Peachtree Seventh Building, Room 752
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Stolpestad:

Our Annual Meeting is held in November; date for this year not selected. I don't think, however, that this event would be of particular interest to you.

There are state Councils on Human Relations in each of the Southeastern states. Each of them holds an annual meeting along with other program meetings during the course of the year. I think a relationship with some of them would be particularly productive. Attached is a list of them.

If you have not done so, you might want to make your inquiry with the Atlanta office of the

American Friends Service Committee, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

We are now establishing in four states Service Centers at colleges for newly elected black officials and others. You might wish to be in touch with them. A list of these is attached also.

I hope this is of some help to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
PEACHTREE SEVENTH BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30323
Room 752

REGION III
Office of Equal Opportunity

April 16, 1969

IN REPLY REFER TO:

3SO

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to follow up our phone conversation this morning concerning significant meetings of your organization and other civil rights groups in the Southeast during the next year.

Our Central Office is preparing a calendar of events and meetings of national importance that might provide a forum for Housing and Urban Development officials to speak out on current issues relating to urban affairs. We would be very grateful for your help in gathering together this information.

For any meetings that you feel would be appropriate, we would like the name of the sponsoring organization, the make up of its membership, the date, the place, and (if available) the name of the conference.

Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Stolpestad

James A. Stolpestad
Technical Assistance Representative

FAIR HOUSING: What It Means To You

A guide for owners, buyers and renters

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
Washington, D.C. 20410

The purpose of the Fair Housing Law is to provide every person in the United States, an equal opportunity to choose housing suited to his needs and financial ability, wherever he would like to live.

To this end, the Fair Housing Law (Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968) bans discrimination based on race, religion, color, or national origin in the sale or rental of housing covered by the law.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410
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SR/MP-69
July 1969

Housing Covered by the Law

When the Fair Housing Law went into effect April 11, 1968, it immediately covered the following kinds of housing *only* if federally assisted:

- Housing for five or more families.

- Multi-unit housing for four or fewer families if the owner does not live in one of the units.

- Single-family houses not owned by a private individual—for example, tract housing developments.

- Single-family houses owned by a private individual who owns more than three houses or who sells more than one house, within any two years, in which he was not the most recent occupant.

(Federally assisted means, in general, housing with mortgages insured by FHA or VA after Nov. 20, 1962, and outstanding as of April 11, 1968; public housing; housing in urban renewal areas; and housing owned by the Federal Government.)

After Dec. 31, 1968, the housing in the above categories will be covered by the law even if *not* federally assisted. (This means, for example, that all housing sold by tract developers will be covered.)

There can be no discrimination in the advertising of housing for sale or rent. For example, housing can not be advertised as unavailable to members of minority groups. This applies now to all federally assisted housing and to all other housing after Dec. 31, 1968.

After Dec. 31, 1969, the law will also cover *all* other housing except where a private individual owner sells or rents a single-family house without using a real estate broker.

The law will not apply to the rental of apartments in buildings for up to four families if the owner occupies one.

Religious organizations or private clubs *may* give certain preferences to their members for housing or lodgings operated for other than a commercial purpose.

Your Rights Under the Fair Housing Law

The law protects you from the following acts where they are based on discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin:

Now

- Refusal to sell, rent, or deal with any person.

- Making different terms and conditions for buying or renting housing.

- Advertising that housing is available only to certain persons.

- Denying housing is available for inspection, sale, or rental when it really is.

- "Blockbusting"—persuading someone to sell housing by telling him minority groups are moving into the area.

Additional Acts Covered After December 31, 1968

- Denying or making different terms for home loans, by commercial lenders such as banks, and savings and loan associations.

- Denying to anyone the use of real estate services, such as a broker or multiple listing service.

Enforcement

Any person who believes he has been discriminated against by an act covered by the Fair Housing Law should:

A. Write to the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

- Complaints must be made within 180 days of the alleged discrimination.

- HUD will investigate, and if it finds that the complaint is covered by the law and is justified, it will try, by informal methods, to end the discrimination.

- In those cases where State or local law gives at least the same protection as Federal law, HUD will first ask the State or local agency to try to resolve the problem.

- If HUD's efforts or the State or local efforts do not resolve the complaint, the individual may take the matter to court.

B. Or take the complaint directly to court (within 180 days of the alleged discrimination) whether or not a complaint was filed with HUD.

Information about possible discrimination in housing may also be given to the Attorney General of the United States. If his investigation indicates that a pattern or practice of discrimination exists, he may bring a court action to stop it.

In addition to the new fair housing title, Federal law also prohibits any racial discrimination which interferes with the right to sell, rent, lease, buy, inherit or convey any kind of housing, regardless of whether that housing is covered or exempt under Title VIII. This right was made clear in the Supreme Court decision of Jones *v.* Mayer (*June 1968*) *and is enforceable by private action in court.*

Interference with an individual's rights under this law is illegal. This means that no one may threaten or prevent another person from buying, renting, or selling housing or from making a complaint of discrimination. If violence is threatened or used, criminal prosecution may result.

All HUD Offices (including FHA field offices) will be available to assist in the filing of complaints. For further information or to find the HUD office nearest you, write to:

Fair Housing
% U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, D.C. 20410

REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20410

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are in the process of planning an educational program for national organizations and would find it very helpful if you could provide us with your 1969 schedule of national,regional and State conferences.

If possible, in addition to dates and cities, we would greatly appreciate information regarding estimated attendance, hotel and the name of your contact person.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel J. Simmons

Samuel J. Simmons
Assistant Secretary

November 2, 1954

Mr. Robert S. Kieve
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

Excellent news! Rabb should be very happy.

Just to show you how pleased I am, I'm adding you to the mailing list of our little publication "New South," so that you will have more material that you don't have time to read.

Once you've recuperated from your pre-election exertions, and have cased your new duties, let me know how I can be useful.

Regards.

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rf

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1954

Dear Hal,

Thanks for your note and for the attached "Proclamation." I'll be sure to show it to Max, and I'm certain that he will be as stirred as I was by its distinguished prose.

I must apologize for not having acknowledged your "Answers For Action." This handsome little pamphlet has gotten itself into all kinds of interesting parts of my desk and at the bottom of innumerable piles of not very high level papers. To date, it has not been read. I promise you that it will be.

I don't suppose that I've told you that your particular little wish has come true: as I write this I am already practically a minion of Maxwell M. Rabb. He asked for my hand some months ago, I blushingly accepted -- but was unable to join him until the end of the present campaign. My plans call for a brief vacation after elections, and then I shall be taking up housekeeping in the West Wing.

I don't see how we can help getting together frequently on matters of mutual irritation.

Sincerely,

Bob

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 1, 1955

Mr. Robert S. Kieve
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

I knew you were joining the USIA but I'm glad to get some direct word about your activities. (Not that you told me specifically what you are doing, come to think of it.) The Report to Congress that you sent was very interesting and very encouraging.

No doubt at all that what we are trying to do relates -- or should relate -- to what the USIA is doing. After all, I understand that the people of other countries are moderately interested in the status of minority groups in the U.S. You are supposed to be receiving our publications, but your recent move and your lack of reading time may have caused you to overlook them. I am enclosing a pamphlet that I wish you would take five minutes to flip through. Some of the folks in the Ford Foundation raised the question of its possible usefulness in U.S. Information work. I am not at all sure that it would be considered appropriate for widespread distribution, but I should think it would be a useful background document for many of the staff people who must deal with questions of civil rights and race relations. Anyhow, I submit the matter to your judgment.

I'm also sticking in the two latest issues of our monthly, New South, just so you'll see what I'm spending my time on.

On one of the many frequent occasions when time hangs heavily on your hands write me what you, Bob Kieve, are doing to tell our story to the world. Can't think of anybody who could do it better.

The best as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf
encl. Changing Patterns
New South, Feb.
New South, March

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

March 25, 1955

Dear Hal:

Have I told you that I am now at USIA? I have been here officially since January 24 -- but possibly I have already told you that.

You might have some fun thumbing through the Semi-Annual Report which I enclose. I'm pretty much impressed with what this Agency -- despite the stylish criticism directed at it -- has been doing. I thought you might like to read up on it.

Your work today may still be a lot closer to what's being done by Max Rabb than it is to what USIA is doing, but it vaguely occurs to me that there might be some tie-up between your civil liberties work and our efforts to tell the American story abroad. No reason for us getting a divorce just because I'm no longer an active civil-rightser myself.

Hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

Bob Kiene

Attachment
As stated

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 19, 1955

Mr. Robert S. Kieve
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

Thanks for bringing our material to the attention of Dr. Hammond. If that's bureaucracy, I'm for it. Naturally, we'd like to work with Dr. Hammond in any way that would be helpful to the information program.

You might be interested to know that we are performing something of an international relations function. We get a steady stream of foreign visitors traveling in the country under private or governmental exchange programs, and we devote a lot of time to interpreting the Southern scene to them, with emphasis on the positive aspects of race relations in the South.

You can be sure that I will jump at the next opportunity to be in Washington for a get-together. Meanwhile, let me know (or ask Dr. Hammond to) any time the Council can usefully tie in with your work.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

April 12, 1955

Dear Hal:

Thanks very much for your letter and for the material which you enclosed. I have brought it to the attention of Dr. Francis Monroe Hammond, who is the Agency's adviser on minority affairs. I have already discussed with him the possibility of his making use of the material, and he expressed his interest in receiving it. Naturally, he is quite familiar with the Southern Regional Council.

I hope you don't feel that I am being bureaucratic in passing this information along to someone else. That action, rather than reflecting a lack of interest, is the result of my recognizing that an expert ought to be assigned to it. Dr. Hammond told me that he'd like very much to work through you. Why don't you come up and see us sometime?

Sincerely,

Bob

Seriously, Flubaak, don't you think you need another Washington trip? You're probably all mobilized from lack of interpretation!

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I have looked through "Changing Patterns". It looks stimulating.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

Rec'd 3-28-56

March 14, 1956

Dear Hal:

Here's the latest report on how we are keeping occupied. It makes for pretty easy reading and may be worth a few minutes of your time. Hope you can give it a quick scan.

You must be pretty occupied these days, but please try to drop me a line to let me know how you're doing.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert S. Kieve
Special Assistant
to the Acting Director

Attachment
Fifth Review of Operations

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

September 18, 1956

Dear Hal:

Here's our latest semiannual report. Hope you have time to glance at it. We'd certainly appreciate any suggestions or comments.

- FBI 1/18/57

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert S. Kieve
Special Assistant
to the Deputy Director

For the time being I'm spending most of my time back at the W. H., helping out on a growing pile of work. What's new with you? Like Hughes' article?

Enclosure

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 7 1956

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1956

Dear Fluback:

I'm very much excited by news of your impending presidency. Please send me a formal announcement when it takes place, won't you?

Emmet was very much pleased to learn of your reaction to the Fortune article. He wants to be remembered.

Your integration report has not yet arrived. I look forward to seeing it. sent 11/7

All the best.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Kieve

Robert S. Kieve

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

U.S. Govt

May 29, 1957

The U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send me one copy of The Federal Budget in Brief - Fiscal Year, 1957, published by the Bureau of the Budget. I am enclosing .25¢ in stamps to cover the cost of this item. I would also like to obtain a copy of The American Workers Fact Book, 1956, published by the Department of Labor. If there is a charge for the Fact Book please bill me, or if this is not possible, please let me know the amount per single copy.

Please send both publications to me in care of the following address:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Yours truly,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosure

ltr.

August 9, 1957

Miss Peggy Ann Miller
Assistant Chief
U. S. Information Agency
New York Service Section, ICS
250 Hudson Street
New York 13, New York

Dear Miss Miller:

In reply to your letter of August 6, 1957, concerning your request for copies of NEW SOUTH, we are mailing then today under separate cover. Evidently your earlier order was misplaced. We do appreciate your interest in our publications; and if you need additional material, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

RECEIVED AUG 8 1957

IN REPLY REFER TO

250 Hudson Street

ICS/NY

August 6, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On January 24, 1957 , Purchase Order # 10686-57 (NY) was sent to you. The items listed below are still outstanding. We would appreciate your advising us if the items are still available and when we might expect to receive them.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Peggy Ann Miller

Peggy Ann Miller
Assistant Chief
New York Service Section
ICS

Item no.	Articles or services	Quantity
1	New South (Sample Copies)	75

I N V O I C E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

January 6, 1958.

Mr. Sedrick A. Coldbeck
Book Procurement Section
United States Information Agency
N. Y. Service Staff - ICS
250 Hudson Street
New York 13,
New York.

Purchase Order No.
Date shipped: 12636-57(ST)
Aug. 9, 1957.

75 sample copies of New South @ 20 ¢ per copy

$ 15.00

Certified, just and correct, and payment has not been received.

Ruth Green Alexander
Secretary - Treasurer

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

N. Y. Service Staff - ICS
250 Hudson Street
NEW YORK, NEW YORK (13)

December 2, 1957

IN REPLY REFER TO

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

We find that this office has not received an invoice for our Purchase Order No. 10686-57(NY), in the amount of $15.00, placed on 1/24/57.

Upon receipt of your invoice in quadruplicate, duly certified in ink by an authorized official, prompt consideration will be given toward payment.

Very truly yours,

Sedrick A. Goldbeck
Sedrick A. Goldbeck
Book Procurement Section

Certified, just and Correct, and payment has not been received.

Ruth Hanna Alexander
Signed
Secretary-Treasurer

Date: 1-6-58

RECEIVED MAY 22 1959

May 16, 1959

Airmail

Mr. Bernard D. Wiesman
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
U. S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bernie:

Thank you so much for your letter of May 14 and the enclosures dealing with U.S.I.A. activities overseas concerning the U. S. racial problem.

Harold Fleming, Director of the Southern Regional Council, and I shall study this material together. You may expect to hear from us as soon as we are able to work out a time schedule for the talk we hope to have with you and the U.S.I.A. Director, George Allen.

I, too, enjoyed very much the brief visit with you last Tuesday and I do look forward to more of same.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

David E. Warner

DEW:lk
cc: Harold Fleming ✓

Dear Harold —
Will call you after I return from the current NY meeting. I'm not sure that Bernie has sent us what we want, but we'll see.
Regards,
Dave
5/20

Memo from David E. Warner

7/24/59

Dear Harold --

Here's the stuff from Bernie Wiesman.

It doesn't tell us much of what we want to know.

The very fact that I got bounced from office to office in my brief quest up there indicates to me

Memo from David E. Warner

that, regardless of what U.S.I.A. may be doing overseas through press, radio, info-centers, etc., nobody at Hq. level knows a hellova lot about it.

Far as I'm concerned we don't need any more evidence to justify our approach to allen.

Regards,

Dave

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1959

Dear Dave:

It was very enjoyable to have a chance to chat with you again and to learn of the good work which you are doing in the ten southeastern states.

Your organization is in a position to do much to promote the understanding which a government agency could not effectively promote in certain fields. I am attaching a poor thermofax which provides the kind of information I think you want. In addition to that, I send you some discussion papers which we sent to the field in the hope of enabling both our American and local employees to be equipped to answer questions or take part in discussions.

Sincerely,

Bernie

Bernard Wiesman
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Attachments:

1. Racial Incidents in the United States
2. Set of Minorities Discussion Papers

Mr. David M. Warner
Southeastern Regional Director
Foreign Policy Association
614 Candler Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Discussion Paper ----- Minorities - #1

Why didn't the Supreme Court decision bring an immediate end to segregation in the public schools in all those sections of the United States where it existed in 1954?

The shortest answer is that the Court itself knew that such segregation could not be abolished by one decision. It asked the parties concerned to discuss what steps should be taken to carry out the policy decision of 1954. In 1955, after long study, the Supreme Court returned the several cases to the District Courts for such further action as would bring about compliance, with "all deliberate speed", in the public schools.

The Court thereby indicated its recognition that substantial readjustments would be necessary and that considerable time might possibly be required before specific communities could end the legal and physical conditions of segregation in the schools. Under the 1955 decisions, the district courts would be responsible for seeing to it that appropriate steps would be taken as quickly as practicable to achieve compliance. Accordingly, the district courts are proceeding, with due process of law, to carry out the Supreme Court's decisions.

The progress which is being made can best be facilitated by an understanding of the really substantial physical as well as emotional barriers to be removed...

In colonial days, many white people from Europe came to the New Land as "indentured servants" bound to serve a stated period before earning freedom. Once free, most of them left their former masters and sought their own farms. Later traders visiting Africa picked up Negroes sold as slaves by native chiefs or recruiters and delivered them chiefly to the Southern states where plantation labor was sorely needed.

Even when the United States Constitution of 1787 was being adopted, the problem disturbed many. Some leaders, including some Southerners, were against slavery but felt it could not be ended at that time. The Constitution provided a compromise: that Congress could not prohibit the importation of slaves earlier than 1808 (Article I, Section 9), and that a person "held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof" who escaped into another state should be delivered up to the person to whom the service is due (Article IV, Section I). The Missouri Compromise in 1820 restricted the westward spread of slavery in new territories. Its repeal in 1864 and the Dred Scott decision in 1857, which ordered the return of a runaway slave from a "free state" to his owner in a "slave state", brought about bitter feelings and divided the Nation.

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 seemed to Southern leaders proof that the Northern states were prepared to outlaw slavery, upon which they believed their economy and social institutions depended. The War Between the States followed. In 1863, Lincoln proclaimed the Emancipation of slaves in the states then in revolt. In 1865, the 13th Amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude in the United States and gave Congress the power to enforce this article. In 1868, the 14th Amendment was ratified. Section I says:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The 15th Amendment ratified in 1870 provided:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

"The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

It is worth noting that slavery in the South had not been exclusively on a racial basis. A few Negroes themselves had been slave-owners. After the Civil War, in the political and economic chaos which followed, the Reconstruction Period was marked by considerable mismanagement in some areas by the freed slaves and by Northern politicians and others who became known as Carpetbaggers. This brought a reaction in which many Southern whites grouped together as vigilantes to restore "law and order". Often this involved terrorization through the Ku Klux Klan. The old "cotton economy" of the plantation was restored and the freed Negroes for the most part worked on the land on a subsistence basis, looking to the plantation owner for food, housing and care, very much as in the pre-Civil War days except that the ex-slaves were free men and entitled to the rights of citizenship.

Some pressed for those rights. In the historic decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the XIII, XIV and XV Amendments were complied with if "separate but equal" facilities were provided to the Negroes.

In the plantation states, under local law and custom, segregation was dominant. This meant segregated schools, churches, meeting places, busses, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, stores, etc. Most of all it separated the races on a social basis. In general, most Southern employers accepted a paternalistic responsibility for the welfare of their employees and their families. Most of the poor white people in the area, who faced possible job competition from Negroes, relied rather desperately upon the color line for their own job protection. Trade unions in the South were generally segregated, often by apparent choice of both races.

Lack of education, the habit of dependence, lack of economic incentive, and fear of an economically costly bad reputation tended to make most Negroes in the South accept the status quo without complaint. The one-party political system long permitted maintenance of control by white citizens even when in an actual minority.

When industrialization began in the South during and after World War I, it caused substantial shifts in the population and also brought changes in outlook. The process accelerated greatly during World War II. From the paternalistic plantation to the competition of the city, new needs were felt and new opportunities were recognized. "Separate but equal" rights proved to be expensive and rarely equal. A new generation began to ask the dignity of equal and non-separate citizenship.

A series of voluntary actions and court decisions opened the way. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pressed a series of suits in the Federal Court. Step by step many colleges were opened to students regardless of race. Interstate transportation was ordered on a non-segregated basis. Fair employment practices were written into Federal government contracts, and the National Urban League pressed for an opening of private employment. Army, Navy and Air Force, under Presidential order, ended the practice of segregation. Whites and Negroes were together in the service of their country in opposing Communist aggression in Korea. The color line has been eliminated

completely by the men and women in uniform. Furthermore, the step has been taken with a minimum of difficulty. The long-established racial barriers in restaurants in the Nation's Capitol fell when the Courts upheld a very old ordinance against such discrimination.

In 1954, the same Supreme Court which had decreed "separate but equal" formally reversed the decision of Plessy vs. Ferguson and ordered an end to segregation of public facilities. As was to be expected, the court decision brought much opposition. An end of compulsory segregation seemed to many to be the beginning of forced integration. Costs of the change seemed heavy to many on both sides.

Many leaders in the South complain that this is Judge-made law. They argue that it is an usurpation of federal authority. They warn it might be followed by compulsory "mixing of the races". Some question the validity of the post-Civil War Amendments. Many claim education is a local matter within the control of the state. Some claim it will bring a lowering of educational levels and an increase in disease. Some state and local authorities, responsible for maintenance of law and order, claim desegregation now would invite violence and disorder.

In the many cities such as Washington, Baltimore, Kansas City, St. Louis and Louisville, where legal segregation has been ended, the necessity for a period of adjustment has been shown. But so also has the feasibility of that adjustment been demonstrated.

While state programs to avoid integration have been adopted in several states where the problem is most severe, civil rights legislation made unprecedented progress in the 1957 session of the Congress. These efforts have been focused upon removing obstacles which currently interfere in some places with the right of minority groups to vote. The enactment of this legislation, after sober and constructive debate and serious efforts to achieve basic agreement, is a new milestone towards complete equality.

Discussion Paper ----- Minorities - #2 RACE AGAINST TIME

(Article which appeared in The Economist, published in London, England, October 5, 1957. Reprinted here by USIS with permission. Authorization for republication should be obtained directly from The Economist.)

Racialism begins at home. One need look no further than the classified advertisements in a typical local weekly paper in London. A sizeable proportion of the offers of flats or rooms stipulate that the tenant must be "European," "white," "English," "Protestant" and so on. And there is no easy let-out for the complacent in the notion that landladies are by definition a narrow-minded lot. The mere fact that the children have grown up and left home, so that the top floor or the back bedroom can be sub-let, does not at once fill a naturally charitable and intelligent Londoner with prejudices against such of his fellow men as happen to be Africans, Asians, West Indians, Irishmen, Jews or Catholics. The prejudices were there all the time.

The tiny mirror of the small-ads pages reflects, in a disturbing way, the general state of race relations. Taking the world as a whole, racial prejudice has undoubtedly diminished in our generation. Countless barriers of bigotry are sagging; many have collapsed. Wherever an attempt is made to throw up bigger barriers--as in South Africa--the act stands out as one of appalling and spectacular folly. Although in many cases and places progress is so slow as to be barely perceptible, the trend is clear; so clear that usually it is only the backthrust against it that makes "news." A thousand people have heard of Mr. Faubus's attempt to keep nine Negro children out of an Arkansas school for every one who knows of the advance of desegregation in the American South. In India, headlines are less apt to refer to the campaign to raise the status of "untouchables" than to violent but isolated reactions against it. It is "news," too, when a British colonial official behaves uncouthly, apparently for racialist reasons, or a West African politician sets out to humble a white man or two, reasoning, like Mr. Faubus, that malice is a first-class vote-getter.

It is better so. The spotlighting of nasty situations is one of the jobs of a free press. True, the spotlighting is uneven. Little Rock, and the United States as a whole, have paid in ignominy the price of the American news services' worldwide impact--and of their honest insistence on getting out the news whatever the effect on their country's reputation. Much nastier things can happen in other continents without attracting any serious attention; a powerful government may see to it that hardly an echo of the sufferers' cries is heard, or the area may simply be remote and illserved by the press. But there is no more to be gained by lamenting this unfairness than by indulging the instinct that leads men to slap each other in the eye with motes and beams. Racial prejudices are far too widespread for any nation to preen itself.

Racialism affects the individual directly as no other issue does. When it is the colour of a man's skin, the shape of his nose, eyes or hair, that determines his status, the immediacy of the resulting tension can be fully appreciated only by one who has felt the whip of social scorn. Perhaps it is a pity that only a minority of the world's inhabitants have to go about their daily business uncertain whether the next encounter will bring a fresh humiliation. The experience would be salutary for the unthinking millions who are unaffected. At least they might then come to understand why the reactions of the victims of prejudice are often so bitter, their over-sentitiveness sometimes ludicrous.

But racialism is, of course, no mere outcrop of basic human nastiness. It is also a well-tried political and economic weapon, used to drag down a too successful minority (Jews in Nazi Germany, Hindus in East Pakistan); to uphold a privileged minority (in various parts of Africa and South America); or to hold down a minority (Negroes in the US South, untouchables in parts of India) so that instead of competing for the better jobs it will provide cheap manual labour.

There is room sometimes for a certain sympathy for groups that resort to this weapon out of fear. It is understandable that men should react sharply if they see their welfare or status threatened from either below or above. But in many cases, this instinctive reaction first takes a vaguely racial form, and then is crystallised into a declared and deliberate policy. Hence apartheid and untouchability, Andean serfdom and Jim Crow laws; hence the segregated life and colour bar that have marked and marred so much of British rule overseas; hence the pogroms of tsarist and Stalinist Russia; hence such ultimate horrors as Auschwitz. Sympathy for a community frightened into intolerance stops short when it begins systematically to widen the very gulf between it and its fellow men that originally aroused its fears.

Moreover, racialism used as a weapon is not only an unlovely thing: it is a poison-tipped boomerang seldom used without eventual injury to the user. This was never more true than today, when equality and nationalism are perhaps the two most widespread of all political concepts. Politicians in South Africa, in America's Deep South, or in Britain's (which is Rhodesia), may sometimes quite reasonably complain of the facile advice offered them from a distance. But they will have no reason to complain, if they follow the road of racial intransigence to ultimate disaster, that they were not warned in good time. Nothing in the world is easier to foresee than the end of that road.

There should, however, be no illusion that this is merely a problem for those politicians. If their areas of jurisdiction were stricken from the map, the problem of racialism would still be with us. And the disturbing feature of its present phase is that, while discrimination is slowly lessening in many parts of the world, in certain areas new tentions are being felt. Even in Brazil,

that giant melting-pot which has enjoyed an enviable reputation of freedom from racial arrogance, there are now portents. Generally, what is happening is that groups of men who have long been such docile and resigned underdogs that the top dogs have felt virtually no challenge from them--economic, political, or social--are now astir. In tropical Africa the tribesman, in the Andes the Indian peasant, in Brazil the poorest Negro begins to want a ballot paper. The West Indian, in increased numbers, claims his right to enter Britain, not so long ago, few Jamaicans could have hoped to earn a living wage here, or even have found passage money and a grubstake.

A painful paradox thus arises. Although prejudice is in general undoubtedly diminishing, it is still, regretably, necessary to ask whether race relations are getting better. The screaming headlines from Little Rock and the small ads in the London weeklies both indicate the new danger. The former underdog's piecemeal gains bring the racial problem home to many top dogs, and lower middle dogs, for the first time. Meanwhile, the underdog's appetite grows with eating. Once his apathy is quickened into hope by even a limited advance, he begins to think of further possibilities. The untouchable, already admitted to the school, demands entry into the temple. The Arkansas Negro, already "integrated" at the level of the university (and of the bus), resents school segregation the more acutely. The Jamaican, accepted by Londoners as a fellow worker, asks why they should sometimes reject him as a fellow lodger.

Once inertia yields to movement, the upward march can have no final goal short of full racial equality. This is not to postulate the domination of the ignorant and uncivilised. Racialists love to paint that horrid picture, but in sober fact it is only in the non-racialist community that the maximum amount of talent and intelligence can come to the top, while the organising of a society on racialist lines means that--as in South Africa and Rhodesia--skill is wasted and inefficiency feather-bedded, while in politics--as in Little Rock--a premium is put on crude rabble-rousing. Racial equality does not mean equal pay for all, but it means equal pay for equal work. It does not mean government by voodoo, but it means the sharing of leadership in politics among intelligent men regardless of pigmentation. And once these goals are conceived, impatience accelerates.

Today's question is whether achievement in racial adjustment is accelerating enough to keep pace. Given a new atmosphere of impatience, a diminished amount of prejudice and discrimination can still do grievous harm to the human fabric. The struggle to keep progress abreast of growing aspirations is a race against time, in which failure to accelerate could have disastrous results.

Certain things admittedly have to be accepted even by the most eager reformers. Old top dogs cannot always be taught new tricks; elderly people, whose religious as well as racial attitudes reflect concepts imbibed in childhood, will not be converted by a headlong onslaught of argument. And it is not only in dealing with oldsters that argument, particularly at long range, is an instrument of limited value to the reformer. There is no substitute, in a campaign of this sort, for the force of example. And, since race is such a uniquely personal problem, what matters above all is personal example in personal relations.

September 30, 1957

BACKGROUND FACT SHEET

Placing Events at Little Rock in Perspective

The events at Little Rock are widely misunderstood and misinterpreted. Distressing as they are, they arise from the force and strength of the American people's insistence upon complete equality. They measure, in a sense, the sweeping and basic character of one of the most important reforms in our history.

Marked progress toward integration has already been achieved in most parts of the country; it will inevitably spread throughout our entire nation.

The attention given to the rare misdeeds of an occasional small minority highlights the respect with which the overwhelming majority of the American people regard their laws. This majority obeys the laws even in cases where individuals may find a particular law personally distasteful. That is the basic nature of the American people.

The President's intervention has demonstrated the determination of the American people and the effectiveness of the American system in preserving the rights of the individual under law.

Specific Advancement Toward Removal of Racial Discrimination

The facts reveal that tremendous strides have been made in removing racial barriers in the United States:

In 31 of our 48 states - with two-thirds of the country's population - public school integration was a reality even before the Supreme Court's decision in 1954. In the remaining 17 states, the decision has already resulted in the successful initiation of integration in 740 school districts, in which two million white and 350,000 Negro children were previously segregated.

Integration has been effectively instituted in many of the major cities in these 17 states, including Baltimore, Louisville, Nashville, and St. Louis. In Washington, D. C., 77,000 Negro and 33,000 white children are now being educated in a completely integrated public school system. A high official of the District school system described Washington's progress as "a miracle of social adjustment."

In 1956, there were 196,000 non-white students enrolled in American colleges and universities. This is almost a six-fold increase over 1930 and exceeds the total number of university students in many important foreign countries, including some with populations several or even many times that of the total of American non-whites.

The year 1954 witnessed the end of segregated units in our Armed Forces. Since then there has been complete racial integration which has already led to a substantial increase in the number of non-whites in the technical and officer grades.

The economic status of American Negroes has shown marked improvement in recent years both in income and in relation to the economic status of American whites. Today, one-third of all non-whites own the home in which they live. This represents an increase of over 60 per cent as compared with 1940. The total annual income of the non-white population of the country is now estimated at 15 billion dollars. This represents an increase of 300 per cent during the past 15 years. The average

non-white wage earner now earns four and one-half times what he earned in 1940, whereas the white wage earner's average has increased three and one-half times.

The number of non-whites employed by the Government's Civil Service in the nation's capital during 1956 amounted to one quarter of its employees in the area. This compares with a similar ratio of 3.5 per cent in 1938. With respect to supervisory, administrative, and professional positions, the proportion has risen during the same period from 1 per cent to 16.5 per cent.

Discrimination in Other Parts of the World

The problems we are experiencing are not unique to the United States. All countries which have striven to diminish differences in economic or social standing based on racial or national origins have experienced frictions similar to those occurring in the United States today. Every civilized country knows from its own experience of the stresses and strains that accompany the adjustment to programs and social advancement.

These situations result from the efforts of free societies to maintain and expand the freedom and equality of the individual. They are not to be confused with those tragic disturbances that arise through the efforts of certain other nations to repress human liberty.

In the United States, national authority is being used not to suppress individual equality and freedom but to uphold them. In the Little Rock incident national authority has been invoked to maintain equal rights of a minority. In the Soviet Union national authority has been repeatedly invoked to suppress the rights of minorities.

Discussion Paper ----- Minorities - #4

RACE RELATIONS REVIEW

by Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

Three major developments on the race relations front in 1957 were of such significance as to overshadow all other events of the year in the continuing struggle to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation.

They were (1) the enactment of the Civil Rights law, the first such statute to be passed by Congress in 82 years: (2) the use of United States troops to sustain a federal court decree ordering the admission of nine Negro children to the previously all-white Central High School of Little Rock, Ark.; and (3) the enactment of a New York City ordinance banning racial and religious discrimination in private housing, the first measure of that kind ever enacted into law in any American community.

There were, of course, other happenings during the year which had important bearings on the course of race relations throughout the country. Some of these were positive, contributing to the realization of the American goal of equal opportunity; others were negative, feeding the flames of racial strife.

However, the advances made in 1957 were encouraging. The Civil Rights Act empowered the federal government to intervene to protect the right to vote and set up machinery for the execution of this power.

In addition, the law established a bi-partisan Civil Rights Commission charged with the responsibility of investigating violations of the right to vote and of other civil rights.

When he sent troops into Little Rock to uphold a federal court order, President Eisenhower served notice that the Executive Branch of the government is prepared to sustain the federal judiciary in its desegregation orders.

This was the administration's reply to the southern doctrine of interposition which, if acceded to, would have meant anarchy. While the need for such action was widely regretted, there was general recognition that the President had been goaded into taking the only stand he could by the intransigence of Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas.

The Governor had placed troops of the Arkansas National Guard at Central High School to keep the Negro students out in defiance of the court order.

Housing has long been the most pressing problem confronting Negro citizens in urban centers. The limitation on the Negro's living space has sometimes been more severe in the North than in the South. This denial of freedom of residence has fostered de facto segregation in public schools and in other public facilities, even in states in which such segregation is legally banned.

Accordingly, the New York City ordinance against discrimination in private housing is a measure of vital importance to every community in which a large number of Negroes reside.

Earlier legislation in New York and elsewhere had outlawed discrimination in publicly-aided housing. This has been helpful but it left the owners of the vast majority of dwellings free to refuse to sell or to rent to persons because of their race, religion or national origin. The new law in New York City was designed to meet this problem.

Other important developments on the positive side include the successful Prayer Pilgrimage which brought some 27,000 persons to Washington on May 17 in a demonstration of unity in behalf of civil rights; the continuing desegregation of the schools which added another 50,000 to the 300,000 Negro school children who were already attending classes in desegregated school systems. Another was the mass refusal of Negro citizens in Tuskegee, Ala., to purchase consumer goods of local merchants after city officials had redrawn the city lines to exclude all but ten of the city's 400 registered Negro voters.

Likewise of great significance was the declaration by 74 Protestant clergymen in Atlanta calling for compliance with the law, preservation of the public schools, freedom of speech and the reopening of communications between the races.

This action by the city's leading clergymen indicated the re-emergence of the long silent voice of moderation in the South. On the political front a similar expression of moderation may be found in the municipal election in Little Rock on Nov. 6. In that election only one of seven pro-segregation candidates was elected to the city's new Board of Directors although the maintenance of segregation was made the No. 1 issue in the campaign. Six "moderates" were elected.

On the debit side, persecution of the NAACP as an organization was continued through the passage of new laws in Arkansas and Texas to force it to disclose the names and addresses of its members. However, the Texas law passed by only one vote and early in the year the legislatures of both Florida and North Carolina refused to pass such laws.

Also on the debit side, certain Southern states, notably Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama have announced their intention to adopt more restrictive tests for prospective voters so as to circumvent the new Civil Rights law and prevent the registration of Negro citizens.

In contrast, Negro citizens appear to be experiencing no more than the usual difficulties in the South Carolina statewide re-registration campaign now in progress.

A state of tension is kept in being throughout the Deep South states by continuing pronouncements by important political and public personages counseling defiance of the Federal judiciary, the White House, and all dissenters from the segregation doctrine.

Threats and violence are thus encouraged, with both whites and Negroes as targets. A bomb was exploded at the home of a white South Carolina woman of an old and respected family simply because she wrote an article mildly advocating a moderate approach to the issue.

Despite these and other manifestations of resistance, the new year is certain to see more changes in the old order. The hard core will probably remain for some time but both its area and influence are being reduced.

The inescapable fact is that the New South will never be able to realize its potential if nine millions of its citizens are held in segregated second-class citizenship.

The other inescapable fact is that at this stage in world history the United States cannot afford to perpetuate second-class citizenship based upon color.

Discussion Paper on Minorities - #5

THE AMERICAN INDIANS: IN PROFILE

By Leonard Ware, Program Officer
U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs

Who Are They?

They are the descendants of the original inhabitants of what is now the United States of America. They were called Indians by the 15th century European mariner-explorers who thought they had arrived in the East Indies. Because of their physical similarities to some Asian people, the Indians are generally believed to have migrated from eastern Asia to North and South America, possibly via the Bering Straits, many thousands of years ago.

How Many Are They?

Scattered in small or large groups from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, people of Indian ancestry probably number today about 500,000, or less than one-half of one percent of the entire U. S. population of 170,000,000. Of the 500,000 total, about 350,000 receive special services from the Federal government; most of these Indians live on or near reservations west of the Mississippi River. In recent years they have been increasing in population faster than the general U. S. population. When Christopher Columbus discovered America in 1492, the Indians are believed to have numbered nearly 1,000,000. From then until about 1900 their number declined to an estimated 250,000. Since 1900, however, their number has steadily increased. Hence they are no longer "the vanishing Americans."

Why Did They Decrease?

Compared with the European adventurers, traders and settlers who began to come to America in the late 15th century, the Indians were as children of nature. Living by hunting, fishing or crude agriculture and moving frequently from place to place, they had little organized government and almost no defense against intruders. They were divided, moreover, by language and customs, and often fought violently among themselves. To the newcomers' superiority in arms and organization they could offer small resistance. So during the next four centuries many of them lost both their lands and their lives as the pioneers advanced across the continent. Many others died from diseases endemic to the European immigrants. Although not a story in which the Americans of today take pride, it was typical of a period when vast areas of the world were being resettled and new nations were rising--and falling--almost over-night.

Why Are They Now Increasing?

Traditionally, Indians are fond of children and have large families. Until recent years a high proportion of the children died before reaching maturity because of poor nutrition, inadequate sanitation, or lack of medical care. Now, thanks to increased health education and more medical and hospital services provided by the Government and to more general acceptance of such services by the Indians, child mortality rates have sharply declined. Because birth rates remain high, net gains in population are now substantial. Recently these gains have averaged about 2 1/2 per cent per year, as compared with 1 3/4 per cent for the general U. S. population.

Where Do the Indians Now Live?

There are Indians today in almost every American State from Maine in the northeast to California in the southwest. Demographic studies indicate that perhaps 100,000 persons with some Indian blood still live in the eastern States, along the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico coasts. They are, for the most part, surviving remnants of the tribes who originally inhabited this part of the country. Because some of their ancestors intermarried with other races, many of them are today indistinguishable from other groups in the population and have, to a greater or lesser degree, been socially absorbed by them. Few Eastern Indians live apart from other Americans on Federally established reservations. The vast majority have been integrated in the general population. This is true also of some of the Western Indians, particularly those of Minnesota and Washington who live among their non-Indian neighbors in complete social and economic equality.

Most American Indians, however, live west of the Mississippi, with the States of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma having the largest Indian populations. These are the Indians for whom the Federal Government recognizes a special, legal or statutory responsibility. Numbering about 350,000, they live on reservations--which vary in size from the Navajos' homeland of nearly 25,000 square miles to the few acres of an Indian rancheria in California--or in nearby cities or towns. There are over 250 reservations, which, in addition to variations in size, differ greatly in their history, natural resources, and the culture and economy of their residents.

Some of these western Indians, like the Pueblos of New Mexico, still live where the Spanish explorers first encountered them in the 16th century. Others, like many of the citizens of Oklahoma, which was known as Indian Territory until 1907, are descendants of eastern tribes who moved west, voluntarily or involuntarily, during the 19th century. Still others, like the Sioux of North and South Dakota, live in fragments of the vast "Great Plains" area where they hunted the buffalo a century or more ago. It is this last group who, with their feathered war bonnets and fast, lean ponies, have come to symbolize all American Indians in countless novels, plays and movies that have been read or seen around the world.

How Are the Western Indians Governed?

American Indians are American citizens, with full voting and citizen rights. They are free to leave their home reservations at any time. In fact, the Federal Government now has a voluntary relocation program to assist Indians to leave reservations which do not provide good employment opportunities. Reservations definitely are not "concentration camps". They are areas of land reserved by treaty, statute, or executive order for the use and benefit of a specific Indian tribe or tribes. These lands are actually private property belonging to the Indians, although the Federal Government often holds the title in trust for them. Whether an individual Indian wishes to remain on or leave a reservation is exclusively a question for that Indian to decide.

The Indians of most reservations are organized as tribes. These elect tribal councils which perform many of the functions of county or municipal governments. Some tribes also operate business enterprises like cattle-raising, farming or lumbering. Membership in tribes is usually determined by enrollment under autonomous standards set by the tribes themselves, or, in special cases, by acts of Congress.

The Federal Government's special responsibility for Indians is derived from several clauses in the Constitution, particularly those concerning commerce, the general welfare, and treaties with foreign nations. Exercise of this power since 1789 through treaties, statutes, and executive orders has given rise to the popular picture of "the great White Father" in Washington judicially administering the affairs of his Indian "wards".

If this picture were once true, it is no longer true. The granting of citizenship to all American-born Indians in 1924 (completing a process begun individually many years before), the recognition of certain tribal rights and functions by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and the constantly increasing participation of individual Indians in the social, economic, and political life of the States in which they live have rendered unnecessary and unwanted many of the supervisory services which the Federal Government once performed.

Today Uncle Sam's relationship to many western Indians is limited to trusteeship of their land, owned by them either individually or as a tribe. This trusteeship survives for the same reason it was established: to protect the Indian and his land until he can compete economically with the non-Indians around him. If this continued form of supervision is a disadvantage to Indians in one way, it is an advantage in another, because such trust or restricted property is exempt from most Federal and local taxes.

It is now government policy, expressed in a joint resolution of Congress in 1953, to end Federal trusteeship of Indian tribes as fast as their members become able to manage their own affairs and to assume the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

What About the Indians' Economic Condition?

Despite the windfalls of wealth which a few tribes have enjoyed because of the discovery of oil, gas or uranium beneath their reservations, most Indians on reservations are still living in a condition which is different from and substantially below that of most other Americans. None of them is starving, because the Federal and State governments see to it, through various welfare and surplus food programs, that all Americans, whatever their race, have enough food. But, in general, the Indians' standard of living, although rising steadily through the years, has not yet caught up with that of the American population at large.

The reasons for this are a subject of debate within the United States. Briefly stated, some Americans hold that the Federal Government has always treated the Indians unfairly and ungenerously, and, in particular, has failed to give them the educational advantages and economic assistance they need and deserve. At present this group is advocating an extensive "Point IV" program of technical and economic aid for Indians. Some of this group, who also oppose foreign aid, maintain that the Indians deserve preferential treatment because "charity begins at home."

Other Americans maintain that a century of "paternalism" has impaired the Indian's will or ability to provide for himself, and that he will emerge from his present difficulties only through the slow processes of education, self-development and exposure to responsibility. This group, in general, advocates a gradual withdrawal of the special Federal services now provided to Indians and their eventual integration in the social and political life of the states in which they live.

Behind this active and occasionally emotional argument a few sociological facts are apparent:

Some American Indians are culturally more distantly removed from present-day Americans than are European immigrants who have recently come to the country. Their acculturation to American ways of life has therefore been much more difficult. Accustomed to centuries of planless wanderings, spur-of-the-moment decisions and primitive family economies, they have little sense of time or foresightedness and small understanding of the values of individual effort and saving. The reservation system, under which they have lived for a century or longer, has tended, moreover, to keep them apart from the mainstream of American life.

Some have also a feeling of victimization. Although losses of land, forced removals, and disappointments in the carrying out of treaties actually occurred to their ancestors, the relative isolation of the lives of the American Indians of today has served to keep these grievances alive.

Added to these psychological factors are difficulties of a more tangible nature. On many reservations the population has outgrown the available resources despite substantial Federal contributions in years past for irrigation, range improvement, highways, etc. Farming, never popular with most Indians, has become unprofitable except on a large scale where machinery can be employed, and that requires substantial outlays of capital. Cattle and sheep raising, although more in accord with Indian interests, demands ever larger tracts of land and now a high degree of expert management. Industrial enterprises would employ many persons, but few reservations are so situated in regard to raw materials, transportation and markets as to attract industry.

The sum result is that the reservation all too often remains a place where Indians merely continue to exist. Frequently the better farm and range lands are leased to outsiders at the request of the Indian owners, who prefer to live precariously off the rent money. On some reservations, where personal leadership has stimulated productive activity, there will be additional income from individual or tribal enterprises. On others, where there is little income-producing activity of any sort, welfare allowances of various types keep the people fed and clothed.

In contrast to this picture of the reservation Indians' economic life, mention should be made of the pleasant, easy-going social life of the Indian community, its friendly tolerances and warm generosity, and of the self-effacing services continually being performed by school teachers, missionaries, and government employees. But it is probable that the traditional American dream of a progressively better life for every family has been least realized in the case of the original Americans.

What Is Being Done About It?

At present the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is the principal Federal agency concerned with Indians, and the U. S. Public Health Service are together spending about $150,000,000 annually on programs for the Indians for whom the Federal Government has responsibility. This figure is higher than it has ever been.

These programs, which vary in extent with conditions and needs of the individual tribes, are aimed at three prime objectives: (1) To raise the Indians' educational standards through the provision of more and better schools; (2) To improve their health through ampler medical and hospital services; and (3) To better their economic and social conditions through the stimulation of new job opportunities in agriculture and industry.

Over half of the Bureau's $100,000,000 appropriation this year goes for reservation schools for the Indians or to help pay for their education at nearby State-supported schools. The remainder goes for a dozen other services like law-and-order, welfare, soil conservation, irrigation, relocation, roads, and

forestry. Considerable money has to be spent on managing Indian trust property, a matter which has become increasingly complicated through the inheritance of ownership of allotted lands. The Bureau operates through ten area offices in the Western United States and Alaska which, in turn, supervise the work of 69 field offices.

The Public Health Service maintains hospitals and sanitoria for Indians throughout the west and provides medical care and instruction in health and sanitation on the reservations. This constitutes the second largest item of expense. Although smallpox, which killed thousands of Indians in the early 19th century, has been overcome, tuberculosis and alcoholism (the Indians' old demon, "fire-water") are still endemic.

In 1946 Congress established the Indian Claims Commission as a special tribunal to consider claims of Indian tribes, bands or other identifiable groups for monetary judgments against the United States. This opened the way for final settlement of hundreds of allegations by Indian groups that the United States had violated treaties, defrauded tribes in land purchases, or otherwise treated Indians in an unfair or illegal manner. Of 852 claims filed with the Commission, 125 claims had on January 4, 1958, been settled with judgments totaling $23,632,000 rendered in favor of the Indians. Before the Claims Commission was established Indians had access to other courts, but only, usually after many years of agitation and effort. In 1950, for example, the U. S. Court of Claims awarded $32,000,000 to the Confederated Ute Bands of Utah for payments rightfully due them on land cessions.

Such payments have not only enabled the tribes concerned to improve their conditions and to make fresh starts in life, but they provide tangible evidence to all Indians that the United States Government is sincerely proceeding to right wrongs done to them in the past.

Discussion Paper ----- Minorities #6 "U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SEPTEMBER, 1958"

The opening of the public school season in September, 1958 may again involve resistance to the admission of Negro children to public schools currently restricted to white enrollment. In several Virginia communities and possibly again at Little Rock, Arkansas, organized local opposition may hinder enrollment of Negro children as directed by Federal Courts.

Each of these instances has its specialized circumstances and legal history. Each is currently in flux. The record of each of these cases has been publicized at considerable length.

In general, it seems probable that progress toward integration will be modest this September in other communities in the deep South. Twenty-one anti-integration statutes were adopted this year, bringing the total in 11 states to 196. Many of these provide for the immediate closing of a public school in which segregation is broken by the admission of a student of a race currently excluded.

Attention has been given to the sweeping victory of Governor Faubus in the Arkansas primary. On the other hand, Representative Brooks Hays in Arkansas' Fifth District which includes Little Rock, Senator Yarborough in Texas and Senator Gore in Tennessee, all self-styled moderates, emerged victorious in campaigns in which the integration issue was used against them.

Negro students are now scheduled for admission to the University of Florida graduate schools and to Memphis State University in Tennessee. In schools where segregation has been ended, good relationships have generally come about.

When the Supreme Court called upon the Federal District Courts to implement its school desegregation decision "with all deliberate speed," the Court was expressing its recognition of the fact that some communities could change quickly and that others would find it both difficult and costly to comply. It was clear that emotional as well as physical barriers would have to be overcome. The need for developing public acceptance of basic social change was essentially recognized in the original Supreme Court order.

The experiences at Little Rock showed the differences between two elements of the larger community and the obvious difficulty of military policing of intra-school relationships. Hence a District Judge ordered a suspension of integration. His decision was promptly appealed. The Circuit Court reversed his order. Next steps at city, state and federal levels are awaited.

In Virginia, the immediate issue seems now to be more of a dispute between those who want to preserve the free public school system even if it must be integrated to some extent as against those who would preserve segregation even at the cost of sacrificing the public school system.

USIS will continue to report important developments as they occur, objectively and factually. Without argumentation, USIS will provide the background data which place such incidents in perspective and which evidence the massive progress of the American Negro during the past 10 or 20 years, both individually and as part of the American community. USIS can show nationwide Negro progress in education and achievement which is enabling "America's tenth man" to win full status in employment or professional occupation. There are now so many examples of distinguished attainment that the news value today comes not from "firsts" but from special circumstances or human interest angles. The simple facts of this positive progress, especially in routine pictures which show how Americans of various racial origins live and work together, are the really newsworthy facts of American life today.

Discussion Paper --- Minorities - #7
Labor - #3

U. S. SUPPORTS CONVENTION ON DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

The 42nd International Labor Conference in the last week of June at Geneva adopted an international Convention Concerning Discrimination In Respect of Employment And Occupation. It was adopted by a record vote of one hundred and eighty nine (189) in favor, twenty four (24) opposed; and thirteen abstentions. Those opposing were employers' members who generally vote against the convention or treaty form of instrument as a matter of principle; most of the abstentions were from others of the same group for the same reason.

On the accompanying Recommendation on the same subject, which is a more specific statement of goals for legislative and administrative action rather than a treaty for possible ratification, the record vote thus was two hundred and twelve in favor, none opposed, and eleven abstaining.

The United States tripartite delegation all voted for the Recommendation and the U. S. Government and Workers' representatives voted in favor of the Convention. In accordance with the terms of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization (ILO), the U. S. Government representative in both committee and plenary sessions explained that the Convention would be referred to the Federal and State authorities for the enactment of legislation or other action because under the American constitutional system, the subject matter involves both jurisdictions.

As many speakers pointed out during the debate, the significance of the action at Geneva can be evaluated only when the extent of implementation has been demonstrated. Some forecast can even now be ventured, however, on the basis of substance and derivation.

The obligations which the Convention sets forth for governments which ratify it involve legislation, administrative actions, and education.

From all free areas of the world came the realistic declaration that, however needed legislation may be, in itself it would be ineffective. Within committee the Government representative from India recalled that the experience of his own country in connection with the Caste System had shown that educative measures sometimes succeed far better than the dictum of a statute. The Mexican government representative similarly emphasized this point during the debate in the plenary session. Thus one of the first clauses asks for the cooperation of employers' and workers' organizations and other appropriate bodies in promoting the acceptance and observance of non-discrimination.

The term "discrimination" was declared to include "any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, color, sex, religion,

political opinion, national extraction or social origin which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation". This would apply as access to vocational training as well as to a particular job or occupation; also to the terms and conditions of employment. It will be seen that it is intended to prevent any favoritism toward one group which would thereby place another in a less advantageous position.

As a practical matter, it was readily agreed by all that "any distinction, exclusion or preference in respect of a particular job based on the inherent requirements thereof shall not be deemed to be discrimination". In committee it was made clear that "national extraction" refers to birth or ancestry, not to nationality.

There was quick acceptance also of an amendment whereby "methods appropriate to national conditions and practice" should govern the operative section through which ratifying governments would pursue a national policy to "promote equality of opportunity and treatment" with a view to eliminate any discrimination in employment or occupation.

Each ratifying government would undertake "to enact such legislation and to promote such educational programs as may be calculated to secure the acceptance and observance of this policy." This was the clause framed and ardently demanded by the workers' group in preference to the staff text or the more extreme amendments offered by certain governments. Similarly each such government would seek to repeal any statutory provisions or modify any administrative instructions or practices inconsistent with the policy. It would follow such policies in activities under its own control.

While an article was provided to exclude from the definition measures affecting an individual "justifiably suspected of or engaged in activities prejudicial to the security of the state" it was made subject to the individual's right of appeal to a competent body established in accordance with national practice. Again the language was that put forward by the Workers' Group whose members recognized the need for such a provision but who were determined that it should be carefully phrased and safeguarded. Governments readily accepted this although the Soviet Government made a lengthy effort in committee to exclude "political opinion" from the scope of these safeguards.

One other issue of transcendent importance to several of the newer Governmentsand to the Workers' Group was resolved by the inclusion of an article declaring that "each member which ratifies this convention undertakes to apply it to non-metropolitan territories in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization."

The constructive debate in committee and convention was rarely marred by any display of animosities. Only on a few occasions did even the Soviet Government or one of its bloc launch attacks of invective. This presentation was usually more skillful, consisting of attempts to take a leadership

far more aggressive and sweeping than that of the Workers' Group. In every such instance, however, the Workers' Group won out.

It had been agreed at the beginning of the committee meeting that constructiveness rather than recourse to recrimination should characterize the session. This was achieved to an extraordinary extent. Newer nations sometimes recalled the bitterness of discrimination in colonial days, but they did so to emphasize a point in argument rather than to rekindle animosities. Credit should also go to the non-governmental groups. The Workers' Group, headed by a Canadian, exercised judgment and self-discipline to a point where it could and usually did win majority support for its views. The Employers' Group, headed by a Belgian with a United Kingdom member often substituting, fought for their points of principle, too, but in no way attempted to disrupt the work of the Committee.

Getting agreement from so large and diverse a Committee proved less difficult than anticipated even though nearly a hundred amendments were formally proposed.

One effort to reduce the scope of the Convention came as amendments proposed by several governments to delete "sex" from the categories included. Their reasons were set forth clearly. They considered that its inclusion within the Convention would severely delay ratification by their countries. Arguing that other categories represented areas of prejudice or hatred, some insisted that no such motivation was involved in present economic inequalities with respect to sex. They were voted down. Efforts to exclude "independent professions" were likewise defeated. The Employers' Group effort to include "discrimination on the basis of membership or non-membership" in a trade union among the categories was rejected at the outset.

The committee rebuffed a last-minute move by the Soviet government member for the establishment of an investigatory or fact-finding commission. The language was broad and freighted with innuendo. In the debate, the United Kingdom government quoted words from the 1957 Governing Body session which the Soviet Government representative had then used to oppose the ILO committee on forced labor. It was also pointed out that discrimination is generally not authorized or practiced by a national government, but rather is practiced among individual citizens. As was also pointed out by the U. S. Government representative in the plenary session, "the character of our free press and of our energetic public discussion has mirrored and magnified to the world each instance of the resistance to change which has, in itself, testified to the magnitude of that change."

In contrast, the debate was tacitly influenced by the Moscow announcement of the execution of Imre Nagy, General Maleter and the two journalists. Revulsion within the conference was unmistakable, even though their names were not mentioned in debate in this committee. Soviet assertions of "equality" and "non-discrimination" seemed so false and self-accusatory that other members treated them with the contempt of silence.

It was only in the heat of the plenary debate when the Soviet spokesman had strayed far from the subject matter into the traditional Communist denunciation of the United States that he was answered. First came the Canadian Workers' representative who, noting that there is hardly a country where discrimination in some form does not exist, warned that as much could have been said against the accuser as against the accused. Then the Cuban Government representative declared that the "affliction" was now being set right in the United States and that Little Rock is the symbol of a statesman's action on behalf of a minority despite possible political consequences at the time. The Mexican Government representative, recalling the Mexican-U.S. negotiations and agreements concerning Mexican migrant labor, paid high tribute to the spirit of self-criticism within the United States and to the progress which is being made. It remained only for the U. S. Government representative to observe that out of the testimony of neighbors most familiar with the facts, the extraordinary progress of the United States in overcoming discrimination can best be attested.

Both on grounds of substance and sponsorship, therefore, it is reasonable to join the American Workers' representative on the committee in declaring that this 1958 Convention will rank among the greatest achievements of the ILO as it begins its 40th year of effort to promote peace through social justice.

[redacted]

[redacted] AND REPRESENTATIVE EXCERPTS FROM
[redacted] AND RADIO COMMENTARY RACIAL INCIDENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES

I. [redacted]

Before citing individual quotations, it should be noted that despite the traditional heavy emphasis of Communist agitators and propagandists upon the subject of racial incidents in the United States, Moscow radio allocates a relatively low percentage of its commentary to this subject. The reason appears obvious. Commercial press and radio outside the United States, as well as within the United States, dramatizes these incidents in headline treatment, apparently judging them of outstanding newsworthiness. Hence, Moscow seems to consider it more effective propaganda to avoid competing with non-Communist channels to carry the stories. In fact, Moscow quotes from the non-Communist publications in order to increase the credibility of its stories.

Soviet radio shrewdly focuses its commentaries on "racism" to the areas where non-Communist press and radio are least effective in reaching the desired audience groups. Thus in 1957, 32 per cent of comments on racism were directed to the Soviet domestic audience. Outside of the USSR, significantly, the Near East was the prime target, with 16.7 per cent of the over-all total.

It is geared into current political maneuvering of the Soviet. Soviet propaganda attacks on U. S. "racism" have attempted primarily to "expose" the American "way of life" and to show that the American-conceived propaganda picture of Western democracy is a sham. By contrast, it portrays the USSR and the "Peoples' Democracies" as countries of racial equality where minority or nationality problems have been solved.

[redacted] Soviet comment on the "integration incidents" in Little Rock appeared to portray the situation fairly factually—although it was not devoid of anti-American propaganda. With the approach of the U. N. debate on Hungary in September, 1957, however, the volume and virulence of anti-U. S. [redacted] began to increase. Moscow, with assistance probably from Hungary, attempted to discredit the moral position of the U. S. on Hungary and to confuse the impact of the U. N. Resolution which was passed, by pointing to the [redacted] and violations of the anti-discrimination laws existing among [redacted] in the Southern United States. [redacted] U. S. [redacted] for permitting the [redacted] to [redacted] Negro children, but chip for daring to [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] that in the country in which the U. S. [redacted] of [redacted] are being perpetrated."

[redacted] U. S. is guilty in [redacted], such as [redacted]

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"Khrushchev made a radio speech in which he admitted that in the light of the Little Rock incident, public opinion of the world will 'doubtless see in the people who violated the standard of action unanimously outlined in the United Nations Charter by the people of various nations of the world.'"

Here is a specimen broadcast within the USSR on August 30, 1958, which is fairly typical:

"Recent events, and especially the open armed intervention by the United States in the Middle East, have buried forever the legend that the United States is allegedly a friend and a protector of many peoples in Asia and Africa, a legend which was stubbornly (built up) by American propaganda. The outrages of the racists in the United States itself, the existence within the country of areas which may be legitimately regarded as colonies of the American monopolists, constitute proof that is no less convincing.

"As is known, the U. S. policy regarding minorities within the country is based on racial hatred and the most stringent discrimination against millions of American citizens with a colored skin. The Ku Klux Klan, in particular, is the bulwark and direct executor of this man-hating policy. The Ku Klux Klan is one of the most active fascist organizations now operating in the United States."

Here is a sample Tass report of February 1, 1958, sent in Russian to Europe by radiotelotype, which shows how the Little Rock story was kept alive:

"New York--The position of nine Negro children attending the Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, is becoming increasingly dangerous. The leaders of local Negro organizations have expressed alarm that 'some Negro children might receive serious injury or even be killed.'

"Nearly every day racialist hooligans attack Negro schoolchildren. Recently a 17-year old hooligan beat up a Negro schoolgirl, Minnie Jane Brown. The police refused to take any steps and the young racialist was interviewed by representatives of the press and boasted of his 'exploit.' Attacks on Negro schoolchildren take various forms: They are beaten up, pushed down staircases, have hot soup poured over them in the cafeteria, and so on. In every case the young racialists remain unpunished."

A favorite Russian device is to quote comments from other countries, especially anti-American comment:

"'The disturbances in Little Rock are disgusting,' writes the English [illegible] commentator, adding that the persecution of children by the sub

cannot be forgiven in any circumstances. L'AURORE expresses the view that nothing can justify the outburst of racial hatred in the southern areas of the United States. The London correspondent of UNITED PRESS cannot conceal the fact that the whole of Europe observes with undisguised disgust the incidents in Arkansas and in the southern parts of the United States. American prestige has suffered a serious blow.

"According to the TIMES OF INDONESIA, half the world has turned away from the United States.

"At the same time that President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, are preaching to the French Ministers about the Christian ethics of the equality of races and the independence of peoples, proclaiming franchise for everyone, this outburst of racial hatred shows the whole world how these noble principles are being applied in the United States, how the American way of life presents itself in reality,' says the French periodical PERSPECTIVE. The same idea is voiced by the Swedish AFTONBLADET, which points out that all the talk about individual freedom and dignity, all the slogans voiced about the equality of rights and democracy lose all their meaning while such facts exist."

II. Comments in Non-Communist Countries

There have been so many editorial comments, news reports, and news pictures in non-Communist countries that selection is difficult.

This summary from London on September 24 of last year is eloquent:

"Yesterday's violence at Little Rock is headlined today in all morning papers, replete with prominently displayed pictures of threatening white men surrounding Negro (described as reporter Alex Wilson) and of same Negro being kicked by white man. Stories are filed from British correspondents in U. S. among whom at least three (for TIMES, EXPRESS, HERALD) are covering scene directly in Little Rock. Reuters correspondent also Little Rock.

"Stories general alike in describing 'beating up of three Negro boys,' use of adult Negroes as decoys to distract white crowd while Negro children enter school from back, hysteria of white mob, beating of Negro photographer who was one of decoys."

A summary from The Hague during the same week reported a typical overseas reaction when Federal intervention restored order to Little Rock:

"Dutch national press continuing extensive Little Rock situation typical land heads were independent DE TELEGRAFIE: 'Regiments secure calm in Little Rock. To school under military escort. Military truck convoys Negroes.' and Catholic DE VOLKSKRANT: 'Negro students escorted to

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school. Paratroopers restore calm in Little Rock.' Small majority editorials lamented whatever Eisenhower action had halted recent mobs wantonness. Independent ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL said: 'Eisenhower's airborne troops again are bearers of democracy's banner on which inscribed words 'human rights,' just as they carried this banner during Second World War in Europe.' Independent Labor NEW PARTY speculated: 'Perhaps Little Rock will be recorded in American history as place where evolution to new era in race relations was definitely ushered in.' Catholic NEW YORK said: 'Everywhere in free world it was given cause for great satisfaction that President Eisenhower has constituted himself as champion of justice and freedom.'"

The TIMES OF INDONESIA, on September 23, 1957, suggested it would like to tell pro-segregation Americans:

"We would like to tell them that Asians listen to the Voice of America, read what United States representatives say in the United Nations, peruse diligently USIS handouts and are left unimpressed by American pontifications on democracy and American strictures on Communism because, like people everywhere, we want proof that preachments square with practice and that proof is not forthcoming. When an Indian Ambassador is painfully asked to sit in the 'coloured' section of an American airport, when a Burmese MP invites is turned out of a Washington restaurant, the whole of Asia is stirred to its emotional depth. That, precisely, is what happen ed when the white man was in power in our countries....And so, every time we read that Negroes - black people like us - are not getting a square deal, we equate the situation with what we experienced in colonial days and conclude that the coloured American cannot but have colonial status, meaning they are helots in the land of their birth."

The Manila CHRONICLE said something similar:

"It has become the standard practice of the United States Information Agency to devote paragraphs in its releases to the careers and achievements of outstanding Negroes. These paragraphs are clearly intended to give lie to the accusation that race prejudice prevails in the U.S., but the official glorification of a Marian Anderson or a Richard Wright hardly proves anything. Men and women of whatever race or color who have attained excellence in their chosen fields cannot be ignored even in as arid a region as the American South. What must be shown is what is being done to save the millions of coloured Jacks and Jones from the scare or so of Governor Faubuses."

"It will appear to most Asians that the American propaganda agencies, particularly the United States Information Agency, constantly assert the determination for Negroes the American Negro, which then an American will [illegible] of the Negro, whereby to [illegible]."

In Africa public attitudes were expressed in a letter to the editor of the Nigerian DAILY TIMES:

"When it is recalled that America poses as the leader of the 'free' world and the champion of democratic rights, one fails to understand this attitude of the Americans. The problem of the status of American Negroes is one that America must settle at once, if she sincerely wants to win the goodwill of Africans."

Similar views are expressed in a letter by the Association of Socialist High School Students in Austria this year, which said in part:

"These principles of the American Declaration of Independence, which form the basis of every genuine democracy, have brought the American nation the reputation of being a liberal people....The events in Arkansas have most seriously shaken the belief of the world in the freedom mission of the United States. We protest most sharply against the racial discrimination in your federal state and declare our solidarity with our colored colleagues at the American schools."

III. Jimmy Wilson Case

An emotional surge was demonstrated around the world this autumn when commercial press services abroad publicized the sentencing of the Negro Jimmy Wilson to death for the robbery of $1.95. Clearly the Communists trailed the non-Communist press in reporting the affair.

Most people appeared to regard the sentence as one motivated by race. Spontaneous campaigns of letter writing and even demonstrations developed in several cities, including many European centers. The storm subsided when the sentence was suspended during the deliberations of the State Supreme Court, and tribute should be paid Governor Patson of Alabama for his prompt and understanding hearing of the appeal for commutation and his grant of clemency. His handling calmed emotions overseas and prevented another upsurge of indignation against the United States.

The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on September 23, 1958, said:

"James Wilson, a Negro, lies under sentence of death after being convicted of robbing an elderly white woman of $1.95. The disparity between the offence and the penalty is, on the face of it, appalling. Though robbery is still punishable by death in Alabama, only four men have in fact been so punished in the history of the state; all were Negroes. The case has, moreover, [illegible] factors. The woman robbed [illegible] to state and wage [illegible] and the jury was [illegible] said in this respect was [illegible]

these allegations weighed with the jury in fixing the sentence (which is done, in Alabama, by the jury and not by the judge); a death sentence for this robbery by itself, even if a third offense, is hardly credible. The State Supreme Court has considered and upheld the verdict; it has no power to revise the sentence. The Governor has a power of clemency, but cannot formally receive an appeal for clemency until forty-eight hours before the date fixed for execution, which is October 24. So there is still hope that he will grant the reprieve for which Mr. Phillips asks, as numerous others have done before him, and will dispel the damaging suspicion that the State of Alabama will carry out in the case of a Negro a sentence inconceivable in the case of a white man."

But our overseas friends are ready to give credit for progress and to contrast Russian attitudes towards criticism. From the Norwegian TELEMARK ARBEIDERBLAD of October 3, 1958, this editorial is eloquent:

"The Good Impression

"More than 1,200 readers of Telemark Arbeiderblad signed appeals to spare the life of Jimmy Wilson.

"We sent them on to the American Embassy in Oslo requesting the Embassy to forward them to the highest American authorities.

"We received a very kind answer from the American Ambassador to our readers, and the letter was kept in terms which made it clear that they would do everything to further the wish of our readers.

"Jimmy Wilson's life was spared. The Governor altered capital punishment to imprisonment for life.

"No one knows the role of our readers in this event. But ten thousands of other people, most of them probably Americans reasoning as we did, did the same, so perhaps we were a little whirl in a large stream?

"Therefore, we venture to say to everyone who signed the appeal: You have contributed to something good.

* * *

"But do not let us pass over a fact:

"The representative in Norway of this large country showed every respect and goodwill toward each individual person signing the appeal. The answering letter was supported by a true, democratic mind.

"Let us remember the many times Norwegian citizens have applied to the Soviet Embassy, even concerning Norwegian lives in their power.

"- they have been thrown out, if they ever even got as far as inside the door of the Embassy!

"Recently the most prominent representatives of the Nordic Trade Union movement submitted an application to the Russian Trade Union Federation concerning the suppression of the Hungarian trade union movement.

"They received an answering telegram, informing them that the Russian telegraph authority refused to send the application to the addressee!

"This did not happen to our little application to the Embassy of the United States of America.

"The answer left a very good impression."

IV. Other Minorities

Two examples may be cited.

The first shows Soviet alertness for material which can be focused to specific areas:

The NEW YORK TIMES reported on October 22 from Poughkeepsie that two Puerto Ricans had been sentenced to 10-30 years terms for stealing "a few cigarettes" after having allegedly committed assault and robbery.

On October 23, a Radio Moscow Latin American Service broadcast in Spanish quoted the October 23 issue of EL DIARIO DE NUEVA YORK as reporting that

> "two Puerto Rican workers have been sentenced to 30 years imprisonment for having stolen two cigarettes from an American, although they denied the charge and their employer declared that at the time the theft took place they were at his farm."

The Spanish-language paper mentioned the 30-year sentence in the headline, but reported correctly in the body of the article that the term meted out "for the alleged theft of two cigarettes" was 10-30 years.

When the Lumbee Indians broke up a Ku Klux Klan meeting last year, the incident brought much favorable response overseas.

Many Italian dailies gave surprisingly heavy play to the North Carolina story of the Indian attack on the KKK, with some papers giving

it banner headline, front-page treatment. All papers noted that the Indians were encouraged by the "mounting racial discrimination campaign being organized by the KKK," according to a UPI/Rome report. The story was presented by most papers as a "Western Movie in North Carolina Town — Armed Indians Attack KKK" (headline from Rightist IL TEMPO). The Communist daily L'UNITA said in a six column headline that "Police Refused Racists in Vain."

V. Examples of Favorable Response to U. S. Government Efforts

Here are two letters from Japanese listeners to Voice of America broadcasts:

"I listened to the VOA program of the 13th. The program topics were 'Isotope on Medicine' and 'Little Rock.' Both were very interesting and especially the commentary on 'Little Rock' helped us a great deal in understanding the dispute. We often hear about the racial problem in America. I sincerely hope for a peaceful solution." (Listener in Kasaoka City, Okayama Prefecture)

"I started to listen to VOA since a year ago and now I am a true fan. I was quite impressed by your fair attitude of not avoiding to tell about the Little Rock Affair. I have often heard about the racial discrimination in America and was wondering how President Eisenhower would meet this difficult problem." (A Japanese listener)

From Kuala Lumpur in Malaya came this comment following William Warfield's concert under the auspices of the President's Special International Program. The chief education officer in Malacca declared:

"Little Rock has created a bad impression here in Malaya and the appearance of William Warfield has done much to dispel an unfavorable impression of race relations in the United States."

From Dakar, French West Africa, the American Cultural Center recently reported:

"On the first morning one of the African editors for Radio Dakar came into the Center without identifying himself, sat down and began to read but in reality to observe. After two hours he knew what he wanted to know and stated that in as much as the Center evidently welcomed propriety he would now make some propaganda in vernacular languages over Radio Dakar. And this was the beginning of a story of positive impact which continues every day. By now the 'Radios' know first hand that while there is a Little Rock in the United States this is not the full story of the Negro in the United States, that there are millions of American Negroes who have risen to a considerable state of well being, that there are many American Negroes who have risen to positions of prominence. Even more important: an American institution in Dakar, the only American institution far and wide by the way, gives the proof of the continuous in Africans by lending free and without charge and recently books for home reading..."

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During a recent period when Little Rock school closings again focused public attention overseas, 28 of the largest papers in Norway published simultaneously reprints of a photo-illustrated story, distributed by USIS, which showed Negroes working in the University of Arkansas Hospital. A TV producer utilized a short film distributed by USIS describing Ralph Bunche's childhood in the U. S. and his successes in an integrated American high school and college. This reached nearly 20,000 key people in Norway.

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File

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We would greatly appreciate permission for republication of your article "A Southern View of the South," from the April 4, 1960, issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE. A request also is being submitted to the publisher.

The material has been requested by our office in London for republication by the U. S. Information Service and the local press. Credit, of course, will be given to you and the initial publisher.

Since our offices in other areas also may want to use the material, may we have permission for its republication (in English and in translation) by all U. S. Information Service offices and the local press outside the United States and Canada?

While many authors and publishers make no charge for use of their material in the information program, we are permitted to offer a token payment of $25. Our use of the material will be restricted to a period of five years if you prefer.

If there is no objection to use of the material as outlined, please sign and return the enclosed copy of this letter (indicating whether payment and the 5-year limitation are desired). A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Garrett K. Sias, Chief
News and Features Branch
Press and Publications Service

Enclosures:
1. Copy of this letter
2. Return envelope

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Clearance granted _____ Date _____

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

May 10, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please accept and convey to the Southern Regional Council my belated thanks for your kind letter of congratulations.

I am glad to have the copy of the "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." I am sure it will be helpful to me as I take on my new responsibilities.

It is also reassuring to know that I can call on you for assistance and guidance.

Sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow
Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 5, 1961

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor
Labor add Minority Affairs
United States Information Agency
Room 812
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

In response to your letter of June 1, we are mailing you the two copies of the report on the freedom riders. We appreciate your interest.

Actually, I have not been to Washington very often; but I recently was there to apply for a position with U.S.I.A. Apparently, U.S.I.A. is interested pending all of the necessary checks which I understand takes a bit of time.

If this kind of report is helpful to you, I am certain the Council would be willing to put you on the mailing list for future reports of this type.

Again, thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

(Dictated by Mr. Constable, signed in his absence)

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

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OCT 16 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have heard from Joe Cooper about the fine reception you and your friends in Atlanta extended to him. Thanks to you, he reports, he has had a better insight into America at Atlanta than at any other point where he has stopped.

Knowing Joe Cooper as I do, I can assure you that he'll make maximum use of the opportunities that will come his way to give an accurate and understanding account of the changes that are going on in the South.

Many thanks for equipping him to do so.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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LWD Files -

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

October 25, 1961

TR-77

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Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wonder if I can impose upon your good nature once again?

The London Times of October 5 carried an item from Coventry to the effect that a bi-racial youth group from Alabama will next year meet in the Coventry Cathedral. The Provost of the Cathedral has quoted that "the difficulty is that these people cannot meet in Alabama, for they are just a group of concerned Christians who have got to be inarticulate there." Do you by any chance have any lead on who these good souls are? Our people in London are anxious to know about their plans.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 30, 1961

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

We have checked as best we can with Alabama sources concerning the item from the London Times about an Alabama biracial youth group meeting in London, raised in your letter of October 25 to Leslie Dunbar.

We have turned up no information in Alabama concerning such a group or such a meeting. It is certainly true that there are certain difficulties involved in interracial meetings in Alabama. Such meetings are held, however, all the time. The Episcopal Church sponsors an annual statewide interracial youth conference and has done so for the past three years. Some ministers are meeting interracially in several communities in Alabama, and business leaders are quietly meeting across racial lines in at least three Alabama communities. The Alabama Council on Human Relations, an interracial group, has seven local chapters in the state which meet on a monthly basis.

We will let you know if we pick up any word on the London Times story.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 8, 1961

Mr. William Gausmann
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

A copy of your letter of October 25, 1961, to Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council was referred to me. In your letter to Mr. Dunbar you stated that the London Times of October 5th reported that a bi-racial youth group from Alabama will journey to the Coventry Cathedral. It is said the Provost of the Cathedral stated "the difficulty is these people cannot meet in Alabama".

In traveling throughout the state in Alabama I have not heard that any inter-racial group is planning to visit England. It is possible that there are areas of Alabama where it is difficult for people to meet together in an inter-racial meeting without some hesitancy because there might be forms of intimidation. I will be inquiring about this group that was mentioned in the London Times.

NSC-

You may be interested to know that one denomination in Alabama has sponsored for three years an inter-racial youth conference. This particular Annual Conference was attended by many more young people this year than in the past. There are several inter-racial minister me tings and I have learned that there are also inter-racial meetings of business leaders and Negro leaders in at least three communities in Alabama. Our State Council has some seven local chapters that meet regularly and all of these groups are attended by Negroes and whites. We co-operate with the Southern Regional Council and I will be in touch with Mr. Dunbar concerning your request for information.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

Office of Public Information
DUdley 3-2747 or 3-2743

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25 D.C.

Release No. 24

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M. EDT, WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1961

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Press Club
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1961

WHO SPEAKS FOR AMERICA ?

It is with mingled pleasure and awe that I join you today...pleasure at being again among so many of my former colleagues...awe that I am now the object of those scowling, critical visages among whose array I once sat with my own frowning brow. The frowning brow has not changed. We have only changed seats, and I must now answer questions instead of propounding them.

I come to this microphone to tell you of the U.S. Information Agency. In a sense, it is a reciprocal visit. There are members of this club who have shared our international microphones on the Voice of America. For example, three of your members -- William Stringer, Ernest K. Lindley, and Fred Collins -- do a weekly broadcast for the Voice, entitled "Issues in the News." The program has had an excellent response from a widely appreciative audience. I trust I shall do these gentlemen no offense, however, if I share with you one letter we received that was not so enthusiastic. "Dear Voice of

(More)

America," the letter said, "Never in my life have I heard three more indecisive talkers. They never have anything definite to say. Keep them off the air and run John F. Kennedy instead." Let me add, though, that if I have as few detractors as they, I shall count myself among the fortunate.

I have been in my job as Director of the Agency scant weeks. Operating as we do in 98 countries around the world, there is much about the Agency that I have yet to learn. But as a former working newsman like most of you here today, there are a number of thoughts and impressions that I would share with you in my present role as a government official.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. Many of you are newsmen who devote your careers, as I did for 25 years, to expression in a single medium of communication. USIA employs not one but seven: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: from a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound-tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

Even more important we must deal amidst the intangibles: the difficult, delicate human art of persuasion. For by word of mouth, by cultivated personal contact abroad, we seek to persuade others of the rightness of our view and that our actions and our goals are in harmony with theirs. And this brings on a thought: in the course of a single working day how many of you

gentlemen here could exercise your expertise competently over an array of problems as diverse as these?

To those bold enough to reply in the affirmative, I offer a note of caution: this is only half the Agency's problem. For we deal not only in communications but also in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes and soap suds but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension. We must deal also with the very considerable pre-conditioning foreigners have had to the image and the ideas of America. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes -- however unjustified, their existence is real -- of the product we promote: the actions and the hopes of the United States.

Thus the effective overseas USIA officer must be a creature who combines the talents of professional proficiency with persistence and patience. He must try to know as much about seven media of communication as most of you gentlemen know about your one. I shall not indulge your sufferance by reading a roster of qualified officers in the Agency. But I assure you I have found I am able to call upon resourceful minds of many disciplines. We have men who number among their accomplishments, before coming with the Agency, such positions as a broadcast Peabody Award winner; a past President of NBC International; a former producer with Eagle Lion and Warner Brothers studio; the former President of a college; several deans of universities, including a Dean Emeritus from Columbia University; an original editor of Newsweek; an author of 15 published

(more)

novels, 6 of which have been adapted for motion pictures; editors of metropolitan newspapers and national press services; overseas bureau chiefs, foreign correspondents, and Nieman fellows in Journalism. Overseas they are supported by an equally diversified and distinguished staff: nationals of the countries in which we work, writers, editors, artists, lecturers and others. They are a talented and varied crew. They serve by choice, I know, for many of them annually refuse private offers for far more money then they now earn.

In my first four months, I have asked many of my colleagues to postpone fellowships, assignments abroad and desirable posts long anticipated. Often at great personal inconvenience, their invariable response to me has been: "Whatever you think is best for the Agency, I will gladly do."

So it was that one of my own long-held illusions about government was rudely shattered on that January day when I assumed office. I arrived at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue expecting a bureaucracy of dawdlers; instead I found a bounty of capable doers. For my own part, I have never worked harder in my life. I have never been called a loafing man -- though on occasion I confess a predilection for good conversation, fine wine and rich food -- but not since the days of World War II have I worked with such frantic fascination.

I am finding that this is truly the time of the "New Zeal", and it is not easy to set the pace for my younger colleagues. Our work product would stagger the mind of what we in government call "private enterprise". Our radio broadcasts live over 88 hours a day in 35 languages. Our special wireless file puts out up to 8-10,000 words a day to each of five world areas. Our films reach an

(more)

estimated weekly audience of about 150 million people. When a special project goes through on a crash basis, we can get to an audience of over five hundred million. And in television, our "market" is rapidly expanding -- some 36 million TV sets and 160 million viewers.

Nor is our product dissipated meaninglessly. For the 50 million books we have published in 50 languages, there is incessant demand. In Blantyre, Nyasaland, a library opened in March of this year, and borrowers stripped its shelves nearly bare in about a month of operation. In another African post there was a greater demand for the Federalist Papers in four weeks time than the New York Public Library had in a year. And the first English classes formed in two newly-independent countries numbered among their pupils both Prime Ministers, a number of Cabinet officials as well as other high government leaders and their wives.

Our Agency by Congressional Mandate operates overseas. There is much misunderstanding about just what the U.S. Information Agency does. We have received letters with ominous overtones, such as a request to "send me all your information on counterfeiting" and "please rush me all the facts on bullet wounds, fast." Letter-writers have asked us "what percentage of young people are juveniles, how can I figure out which TV newscasters are Republicans, and why are most auctioneers called 'colonel'?" And do-it-yourself fans have written our Agency for information on how to bottle peanut butter, refinish driftwood, operate bongo drums, and make low-calorie soft-drinks.

Information is our job, but information of more serious import. I told the

(More)

Senate hearing on my nomination that our Agency will attempt to make US policy as designed by the President everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible palatable.

We shall endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, as well as to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals. Yet, in our day-to-day efforts directed to this end, we do not stand alone. For much that is known and believed about this country is beyond the purview of our Agency alone.

Just as the work of USIA is far more than just Voice of America broadcasts, so is the real voice of America far more than just our Agency. From Norway to Nyasaland, from Rio to Rangoon, the story and the face of America goes out in movies, television, magazines and the press. The military, with fighters and their families, number one million abroad. Over four million American tourists travel abroad each year. Another half million Americans live overseas for reasons embracing both business and pleasure. Foundations, educational exchanges, and international scholarships send our young intellectuals and their studious professors swarming to foreign universities. Fifty thousand foreign students and hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists visit our country every year to hear and evaluate the first-hand voice of America.

And all of this has great impact. Italy has built its first drive-in movie. An authentic drug store stands in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe. England, heaven bless its warm draught lager, is beginning to drink cold beer in cans. American blue jeans and slacks vie with the kimono in Japan. Nairobi has its parking meters; there are skyscrapers in Johannesburg and supermarkets in

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Leopoldville. Air conditioning has settled in Santiago, and even Moscow has succumbed not only to jazz and Louis Armstrong but also -- heaven assuage the souls of Marx and Lenin -- to American installment buying. And these are but frothy facets of the spreading style of America -- or of the 20th Century, since both in so many ways are synonymous.

Beneath them, and of far more lasting impact, is the broadening outward flow of ideas and techniques of how to live and work together, of respect for neighbors, of faith that every human problem is capable of human solution. We and all the other voices of America that reach outside our frontiers are helping to spread the concept of "access", of individual self-fulfilment and citizen participation.

I tell you all this not to defend our culture but to define our Agency. You gentlemen of the press share very much with our Agency the making of the picture of America that is known abroad. To give you but random figures: 89% of the people in West Germany consider the press as their major source of information about the USA. 77% in Burma, 81% in Britain and Japan, 85% in Peru and Uruguay. All of these are people, gentlemen, saying the press is their major source of information about America.

And the impact made on these people through the press is of course largely beyond the exclusive influence of USIA. Yet the picture is even broader. Not only the press, but the television, the movies, the travelling tourists, the missionaries and the businessmen, are part of the chorus that is the real voice of America. It means there are no more domestic issues. The speech of a single Senator to a hometown audience can have more impact abroad than months of

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our Agency's informational activities. A breakthrough in science or medicine, the price on the big board in Chicago, import duty on textiles -- we have lost the luxury of living in isolated America -- these events and issues are absorbed, debated and pondered on all shores of every ocean.

To some of us the picture of a burning bus in Alabama may merely represent the speed and competence of a photographer, but to those of us in the U.S. Information Agency it means that picture will be front-paged tomorrow all the way from Manila to Rabat. Here in Washington itself, for example, there exists a much unreported encumbrance on our African relations that can lose us as much influence as anything the Soviets might do. Where do we house African diplomats in our capital? These are representatives of Negro nations led by Negro leaders. It is bad enough that they read headlines of Birmingham bus burnings and beatings. It is even worse that they find it near impossible to live in the capital of our nation. Landlords will not rent to them; schools refuse their children; stores will not let them try on clothes; beaches bar their families. Today there are some 30 African representatives in Washington with what is euphemistically called "unsatisfactory housing." Fully 1/3 of these are termed emergency cases. There will be some 50 more families arriving in the next six months, 100 in the next year. It is not only that these people are humans like the rest of us, but that they are leaders of nations whose friendship this land deems vital. We would have them join our company of honorable men in defending against encroachment our dedication to dignity and freedom. But it is a dignity to which we will not fully admit them.

It was William Shakespeare who in the "Merchant of Venice" wrote lines

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that could come from the mouth of any of these wronged Negro diplomats.

"If you prick us, do we not bleed?
"If you tickle us, do we not laugh?
"If you poison us, do we not die?
"And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

And if revenge they should, it would be recounted as a diplomatic debacle for the United States. And if and when that day should come, do not fly to your Information Agency crying that we have not told "our story" abroad. For in this damaging indignity there is blame enough for us all. And let us remember, this is not something the Communists did to us. We do it ourselves in our own capital. Is it possible that we concern ourselves too much with outer space and far places, and too little with inner space and near places?

Let me turn back to the subject at hand. You did not invite me here to talk about our duty and our opportunity as citizens, rather to tell you about our work. Quite reasonably, you wish to know where we hope to go and how we shall try to get there. At the outset let me emphasize that I did not bring to the Agency the infinite wisdom of an outsider, with magic cures for all that's wrong.

In fact, much of what I have found is good, effective, solid. I recognize, as I know you will too, that the role of our Agency has limits. We are but one arm of the U.S. government. As such, we must respond to the policy of that government. To put it more bluntly, USIA can be no better than the policies it supports and explains. Yet within that limitation there are obviously practices and principles to which we are committed. It is fundamental that we operate on a basis of truth. Ours is, and must be, a dedication to the factual.

But this itself poses difficulties. We operate abroad; our audience is foreign. And in this world there are no absolute standards of truth. What is

one man's truth is another man's falsehood. Our objective is, and must be, credibility. It is easy to assume that because we tell the truth as we see it, others will believe us. But statements that are true are not always believed. It is a measure of our difficulty that in this relentless half-war, truth and credibility are not co-equal.

Candor and openness have their merits...as the successful Alan Shepard demonstrated. They also have their demerits...as the abortive Cuban episode demonstrated.

On Cuba, we had no choice but to be truthful and complete. At noon on April 17, we expanded our Spanish broadcasting to Latin America from one hour of origination to 19 hours. Within two hours we were on the air. I mention this with some pride. What network could undertake such expansion on such short notice with no change in personnel allowance?

There were Latins relaying our broadcasts who said, "you are too honest, you will be misunderstood." There were Americans who protested, as the letter writer from California who heard the tirades of Dr. Paul Roa on our Spanish broadcasts and suggested we leave such broadcasting to the Voice of Castro. The answer was that Dr. Roa was speaking in the United Nations debate which we carried in its entirety. We carried the whole story -- Castro's announcement, the self-labelled "invasion", the writhing in Washington, the agonies in the UN, and even the agonizing reappraisal which a critical aftermath spilled over the Administration.

But if truth must be our guide then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant

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now stirring, that is so much of the world, we shall say: "We share your dreams." As a nation, we have never been allergic to change. Ours was the first of the great revolutions. It is a birthright we do not intend to let go by default. Our responsibilities of nationhood are predicated on a helping hand to others who would elevate their crushing way of existence by change into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas, no final solutions. We offer to join in the search for betterment. We offer our experience and our energies in partnership in the quest for greater human excellence. This we not only endorse. This we sponsor and promote, and provoke. A tradition of government by the governed, of revolution by consent -- all of these are among the greater virtues that we have to demonstrate to a world sorely in need of great virtues.

But we shall go further. We are taking the offensive in this war of ideas. We shall be more alert in exposing Communist techniques and tactics. Distortion and duplicity about this land and its people will not go unanswered.

How shall we accomplish this dual role?

First, the projects that we launch are delivered abroad, primarily through our posts -- 218 of them in 98 countries around the world, staffed by some 1,200 American men and women and their valuable local assistants. Their relation to Washington is as the rim of a wheel to a hub. We in Washington set policy and direction for our posts abroad, but it is as a service center to our overseas operators that we serve our main function.

Second, I have already mentioned that we operate in seven principal media of communication --- radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts, as well as the all-important field of personal contact ---

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reaching out to all parts of the world in virtually all languages. As the informational arm of US policy, what we do is often imposed on us by the impact of events. But we do not await events. We anticipate, prepare and organize our resources. There is also sometimes a need to concentrate on a selected short range of subject-matter. We have thus established a new post, entitled "Director of Media Content". This job is to aim our output, to pull together the sinews of our several media, to multiply their effectiveness by combining their effort.

Next, we are concentrating our attention on the fields where the ideological competition is being waged. This means expansion in Africa -- where new nations have arisen -- and in Latin America -- where new difficulties have been born -- and in Southeast Asia -- where new pressures are upon us. We will not do this, however, at the expense of thinning the lines of communication with our traditional friends and allies.

To our neighbors to the south, we shall ask them to face the facts about this man called Castro. We shall ask them to recognize the nature of his totalitarian dictatorship, his betrayal of the ideals of the revolution that brought him to power, his suppression of basic human liberties, his treason to the ideals of civilization, and his atrocities, his calculated reliance on the Sino-Soviet bloc and the danger that this threatens to free institutions in the Western Hemisphere.

But we shall do more than merely affirm the negative. We shall examine and explain the promise of the new "Alliance for Progress", the economic and social promise that can bloom from the new planted seedling of US-Latin American cooperation.

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In Africa, there are new lands emerging with new leaders. It is a continent groping for directions, churning with ideas, surveying our style, sampling our ideals. One need only recall the heady wine of our own independence in 1776 to appreciate the new intoxication of Africa. To them we must do more than criticize their politics and caution them on the Soviets. We must share with them our hands and our hearts, our techniques and our time. We must, perhaps above all, accord them the dignity of friendship and respect. In Africa alone we have opened 12 new posts in the past year: Mali, Ivory Coast, Togo, Dohomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Chad, Ruanda-Urundi, Malagasy Republic. New countries, all of them, some not even in existence when I assumed this office less than four months ago.

In Latin America, we hope to establish 11 new posts in key interior cities, and to strengthen 17 existing posts now undermanned.

In Southeast Asia we are taking additional urgent steps to communicate our determination to support our allies and to prevent neutral countries from falling to Communism. Communication in these lands is poor. Literacy is low. The challenge to our ingenuity and to our energy is great -- and it is expensive.

Our financing for this year will we hope be adequate. But I would remind you that our budget now awaiting approval was drawn up before the sudden increase in the menace of Castro's Communism, before the stepped-up Communist assault in Laos and the eroding subversion in South Viet Nam and Thailand.

In the matter of financial and manpower substance, our adversaries have a clear advantage. The Soviet bloc spends more money jamming our radio broadcasts than we spend on our entire Agency. Our total budget is less than

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the cost of one combat loaded Polaris submarine, and it is one fifth of the estimated advertising budget of our armaments manufacturers. One American soap company spends almost as much on advertising as the USIA spends explaining US policy abroad.

We certainly do not solicit billions for propagating the truth. But this country must be willing to do what must be done -- or we will forfeit to the inexorable tide of history our role as the promoters of freedom.

Implicit in meeting this challenge is the cost of physical facility. The Voice of America broadcasts 600 hours a week and, including packaged programs, uses up to 62 languages. But, as they say in the trade, let's look at the competition. We are fourth, ranked in order behind Russia, Communist China, and the United Arab Republic. But we certainly do not intend to remain in fourth position. We are building new transmitters, one in North Carolina, and one in Liberia, but we are seriously handicapped against the opposition because they are already located physically closer to much of the audience we would reach. We have had practically no increase in power since 1953 and it is in these years that our competition has passed us.

Our broadcast and other activities do need more money, but money alone will not do the job. We need immunization from accordion financing -- granting most of our budget requests one year, squeezing them tightly the next. No network or newspaper could flourish on such financial irregularity; neither can USIA.

We face a difficult time with staffing. We need more permanent staff -- talented people willing to work for little pay and less recognition. And we need

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the cooperation of the men who help shape the thinking of our citizens. We want them to share their thoughts abroad. In Moscow and Peiping, such intellectuals and journalists are summoned at government bidding. In America, we do not bid; we request. But the argument heard sometimes here that cooperation with the government hampers professional independence is, I submit, specious. We need your help and, while we cannot pay commercial rates, we can offer another compensation: the satisfaction that you helped keep our country strong.

The history of this Agency has been brief and turbulent. I trust its future will be long and fruitful. In the bare 20 years of its life, it has had five titles and a dozen different directors. Our origins lie in the frenzied beginnings of World War II, when we operated with a radio and a prayer. Our future may lie in the unseen systems of communication satellites, when we will operate with international television and perhaps those same prayers again.

The product of this Agency is all for export, much of it invisible, much of it unknown at home. Much of its end-product effectiveness is not measurable by common standards. We do not have a rating service, and frequently our work is known to the public only when we make a mistake. We do not ask for special consideration, and certainly not for sympathy, from those of you who work in the private sector of communication.

We do not ask that our mistakes be ignored, nor that our accomplishments be exaggerated. We shall do our best to tell you what the Agency is doing in the belief that you are as concerned as we in providing the citizens of this country with information as to what is being said and done in their name abroad.

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I have learned since coming to Washington at least two things: the first is that it is easier to ask questions than to answer them, and the second, that questions are never indiscreet but answers sometimes are. I suppose the art of answering is to produce a proper mixture of candor and discretion and to confess ignorance when it is obvious. And with a promise -- in answering your questions -- to follow this precept, Mr. President, may I turn the floor back to you.

* * * * *

July 7, 1961

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
IOP/LM
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

I am answering your letter to John Constable as he has left the Council and I am replacing him.

We passed on to John your compliment concerning his articles. He was glad to hear from you.

The Atlanta schools open August 30. We will be watching the situation closely and make any suggestions which occur to us which might help you.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thanks for your letter of June 5. I have been meaning to write to you for the last week or two. By all means do put us on the mailing list for all your releases.

I have, of course, seen the first-class series of the articles you did for us.

I want to be quite sure that we are adequately taped in to Atlanta on August 30. That is the mystic date is it not? Would welcome any suggestions for coverage that you might care to pass along.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BUCKLEY--WO 2-2445

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE
Saturday, July 8, 1961 HEW-Q16

Distribution of improved televised instructional materials such as film and tape to the Nation's public schools and to universities on a nonprofit basis was recommended today by two University of Nebraska educators, as part of a national study of the use of television in education. The study is being conducted under Title VII of the National Defense Education Act.

The report written by Dr. Wesley C. Meierhenry, Assistant Dean of Teachers College at the University of Nebraska, and Jack McBride, Director of Station KUON-TV at the University, estimates that 500,000 school children and 100,000 college students were taught directly by television in regular courses in 569 public school systems and 117 colleges and universities in 1959.

"The 1961-1962 school term likely will find a proportionately greater number of schools and students participating in the use of television for instructional purposes. This is evidenced by the increase in the number of participating schools, the increase of population in urban areas in which instruction by television is available, and the increase in the number of operating closed and open-circuit broadcasting stations," the two University of Nebraska staff members said.

Data collected from interviews with elementary and secondary school and university educators and from a sampling of public school systems representing 97 percent of the public school enrollment revealed "a definite receptiveness toward the use of television for instructional purposes and a

(More)

very favorable attitude toward the use of recorded televised instruction," the Office of Education was told. The study was conducted by an eight-member advisory committee at a cost to the Office of Education of $47,500.

Dr. Meierhenry and Mr. McBride recommended distribution and exchange of film, tape, and other instructional materials at a national center and a number of regional centers. This would, to a large extent, eliminate needless and expensive duplication of materials and programs by individual schools and universities.

Local school districts could, for example, produce television programs featuring historic shrines in their own areas and these could be exchanged so that all school districts participating under the plan would obtain information about historic areas in other parts of the country, it was pointed out. Similarly a television series on the industrial and economic resources of Omaha, for example, could be circulated through the rest of the country in exchange for similar studies of other metropolitan areas.

Cost to the educational systems must be kept low if the plan is to succeed and if televised instruction is to be encouraged in schools and universities where it has not yet been employed, the report said.

A series of advisory committees representing the whole range of educational interest in this country -- academic, professional, administrative and supervisory -- will be necessary, the report asserted. State departments of education and classroom teachers would be represented.

# # #

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Jackson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 17, 1961

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Thanks a lot.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

We are sending you two copies of "The Negro and the Ballot" by Margaret Price.

I don't know if we will reprint Mr. Dabbs' speech to the NAACP; if we do we will be glad to send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

I have one — just wanted to say it's a good job.

WCG

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1961

Dear Miss Long:

Thanks very much for your letter of July 7. Please be sure I continue to get all of the Council's releases. As you may know I am in frequent touch with Mr. Muse.

In Philadelphia last night, I heard Mr. Dabbs' speech to the NAACP. It was a brilliant job. I dare say you will be circulating it.

Incidentally, do you have available a copy of "The Negro and The Ballot in The South" by Margaret Price, which the Council published in 1959? If you do I'd appreciate a copy.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Miss Margaret Long
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 17, 1961

Mr. Romney Wheeler
Director
Television Service
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Thank you for your letter of July 11. We were very glad to meet and talk with Mr. Foster and Mr. Benson when they were recently in Atlanta. If we can be of any assistance to you as you work ahead on the Atlanta script and the filming, please let me know.

I am not well advised on how these things can work, but it occurs to me to tell you that Edwin Randall was in Atlanta last week doing interviews with local people for a radio program about this city, the theme of which will be "here is a city in the process of changing its mind about its social patterns." Possibly you know Ed Randall. He operates as Friendly World Broadcasting, and his address is 122 North Providence Road, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. He does, I think, an extremely skilled job of putting material such as this on tape for radio, and his tapes have been widely used the last year or so throughout the South. You will know better than I whether there will be any way in which you could make use of any of Ed's tape. I can tell you, however, that he interviewed a very good and numerous cross section of the interesting and important people in Atlanta and that Ed's past performance would make me believe the interviews were very well done.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

ML
return to SM for filing

July 11, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for the splendid assistance you extended to our producer, Hugh Foster, and to Mr. Benson during their recent visit to Atlanta. It is only through the cooperation of people such as you that we are able to accomplish our varied tasks, and we are deeply appreciative of the time you were able to devote to this project.

We plan to complete the script which will portray Atlanta as a "beacon" of the New South in the next month so that actual filming may start at the end of August or early in September. I hope that we may call upon you once again for assistance at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Romney Wheeler

Romney Wheeler
Director
Television Service

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

U.S.I.A.

July 18, 1961

Mr. S. J. Mattina
Purchasing Agent
Information Center Service
United States Information Agency
252 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York

Re: Paris - 21449

Dear Mr. Mattina:

We are glad to send you a complimentary copy of "The South and the Nation."

Many of our publications are available in quantity for small sums at cost to us. Of course, one or two copies is always complimentary.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
Information Center Service
252 Seventh Avenue
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

IN REPLY REFER TO
Paris - 21449

July 17, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

This Agency now administers many Information Centers abroad to promote international understanding between the people of the United States and people of other countries. These Centers help to correct misunderstandings about the United States abroad by presenting the true story of the American people and their form of government. The rendering of technical services and interchange of economic, technical, scientific, and cultural data also help to accomplish this purpose.

This office keeps the Centers supplied with current publications, and arranges for the procurement of special material. We now have a request for material which your organization publishes as follows:

Collins, LeRoy - South and the nation. 1960.

We would be grateful for 1 complimentary copies for the Centers. Would you be good enough to send the material to the attention of the undersigned?

Very truly yours,

S. J. Mattina

S. J. MATTINA,
Purchasing Agent

U.S. Info Agency

September 5, 1961

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

I believe you must have kept abreast of the news from Atlanta and have seen this city pass it's test. It was a fine day! No one can be sure that all danger is past; I, for one, doubt that it has. What ~~yesterday~~ last Wednesday proved, however, was that the citizenry has made a decision, and that the city and school officials are fully capable. If there is any subsequent disorder it will be purely an act of premediated violence and would seem clearly to be the work of the tiniest fringe.

Bruce Galphin is a good reporter whom we frequently see. I think you will be pleased with his work.

I certainly shall keep in mind your invitation to pass on to you any thoughts I may have about "angles". Have you ever considered bringing together three or four NAACP attorneys to talk about what they set out to do, what they have accomplished, what they have learned from the struggle, and what they see in the future? I am thinking of people such as Thurgood Marshall, Robert Carter, Don Hollowell (Atlanta), Oliver Hill (Richmond, now working, I believe, for H.H.F.A.), Wiley Branton (Arkansas). These are pretty impressive men. What they would say would, I think, insure candor in a program. Their appearance would convey a positive message.

I have had three people around here swear on a stack of Bibles that your New South subscription is now straightened out.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Mr. Lee Nichols of USIA receives New South along with several others. John put on before he left.

4

ML
Phone & return

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

With August 30 just about a fortnight ahead of us, and with New Orleans, and the rest a week later, I want to be sure that our lines are open.

As I dare say our mutual friend Mr. Ben Muse has mentioned to you, my colleagues in our news media and I are determined that this year we will not be caught short on the schools' integration stories. If there is any bad news the domestic and foreign commercial news services will be sure to cover it and our job will be the rather difficult one of putting the unpleasantness in perspective. Where there are, as I'm sure there will be in several cases, stories of acceptance of integration we will do our best to publicize them widely overseas.

I would appreciate getting directly from your office copies of any statements the SRC makes about the school reopenings. Any time in your judgement a particular situation on which you are commenting warrants it do not hesitate to phone me, (DUdley 3-4072) reversing the charges.

Specifically on Atlanta, our "stringer" there has been John Nelson of the Constitution, who I'm told is shortly taking off on a very fine fellowship. He will be replaced by Bruce Galphin of the same paper. Doubtlessly both of these reporters are known to you through their regular work, but it may be worth while your also knowing that they do the odd bit for us.

Any time you have any thoughts about "angles" of this whole story that you think we ought to develop, I'd welcome them.

Incidentally, we have received this year only the occasional copy of your excellent little magazine "New South." If you could send me a file of this year's issues to date and have us securely on the mailing list for future issues I'd appreciate it. If the problem is that the Agency neglected to renew the subscription, just let me know.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **BERNICE COOK**

8/23/61

L.W.D.

Les, I checked the file for a card and stencil for Mr. Gausmann but did not find no record on him. However, a Mr. Lee Nichols of USIA receives NEW SOUTH along with several other persons in the agency who John put on recently.

I am adding Mr. Gausmann to the list on a complimentary basis today, in answering him, you may let him know this.

B.C.C.

Les, I sent Mr. Gausmann all past, 1961 New South editions--complimentary.

J.F.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

ML
MMB-file

September 8, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of the 5th. If New Orleans behaves itself tomorrow, not only Atlanta but the whole South can pat itself on the back. Thanks very much for your suggestion about a panel show featuring NAACP lawyers. It is an excellent idea and I shall pass it on to the Voice of America.

Let us get together the next time you are in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 24, 1961

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausman:

Thank you for your letter of October 16. We enjoyed meeting Joe Cooper and I am glad that he found his visit pleasant and worthwhile.

I hope some time when you have a visitor to refer to us that you'll find an excuse to escort him down. It would be a great pleasure to us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

MAR 9 1962

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks very much for your letter of March 6. Your requests are, to say the very least, entirely reasonable and your offer is most generous. I shall certainly be happy to be guided by your letter in connection with any other visitors coming to Atlanta.

I am wondering who else concerned with the foreign visitors question you have written to. If you will let me have a list, I will be happy to pass the word along to any who have not received such information.

Very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 1, 1962

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Adtisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
U. S. Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

file

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

Hopefully, this September should be fairly quiet around the school houses. Maybe that could be your story. If so, I would suggest that you might ~~might~~ choose a place or places such as Nashville, Richmond, or possibly Charlotte where desegregation begins to advance beyond merely token dimensions.

If there is "trouble" this year the most likely places would be, I think, Chattanooga and Pensacola though I really don't expect any serious problem in either place. Chattanooga has another interest and in a lesser degree so has Pensacola; beginning last January Chattanooga embarked on what seems to us to be perhaps the most sincere and imaginative program of teacher preparation that has been used in the South, coupled with some good community planning. Pensacola has done the same though more modestly.

There is, of course, the possibility of public schools re-opening in Prince Edward County. If so, this will be of crucial importance. How in the world, though, you could interpret the Prince Edward situation or make it even understandable to a foreign

audience, I confess I do not know.

Yes, we do plan another report on Albany, but not until the dust settles a bit; predictions about that are rash but we may have something out about mid-September. I will see that you get it immediately. I think a lot of the interpretation in Howard Zinn's report for us of last January is still valid, however, and I am enclosing a copy; also a press release, which was good but fell like a wet blanket, of our Georgia affiliate.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

JUL 24 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

With September looming before us, I have written to Mr. Sarratt of the Southern School News inquiring what school reopening stories we ought to be on the lookout for, and would appreciate any hunches of yours on this matter too.

Please send me by your very fastest carrier pigeon anything the Council releases on the latest round in Albany.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Bill Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 10, 1962

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

Miss Lipson has already arrived, and we shall be delighted to see her; she is coming in tomorrow.

Some time ago, you wrote to me inquiring as to whether we would have a report on Albany. We shall, and a very good one, written by Howard Zinn and to be published in pamphlet form probably by November 1. The manuscript is now at the printers. It is going to be somewhat critical of the performance of the federal government in Albany, but if you would like some copies for distribution I am sure we can arrange that. I'll get a copy to you promptly.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have taken the liberty of putting another British visitor on to you. She is Miss Joan Lipson, a friend of mine from the London Days who is visiting the United States under the auspices of the English Speaking Union.

Miss Lipson is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Clerical Administrative Workers' Union. She should be hitting Atlanta about the 16th of this month and I have suggested that the Southern Regional Council could do more to acquaint her not only with Atlanta but with the South generally than any other organization.

Any courtesy you or any of your splendid staff can show her will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

arrived Oct. 9

BCC, copy of Govindarajalu letter and letter to U. S. Information Agency

March 24, 1963

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter we received from a library in India and a copy of our reply. I could not photograph the letter, because it was written in purple ink on blue paper and did not reproduce on our copying machine.

It occurred to us that the USIA might be interested in this request.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

LWDV

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1963

MA

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thanks very much for sending me along the correspondence with your Indian friend. I am referring it to our Indian desk which may indeed wish to do something about it.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant, SRC
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 12, 1963

Mr. John W. Black
United States Information Agency
Room 240
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Black:

Thank you for your letter of recent date to Mr. Dunbar in which you request your name be put on our mailing list. This has been done, and you will subsequently receive our publications as they are released.

I am enclosing a Publications List which may list some items that you do not now have. If you would like to have any of the items listed please feel free to let us know, and we'll be glad to send them to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

June 12, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie,

Would you please put the following person on our mailing list Category #10 (Govt. Agencies):

Mr. John W. Black
United States Information Agency*
Room 240
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

thanx, mmj

*The AGENCY (USIA) receives our materials; however, Mr. Black requests copies of his own.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

MJ please + advise have sent ack

RECEIVED
JUN 12 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I have recently been assigned to cover the civil rights beat for the International Press Service of USIA in place of Mary Butler who transferred to our African Branch.

Rufus Wells, also of our African Branch, suggested that I write to you and ask to be put on your mailing list because much of the material you publish is of great value to us in the stories that we do on civil rights progress in the south.

I would appreciate it greatly, if I could be put on your mailing list. If Mary Butler was on your list my name could replace hers. My address is Room 240, USIA, 1776 Pennsylvania Ave. N. W., Washington, 25, D. C.

Cat. 10 Govt Agencies

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Black

John W. Black

September 20, 1963

Mr. William Stricker
Deputy Director
Foreign Correspondents Center
U. S. Information Agency
340 East 46th Street
New York, New York

file

Dear Mr. Stricker:

I am late in acknowledging your letter of September 5 which arrived the same day as did Mr. Geoffrey Owens. I was very glad to have an opportunity to talk with him. We are always happy to receive such persons.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

340 East 46th Street

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

September 5, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hope you won't mind if I ask you again to help us out with a visit of a foreign correspondent to the South.

He is Geoffrey Owen, the U. S. representative of the FINANCIAL TIMES of London. Mr. Owens plans to be in Atlanta on Monday, September 9 and Tuesday Sept. 10, in Montgomery Sept. 11 and Thursday Sept. 12 and in Jackson, Friday Sept. 13.

He is interested in covering all aspects of the integration story.

We know Mr. Owen who has been in this country for almost two years, very well. He is a newsman of highest professional standards and, in addition, a most likeable person. I would, therefore, appreciate it if you could not only talk to him but also suggest to him some other persons both in Atlanta and in Montgomery and Jackson.

I am fully aware of the fact that you are extremely busy these days but in view of the nature of our connection with Mr. Owen and the importance of his publication I would be very grateful if you could assist him.

Since Mr. Owen's decision to visit Atlanta and the other cities in the South was made only very recently, there was no time to inform you at an earlier time and I have therefore taken the liberty of giving him your name and address and have asked him to call you upon his arrival in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

William Stricker

William Stricker, Deputy Director
Foreign Correspondents Center

Mr. E. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

October 2, 1963

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

On yesterday I mailed a bundle of SRC publications to you and failed to include the June, July and September synopses of The Civil Rights Crisis... . Herewith they are enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 1.

Oct. 1, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie,

You now have Mr. William C. Gausmann of U. S. I. A. on Category #10 (Govt. Agencies). Please switch him to our Category #9 (Mass Media) so that he will get most of our publications.

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
U. S. Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

thanx, mmj

Separate mailing: L-Reports 34-A (revised), 43, 44 and 45
Economic Status of Negroes..... Henderson
"The Desegregation of Southern Schools..." Coles
"Southern Schools - Token Desegregation..." Morland
NEW SOUTH - June, 1963, July-August, 1963
NEW SOUTH Subscription blank

October 1, 1963

Mr. William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gausmann:

The mysteries and the orneriness of mailing lists I have never mastered. I discover that you are on our government agencies mailing lists, which gets all such things of ours as we think government agencies might possibly take time to read, or, in the alternative, things which are for the good of their souls whether or not they read them. Even so, I don't know why you have missed a couple recent things. And so we are sending you, under separate cover, a bundle which I hope will catch you up. And we are moving you to another, more favored, mailing list.

I get into Washington ever so often, but it is usually for a pretty quick visit. I have, however, long wanted to come by and learn more about USIA, and will make it a point to do so at an early visit.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

September 17, 1963

MI — Please be follow up?

No — our Cat. #10 (Govt. agencies) which gets selected mailings, inc. Task.

Should we change to Cat. 9-1 (Mass Media) & send him what we've put out since our pub. statement?

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I'm wondering if somehow I've slipped off your mailing list? Not since SRC's statement endorsing the June Supreme Court decisions have I seen anything from you. Surely SRC must have been prolific during the past summer.

What we could use most handily would be a balanced round-up on what has happened in the South between the Birmingham revolt and this past week's events in Alabama. It was quite a summer.

Please let me know whenever you'll be in Washington with the odd free moment.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

N. M. ✓
BC ✓
MM-f-file

Rec'd 10/30/63

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1963

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

A belated note to thank you for the packet of materials which you sent along. If you'll just make sure that on your regular mailing list the address shows as Room 812, 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington 25, D. C., there should be no further problem.

Will you please tell Mr. Dunbar that I have his note too and look forward to seeing him?

Sincerely yours,

William C. Gausmann

William C. Gausmann
Advisor on Labor and Minorities Affairs

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
Gov't
U.S.D.A.

June 15, 1964

Mr. Leonard L. Lefkow
International Press and
Publications Service -- Rm. 240
U. S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lefkow:

Your letter of June 13 to Mr. Dunbar is acknowledged.

Please be advised that three separate departments of USIA are presently on our mailing list, and are receiving all of our materials. Your department is on our mailing list also, but to our regret, in the wrong category. Since your letter we have corrected our records accordingly, and henceforth you will receive, automatically, all of our reports and materials. We will also continue to send materials to the other sections of USIA.

Under separate cover we are sending all of our materials published in 1963-64, with the hope that they may be of some use to you. We appreciate your bringing this oversight to our attention, and hope you will feel free to call on us at any time we can be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

June 13, 1964

VJ - Pls strangle this out once & for all. They right to have anything they want

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Some time ago, The Agency was placed on the Council's mailing list. We now receive news releases and find them valuable in our attempts to cover developments in race relations for audiences abroad.

Occasionally, the Council releases detailed studies, but we rarely receive them. The latest series, presumably, is the "Special Reports," on which we received a news release.

Would it be possible to receive these automatically, along with any other special reports, such as chronologies of developments in race relations? They would be invaluable to our coverage. Likewise, I wonder if the Council has compiled a publications list or such from which we could draw on past studies.

Sincerely,

L. Lefkow

Leonard L. Lefkow
International Press
and Publications Service
(Room 240)
U. S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

July 25, 1969

Mr. William Gordon
Room 430
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20547

Dear Bill:

Enclosed is our check for $64.96 representing reimbursement of the expenses relative to your research on college students.

I am sending this immediately on my return to the office, but look forward to reading your manuscript.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON 20547

July 21, 1969
Room 430
1776 Pennsylvania Ave.

Dear Paul,

This has been done in very rough order, but like most of us here, I am working these days without a secretary and the typing is not very good. However, if this is not acceptable for your records, I can do it over in better form. I shall however, make avaible to you all the information I gather in the overall effort which I shall continue in full force this fall. I shall be on when several campuses by that time. Thanks a lot.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Gordon

P.S. I had a talk with Mrs. Alexander sometime ago and I had promised to send these figures on long before now. But recent developments here have kept all of us on the run.

Hotel and lodging $37.94

Round trip by train to New York 27.00

Total $64.94

Whatever consideration you are willing to give here will be appreciated.

#337 PA

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Paul Anthony

MJ -
The attached is
by Bill Gordon. Please
file for future
reference
P

Some Points of Student Unrest
at City College New York

City College New York struck me as being very much like some of the politics which surround the city itself, confused, without a sense of direction. The City College or the University as it is now called, seems to be suffering from some of the symptons that New York City has been suffering from during the past few years, one of bigness, overcrowded conditions, torn by ethnic and racial grievances.

"There are two groups of us here," a professor told me, "one which seems to know what it is going, the other which does not. I also feel confused at times and I can not quite make up my mind which group I might belong to."

He told me that City College has been hit by some of the problems found in other schools and universities. The administration is too involved, too occupied with day to day routine procedures. There is little personal contact between faculty and students.

"We are getting a different kind of faculty member and a new kind of student," another professor told me. "Each is coming with his own ideas and demands and neither wants to talk to the other."

Black student demands have been equally rash. Buildings have been taken over

and occupied by students. There was violence which resulted in closing down the school for sometime. This also followed with the President submitting his resignation. Both students and faculty members with whom I talked were reluctant to give me a specific reasons why the president left City College, though some espressed regret over his leaving.

Among the priority demands made by black and Puerto Rican students was for the College administration to increase the number of non-white students at the College. Actually what the students were demanding had already been initiated by the College.

In the fall of 1965, the University, comprising all sections and departments took 113 students directly from the New York poverty areas. That number in City College alone in 1969 had grown to grown to 800. These were mostly black and Puerto Rican students. This was part of a program established by legislation by the New York state legislature in the summer of 1966. The program known as SEEK, Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge was made available to all colleges in the University system. The new legislation provided not only for a non-tuition policy, but for stipends of up to $50.00 a week per student. Since 1967 a residence hall has been open in an upper-Manhattan hotel for SEEK students who need the advantages of

dormitory living. By the summer of 1969 over 3,000 students were enrolled in SEEK at various university units. There are over 3,000 black students at City University alone out of a total of 11,000 undergraduates and out of 9,000 evening and graduatee students. University officials were quick to admit that the percentage of Negro and Puerto Rician students was much lower than they would like for it to be and efforts were in effect to correct this disparity. However, unlike most institutions, programs of change move very slow on the college and university campuses and this is part of the root of the problem.

Race and separatism have not been the primary source of friction at City College and at the University. Neither has SDS, Students for a Democratoc Society.

University officials blamed the disturbances on a group called the Calons, five white professional activists, with almost a "psychiotic" approach bent on disrupting the University to the point to where it will be forced to close down. The activists, I was told, have carefully worked their way into the ranks of various groups, especially black students and Puerto Ricans where they have exploited their grievances. This helped to further accentuate their racial sensitivities, which of course has resulted in some violence.

However, the violence that erupted, I was told, did not start with the Blacks and Puerto Ricans as the press reported it it did.

The violence was started by a group of engineering students and it began when a small group of black women students ~~were~~ was attacked as they were leaving the campus when the court order was issued.

"We already knew the damaging effects of violence and this could damage our efforts," a leader of the black students told me."We had discussed this and had made plans to avoid any kind of violence. But these engineering students precipitated it."

The overall feeling between black and white on the University campus was very cordial and without the racial friction that youn often read about. I saw black and white walking and talking together. I also saw them working together. I discovered a rapport between races that would lend credit to any racially mixed group.

"Our proposal to the administration," a black student leader told me,"is one that would include white teachers as well as black teachers in courses dealing with black studies. We want no separatist program of any kind. We all learn by working together, not by separating."

Last spring, when it was learned that the state and city governments were planning cuts in the SEEK budget, which would have made a drastic cutback in the program, black and white students joined together in a lobbying effort to have the cuts restored. The student effort was led by Onyx, an organization of black students

and the undergraduate Student Government. It received support of the University adminsitration. Even though dissident elements do exist on the campus and whose primary concern is to disrupt University operations, the vast majority of students, white and black are not involved in such an effort. There are danger signs that one can see there, Conditions might become disturbed again, even this fall. But the most optimistic feeling I got while there is the willingness for black and white to work their problems out together.

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January 6, '53

The Honorable the Attorney General of the U.S.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brownell,

Our small maggie comments in its December issue on the magnificent brief submitted by you to the Court.

I thought that you would wish to know that at least a few people hereabouts appreciated the careful reasoning and the tenor of the brief. The press of the country, to our mind, quite misinterpreted what you were arguing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

RECEIVED
JAN 15
Southern Regional

January 12, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want you to know that I appreciate receiving your expression of views concerning the position taken by the Department of Justice in the school segregation cases.

I am sorry that the pressure of business and the volume of mail regarding these cases make it impossible for me to write you a more personal note.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Brownell Jr.

FILE COPY

THE CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION
ITS FUNCTIONS AND ITS STATUTES

AN ADDRESS

by

ARTHUR B. CALDWELL
CHIEF
CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

before the

CIVIL RIGHTS CLASS OF THE SUMMER SESSION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
ON JULY 16, 1953

(REVISED OCTOBER, 1955)

THE CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION, ITS FUNCTIONS AND ITS STATUTES.

The Civil Rights Section was created as a unit of the Criminal Division in 1939. The Attorney General's order establishing the Section constitutes a sort of "corporate charter" for the Unit and is still broadly descriptive of its functions. The order reads in part as follows:

> "The function and purpose of this unit will be to make a study of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and Acts of Congress relating to civil rights with reference to present conditions, to make appropriate recommendations in respect thereto, and to direct, supervise and conduct prosecutions of violations of the provisions of the Constitution or Acts of Congress guaranteeing civil rights to individuals." (Order No. 3204, Feb. 3, 1939)

The Section consists normally of eight lawyers and five stenographers. One attorney deals exclusively with election law violations, and another devotes part of his time to this field. Another attorney deals largely in specialized areas involving the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Kickback Act and various railway labor laws. The other attorneys on the staff are assigned to civil rights and involuntary servitude and slavery violations. The head of the Section assigns cases, correlates activities, generally supervises the work, and is responsible to the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division.

Federal civil rights enforcement involves a delicate and technical function. Almost all violations of the federal civil rights statutes are also violations of state law, and the important matter of accommodation between Federal and State interests is always lurking in the background. Under the substantive civil rights statute, as will be more extensively discussed later, "a necessary party" defendant must be a State or local officer. (The statute also applies to Federal officers.) Many times the officer holds great power in his community, as is often the case with sheriffs or police chiefs, and sometimes he has State-wide prominence. The head of an entire state police organization was tried and convicted under the civil rights statute[1/] for the brutal torture of a murder suspect, and the mayor of a large suburban community was among those tried for wilfully permitting vicious race riots.[2/] Though, happily, instances of participation in civil rights violations by such high officials are not common, they disclose an aspect of our work peculiar to the civil rights field and are illustrative of its complexity -- our defendants are usually not the criminal type; often quite the contrary. Conversely, the civil rights victim, as is further noted a little later, is often not by any means a respectable or respected member of the community.

Besides presenting the delicate question of the Federal-State relationship, civil rights enforcement involves technical

---

1/ Apodaca v. United States, 188 F. 2d 932.

2/ United States v. Konovsky, 202 F. 2d 721.

considerations such as are not usually present in other fields of law. The application of the Civil Rights Conspiracy Statute, for example, to police brutality conspiracy cases is still unsettled in the law.[3/]

For these and other reasons, there is a need for close supervision and correlation in this field such as does not usually exist elsewhere. Therein lies the reason for the establishment and existence of the Civil Rights Section.

Notwithstanding these considerations, we are particularly sensitive to the views of the United States Attorney, who is on the scene and familiar with the local background. "Washington interference" is the usual defense cry in a civil rights prosecution, but it should be borne in mind that civil rights cases are usually prosecuted by the United States Attorney, a native of the community, before a local district judge, after investigation by F.B.I. agents who usually reside in the community, before a petit jury of "natives," after indictment by grand jurors from the area. Though "Washington interference" will still be raised as a defense cry, it has little substance.

The Civil Rights Section keeps close supervision over every case, from the receipt of a "complaint" to final appellate disposition. With the assistance of the United States Attorney, the Section guides the nature and course of the F.B.I. investigation, making specific suggestions for its course as the story unfolds.

3/ United States v. Williams, 341 U.S. 70.

The complaint of a civil rights violation may arise in one of many different ways. The F.B.I. might pick it up, either on its own initiative or because the victim has come to it and reported the incident. Or, the complainant may, in the first instance, go to the United States Attorney, whereupon, if the complaint has apparent substance, he is referred to the F.B.I. for a formal interview. Sometimes, newspaper or magazine articles are a source of the complaint. Occasionally a local official is the complainant. A casual inquiry from a professor in the South led to an important civil rights prosecution in the West.[4/] Anonymous complaints often result in full investigations and sometimes prosecutions. A complaint -- regardless of source or motivation if it states a prima facie case -- is investigated by the F.B.I. to ascertain if substance to the charge of a civil rights deprivation exists.

The typical civil rights victim is oppressed by poverty, ignorance, or both, and may well even have a criminal record or be a convict. "It is a fair summary of history," as Justice Frankfurter has remarked, "to say that the safeguards of liberty have most frequently been forged in controversies involving not very nice people."[5/] Nor is this strange. The National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement reported that legal restrictions are not likely to give officers serious trouble in the case of persons of no influence or

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4/ Trial of State Penitentiary Warden, Roy E. Best, for violation of Section 242 in Federal District Court in Denver, Colorado, June 1952.

5/ See Justice Frankfurter's dissent: United States v. Rabinowitz, 339 U.S. 56 at 69.

little or no means.[6/] It is because we are mindful of these considerations, that the Civil Rights Section and the United States Attorneys give every complaint the benefit of the doubt and where a prima facie violation of a statute is alleged, proceed to the investigative stage, at least to the point of being completely satisfied that no illegal deprivation of a Federally-secured right has occurred. The sifting process is long, arduous and often discouraging. Only one complaint out of a very large number will lead to prosecution. Some complaints, of course, emanate from persons under a mental or emotional disability; but usually these can be winnowed out easily. Likewise, many persons seeking private legal advice often come to the Government, only to be told that this is not our function. Throughout the "culling" process, the Civil Rights Section is active and is, as in all other stages, available to advise with the United States Attorney whenever necessary.

When the Federal Bureau of Investigation has completed its investigation and it has been determined by the Civil Rights Section and the United States Attorney that a given case is sufficiently serious to warrant further action, the case is presented to the grand jury. Although 18 U.S.C. 242, being a misdemeanor statute, does not require prosecution by indictment, it is usually not considered advisable to have the United States Attorney merely file an information as he can do in such instances. The rule,

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6/ Vol. II, Report on Criminal Procedure, 1931, Page 19.

however, is not invariable, and informations are sometimes filed in clear-cut cases where there is little doubt of the occurrence of the violation, and no serious trial impediments are likely to occur. Sometimes, it may be noted (though this occurs only rarely) that an information will be filed even though a grand jury has failed to indict. This happened in the notorious "Castor Oil Case" in West Virginia,[7/] but such unusual tactics are reserved for cases where violations are clear but local feeling is such as to prevent the grand jurors from being objective. Of course, usually in such cases there is even less chance for a petit jury to be sympathetic to the case, though be it noted that in the "Castor Oil Case" the petit jury convicted even where the grand jury had failed to indict. This, again, indicates some of the inherent complexities in the civil rights field and once more illustrates the need for the existence of the Civil Rights Section to advise and counsel and give the benefit of its more than sixteen years of experience in the field.

The Section often prepares indictments at the request of United States Attorneys. It is glad to perform this function and experience has shown, particularly in areas where civil rights prosecutions are rare, that the procedure is well worth the effort. In any event, it is always suggested that United States Attorneys submit indictment forms in each case to the Civil Rights Section for its approval prior to grand jury action.

Most civil rights cases, as previously noted, are tried

7/ Catlette v. United States, 132 F. 2d 902.

by the United States Attorneys. On occasion, however, there may be a need for a special prosecutor, and appropriate arrangements will be made through the Civil Rights Section. In such instances, the services of an attorney from the Criminal Division Trial Staff can be secured, or, in unusual and highly important cases, arrangements may be made for securing the services of a special prosecutor from the particular area. This is the exception and not the rule, however, and usually the United States Attorney will handle the prosecution himself. If memoranda of law or briefs are needed, the Civil Rights Section will, if time permits, prepare such material.

Many appellate briefs have been prepared in the Civil Rights Section, and, again, it stands ready to prepare or assist the United States Attorney in such function if requested to do so.

We have heretofore considered the more or less direct activities of the Civil Rights Section. In addition, however, the Section performs other functions. Amicus curiae briefs where important civil rights questions occur may be prepared by the Civil Rights Section. The Section prepared such amicus briefs, for example, in a case before a special three judge federal court in New Mexico[8/] and in a case before the Arizona Supreme Court. The cases involved

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8/ Trujillo v. Garley, Civ. No. 1353, Dist. Court, N. Mex. August 11, 1948.

the right of Indians to vote in those states.[9/]

The Civil Rights Section also acts as a sort of informal clearing house for civil rights problems which do not involve criminal aspects. It is not infrequently called upon to advise with respect to matters involving human rights, such as genocide, in the United Nations area. The Civil Rights Section has also conferred with representatives of the newly organized Governments of Japan and Germany who were studying civil rights problems and the approach to them in this country.

Over and above the performance of the regular work of the Section, various members have voluntarily performed valuable research in this technical field, much of which has been published in law journals over the years.[10/]

In other ways, general functions not of a criminal nature are also performed by the Section, such as analyzing proposed legislation and making suggestions with respect thereto. The Civil Rights Section has frequent occasion to confer with representatives of the various organizations interested in civil rights problems.

The statutes administered by the Section are divided roughly into three groups, as follows: (1) The Civil Rights and Involuntary Servitude and Slavery Statutes, (2) the Federal election laws and (3) the Labor statutes. Of these, the civil rights statutes

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9/ Harrison v. Laveen, 67 Ariz. 337, 196 Pac. (2) 456, (1948)

10/ For list of law review articles, by present and former members of the Section, see Appendix A.

(Sections 241 and 242, Title 18, U.S.C.) are responsible for the major portion of the Section's work load. The following is a discussion of some of the problems encountered in administering and supervising the enforcement of these important federal laws.

CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES;
SECTIONS 241 AND 242, TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE

At the outset, it would seem appropriate to explore briefly our civil rights background. The United States Constitution, as originally adopted, contained no Bill of Rights. However, shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, the First Congress passed and submitted twelve amendments to the States and by 1791, ten of these amendments, which we now know as the Bill of Rights, had been ratified.

In additing to the Constitution such guarantees as freedom of speech, press, and religion; the right peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government; freedom from unreasonable search and seizures; the right to due process of law; and prohibition against taking property without just compensation, our ancestors were not laying down novel principles of Government. They were insisting on traditional guarantees and immunities -- guarantees which the Declaration of Independence had declared inalienable and because of the deprivation of which they had risen in arms against a tyrannous government.

It is widely believed that the Bill of Rights was designed to protect individuals against deprivation of their

rights by other individuals. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Bill of Rights was not intended to and does not afford the protection of the individual's liberties against the conduct of other individuals or of State Governments. The Bill of Rights was an expression of fear and distrust of central government and an assurance that no despotism would arise to take the place of the one recently overthrown. In other words, the Bill of Rights set forth only what the Federal Government must not do to the people.

Until the Civil War, the individual looked to his State and community governments as the source and guardian of his personal rights. But post-Civil War problems forced a new approach, a shifting of emphasis in governmental scope and responsibilities. After the War, it became apparent that many states could not or would not fulfil their obligations to protect the individual liberties of all classes and kinds of persons. Consequently, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were added to the Constitution with the purpose of abolishing slavery and securing to all persons as against the State and National Governments equality in the protection of individual rights and liberties. Successive Congresses launched a program to enforce these Amendments. In addition to anti-slavery legislation, five civil rights statutes, known as Enforcements Acts, were placed upon the statute books in the ten years following the War.

These five statutes spelled out the guarantees contained in these Amendments and provided serious penalties against State officers and private persons as well for violation of these rights. Congress, through these statutes, undertook to secure to all persons the right to vote; the protection of individuals against mob violence; the right to acquire and own property, to make contracts and have access to the courts; and the right of accommodation without discrimination in places open to the public. Some of these statutes were declared unconstitutional by the courts and others were repealed by Congress. By 1909, few of them remained. In fact, so far as criminal statutes are concerned, only what is now known as Sections 241 and 242, Title 18, United States Code, survived as fragments of this original legislation. The following is a discussion of these Sections and their application in the light of their history and applicable court decisions.

SECTION 241, TITLE 18, U.S. CODE

Section 241 reads as follows:

> If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or
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> If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent

to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured--

They shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

This Section is aimed at a criminal conspiracy to injure, oppress, or intimidate citizens (not aliens) in the exercise of federally-secured rights and privileges. These rights are not enumerated in either Section 241 or 242. They are to be found in various statutes and in certain portions of the Constitution, notably in the first eight amendments and in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The rights protected by Section 241 are comparatively few in number because of the limitations on the Federal Government which exist under our system.

A. Statutory Rights.

The chief utility of Section 241 for the enforcement of statutory rights has been as a criminal sanction for otherwise sanctionless statutes. Abridgment by more than one person of a right created by Federal statute which itself contains no penalty may, in the absence of a contrary Congressional intent, be punished under Section 241. Thus, the Homestead Laws, which provide machinery for obtaining title to land in the public domain on compliance with certain conditions, do not contain specific criminal provisions penalizing interference with the right the statutes grant. However, the Supreme Court has held

that running a homesteader off his land, being a deprivation of the right acquired under the statute, is punishable under Section 241, provided a conspiracy is involved.[11/]

This theory appears applicable to any case of intimidation of a person who has personal rights under a Federal statute if the purpose of the coercion is to deprive him of his statutory benefits. Thus, under the Social Security Laws, the Fair Labor Standards Act and other statutes, certain benefits are conferred on persons or protection is afforded them against lawless interference. Criminal sanctions to punish attacks by private persons or public officials absent in the above statutes appear to be available in Section 241 because of the invasion of rights "secured . . . by the . . . laws of the United States."

B. Constitutional Rights.

The Constitution deals primarily with relationships between the Federal and State Governments and between these Governments and private persons. Therefore, abuse by one private individual of another gives rise to a deprivation of a constitutional right in comparatively few instances. Hence, Section 241 has only limited application to the conduct of private persons. In the absence of special facts, the ordinary outbreak of mob violence, vigilante activity directed against Negroes, soap box orators, religious groups, or others is not within the Section. Such aggressions may appear to constitute deprivations of the rights to liberty or life, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom from unlawful searches and seizures, or other invasions of personal rights mentioned in the Constitution.

11/ United States v. Waddell, 112 U.S. 76 (1884).

But these rights are rights against official action only and do not extend to the private behavior of one individual towards another. This situation is, perhaps, best summed up by Cushman, in his book entitled "Safeguarding Our Civil Liberties." At page 45, he says, "Broadly speaking it is the State and not the federal government which can prevent this kind of abuse (referring to private deprivation of civil liberties). No individual can possibly violate the federal Bill of Rights which begins with the words: 'Congress shall make no law,' and has been held to restrict only the federal government. Nor can an individual violate the 14th Amendment which clearly says 'no state' shall do the things forbidden."

In United States v. Mosley,[12/] decided in 1915, the Supreme Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Holmes, said at page 387, "The source of this section [241] in the doings of the Ku Klux and the like is obvious and acts of violence obviously were in the minds of Congress. . . . But this section dealt with Federal rights and with all Federal rights, and protected them in the lump . . ." Until the decision in Williams v. United States[13/] in 1951, it was thought that the rights "protected in the lump" included not only the comparatively few secured against private invasion but, also, those which the Constitution (principally the first eight and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments) secures as against deprivation by state or federal officers acting in their official capacities. However, in the Williams case, the Supreme Court divided 4-4 on the question as to whether this Section could reach a conspiracy of officials acting under "color of law." Four members of the Court, in an opinion by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, held that the

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12/ 238 U.S. 383.

13/ 341 U.S. 70.

application of Section 241 is limited to those rights which Congress can secure against invasion by private persons. If this opinion should ultimately prove to represent the law, the applicability of the Section has been narrowed to such few situations as involve deprivations by private persons, such as the right to vote in federal elections, the right to be free of mob violence while in custody of the Federal Government, the right to assemble and discuss federal problems, the right to testify in the Federal courts, and the like.[14/] The individual must look elsewhere for the security of those basic liberties sought to be preserved in the Bill of Rights and in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments from tyrannous and over-zealous officials.

SECTION 242, TITLE 18, U.S. CODE.

Section 242, Title 18, United States Code, is aimed at infringement of federally-secured rights by the wrongful action of State or Federal Government officials. The Section reads as follows:

> Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color,

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14/ United States v. Cruikshank, 92 U.S. 542 (1876); Foss v. United States, 266 F. 881 (1920); Logan v. United States, 144 U.S. 263 (1892).

or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

At the outset, it will be observed that two distinct offenses are defined by this Section:

1) The wilful subjection of any inhabitant, under color of law, to the deprivation of rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the United States Constitution and laws; and

2) The wilful subjection of any inhabitant, under color of law, to discriminatory pains or punishments on account of race, color, or alienage.[15/]

Unlike Section 241, Section 242 is not a conspiracy statute and may be violated by a single individual. Further, the protection of 242 is not limited to citizens and so far as the first offense referred to above, the Section's protection extends to all inhabitants of any state, territory, or district, regardless of race or class identification.

To be in violation of Section 242, the act resulting in deprivation of federally-secured rights must be done "wilfully." In defining the word "wilfully," the Supreme Court has stated in Screws v. United States that it is not enough that the wrongdoer have a general bad purpose or an evil intent to do wrong. He must have at the time he commits the offense a specific intent to deprive the victim of a federal

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15/ United States v. Classic, 313 U.S. 299, 327 (1941).

right which has been made specific either by "the express terms of the Constitution or laws of the United States or the decisions interpreting them."[16/]

The act forbidden must be committed "under color of law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom." This phrase is synonymous with "color of authority." It means that the statute can be violated in the first instance only by persons occupying public office -- federal, state, or municipal -- or persons who exercise governmental powers. A private individual may violate the statute only if he aids and abets such officials. The fact that the act proscribed must be committed by the officer in his official capacity does not mean that it need be authorized by some provision of a state or federal law. Conduct may be punishable under this Section even though it violates the express command of the law. This is made clear from the following quotation from the Classic case (p. 326):

> Misuse of power, possessed by virtue of state law and made possible only because the wrongdoer is clothed with the authority of state law, is action taken "under color of" state law.

The gist of the offense defined by Section 242 in each case is the deprivation of a right secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States. Among the more important of the rights secured are those defined in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, i.e., the right not to be deprived by either a State or the Federal Government of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and the right not to

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16/ 325 U.S. 91, 104 (1945).

be deprived at the hands of a State of the equal protection of the laws.

The willful taking of life by a person acting under color of law and contrary to due process would not only violate Section 242 but would, also, constitute murder under state laws. A willful deprivation of property rights without due process of law, under color of authority, is, likewise, a violation of the Section. Such tactics may be a part of an extortion scheme[17/] or may consist of confiscation of personal property or unwarranted interference with real property rights. The right to conduct a lawful business has been held to be a property right protected by the Fourteenth Amendment and, consequently, willful action of public officials to destroy a man's business would constitute a violation.[18/]

The majority of prosecutions under this Section have been concerned with the deprivation of liberty. Liberty includes personal security,[19/] as well as freedom from physical restraint. It also

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17/ Brown v. United States, C.A. 6 (May 18, 1953).

18/ Truax v. Corrigan, 257 U.S. 312 (1921).

19/ Lynch v. United States, 189 F. (2d) 476, 479 (1951).

includes freedom of speech and the press;[20] freedom to assemble peaceably,[21] to petition the government,[22] to pursue a lawful calling,[23] to express and exercise religious beliefs,[24] to establish a home,[25] and to be secure therein from unlawful searches and seizures.[26] The right to due process in this connection includes the right to a fair trial, which, in turn, encompasses a real, not a sham or pretended hearing;[27] the right not to be tried by ordeal or summarily punished other than in the manner prescribed by law;[28] the right not to be compelled to confess to an offense;[29] the right of a defendant in certain types of criminal cases to be represented by counsel;[30] and the right to a jury from which members of the defendant's race have not been purposely excluded.[31]

20/ DeJonge v. Oregon, 299 U.S. 353, 364; Grosjean v. American Press Co., 297 U.S. 233 (1936).

21/ Hague v. C.I.O., 307 U.S. 496 (1939).

22/ First Amendment, United States Constitution.

23/ Truax v. Raich, 239 U.S. 33 (1915).

24/ Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296 (1940); Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510 (1925).

25/ Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390, 399 (1923).

26/ Wolf v. Colorado, 338 U.S. 25 (1948).

27/ Moore v. Dempsey, 261 U.S. 86.

28/ Screws v. United States, supra, note 5.

29/ Williams v. United States, 341 U.S. 97 (1951).

30/ Powell v. Alabama, 287 U.S. 45 (1932).

31/ Smith v. Texas, 311 U.S. 128 (1940).

The foregoing rights are secured against federal, state, and local officials alike and any intentional interference with them by public officials may be punished under Section 242. However, it must be kept in mind that Section 242 may also be utilized to punish official interference with rights secured against infringement by private individuals. For example, the Section is applicable to penalize an official who deprives a person of the right not to be held as a slave, or the right to vote at a Federal election, or the right of access to Federal courts,[32/] or the right to inform Federal officers concerning federal offenses,[33/] or the right to be a witness in the Federal courts.

In addition to the rights enumerated above, the first eight amendments include certain rights secured only as against infringement by the Federal Government. Examples of these are the right not to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense, the right to a speedy and public trial in a criminal case, and the right not to be held in excessive bail or subjected to cruel and unusual punishment.

It also seems clear that Section 242 reaches a State official who willfully acts so as to deprive a person of the equal protection of the laws. In Lynch v. United States,[34/] it was held that the phrase "equal protection of the laws" includes the right of a prisoner to protection from the officer having him in charge and, also, a right to be protected by such officer against injuries by third persons. In other words, according to this case, if an officer

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32/ Ex parte Hull, 312 U.S. 583 (1941).

33/ In re Quarles and Butler, 158 U.S. 532 (1895).

34/ See note 19, above.

willfully turns a prisoner over to a mob or willfully permits a mob to take a prisoner from his custody, he is guilty of violating Section 242. Thus, the Lynch case supports the proposition that willful official action and willful inaction resulting in the denial of equal protection may be penalized under the Section. There seems to be no doubt but that the theory of this case would apply in other instances. Perhaps a good example would be the refusal of a state officer to permit a member of a minority group to engage in lawful work or the willful failure or refusal to restrain others attempting to deny him this right.[35/]

APPLICATION OF SECTIONS 241 and 242 TO ELECTIONS

Since 1884, it has been clear that the provisions of Section 241 secure and protect the right granted by Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution to vote in Federal elections.[36/] Later, in 1915, in the Mosley decision (supra, note 12), the Supreme Court extended the protection of the Section to the right to have one's vote honestly counted. In 1941, the Court, in United States v. Classic (supra, note 15), included within

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35/ See Truax v. Raich, 239 U.S. 33 (1915).

36/ Ex parte Yarbrough, 110 U.S. 651.

the constitutional guarantee the right to vote and to have the vote honestly counted in a primary election involving candidates for Federal office where such primary is an integral part of the election machinery or success therein is equivalent to election. Also, said the Court, the right to participate in such a primary is a right secured by both Section 241 and Section 242.

A most important and far-reaching result of the Classic decision is that it led to a re-examination by the Supreme Court of the "white primary" system which, for a long time, had been used in the Southern states as a device to deprive Negroes of an effective voice in the electoral process. Prior to Classic, the Court, in Grovey v. Townsend,[37/] had held that the exclusion of a Negro voter from a party primary, pursuant to political party regulations, deprived him of no right guaranteed by the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendment. After the Classic decision, the Supreme Court recognized that primary and general elections had been fused into a single instrumentality. The Court, therefore, overruled Grovey v. Townsend in Smith v. Allwright[38/] and held that racial discrimination by a political party adopted, enforced, or permitted by a State is state action forbidden by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. This decision opened the way for Negroes to vote in primary elections whether they involve State or Federal candidates or both.

The courts have resisted any and all attempts to evade the plain implications of the Allwright decision. Following that decision,

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37/ 295 U.S. 45 (1935).

38/ 321 U.S. 649 (1944).

the State of South Carolina repealed all of its primary laws and thus attempted to leave the matter of holding primaries and the qualifications to vote therein entirely to the discretion of political parties or groups. But the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit held that a primary under such auspices is, nevertheless, one of a two-step election process and that, consequently, the exclusion of Negroes from such primary, because of party rules, is State action constitutionally forbidden.[39/] Similarly, the exclusion of Negroes from an unregulated pre-primary held by an unregulated political association to endorse persons intending to participate as candidates in a regular Democratic primary was recently struck down by the Supreme Court as state action violative of the Fifteenth Amendment.[39a/]

The situation respecting the applicability of Sections 241 and 242 to elections and the right to vote therein may be summarized as follows:

1. In primary and general elections involving candidates for Federal office, conspiracies to deprive individuals of the right to vote and to have their vote honestly counted may be punished under Section 241. The Section applies whether the conspirators are private persons, officials, or both.

39/ Rice v. Elmore, 165 F. (2d) 387 (1947), cert. denied 333 U.S. 875 (1948); Baskin v. Brown, 175 F. (2d) 391 (1949).

39a/ Terry v. Adams, 345 U.S. 461.

2. In such elections, a deprivation, by persons acting under color of law, of the right to have the vote honestly counted is punishable under Section 242.

3. In such elections, a single private individual may not be punished under either Section. However, a private individual who infringes or attempts to infringe the right to vote in a general election involving Federal candidates is subject to punishment under the provisions of 18 U.S.C. 594.

4. In primary or general elections involving only state or local candidates, State action denying the right to vote because of race is contrary to the Fourteenth (Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536) and Fifteenth Amendments. Such action may, therefore, be punished under Section 242. However, it would represent no violation of Section 241 under the opinion of Mr. Justice Frankfurter in Williams v. United States (supra, note 3) (cf. Guinn v. U.S. 238 U.S. 347).

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, SLAVERY, AND PEONAGE STATUTES.

The Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, freed all the slaves but did not destroy slavery; it merely outlawed it in certain states. To end forever the institution of slavery, a constitutional amendment was necessary. On February 1, 1865, therefore, the amendment that was to become the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was submitted by the Thirty-eighth Congress, and ratified on December 18, 1865. In simple but eloquent terms, the Thirteenth Amendment declares that:

> Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Every form of compulsory service, including serfage and peonage, as well as slavery, clearly was abolished by the amendment. It denounces a condition and reaches every race and individual within the national jurisdiction.[40/] Without implementation, however, the Executive Branch of the Federal Government was powerless to act in situations involving forced labor. Only the Judicial Branch, by virtue of its jurisdiction in civil or appellate matters, would have authority to apply and effectuate the paramount law, but only after the aggrieved persons instituted private legal action or appeal from state action. Legislation, therefore, was necessary to give the amendment full force and effect.

Accordingly, Congress, on March 2, 1867, enacted the "Peonage Abolition Act," entitled "An Act to Abolish and Forever Prohibit the System of Peonage in the Territory of New Mexico and other Parts of the United States." The criminal provisions of this Act, now contained in Section 1581, 18 U.S.C., are as follows:

> (a) Whoever holds or returns any person to a condition of peonage, or arrests any person with the intent of placing him in or returning him to

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40/ Hodges v. United States, 203 U.S. 1, 17 (1906)

a condition of peonage, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever obstructs, or attempts to obstruct, or in any way interferes with or prevents the enforcement of this section, shall be liable to the penalties prescribed in subsection (a).

On May 21, 1866, the President approved the so-called "Slave Kidnapping Statute," now Section 1583, 18 U.S. Code. It provides:

Whoever kidnaps or carries away any other person, with the intent that such other person be sold into involuntary servitude, or held as a slave; or

Whoever entices, persuades, or induces any other person to go on board any vessel or to any other place with the intent that he may be made or held as a slave, or sent out of the country to be so made or held --

Shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

The third and last statute dealing with involuntary labor is Section 1584 of 18 U.S. Code. Despite its title, "Sale into Involuntary Servitude," it also covers the holding of another to involuntary servitude, which was added by the revisers of the 1948 Criminal Code to the provisions of the previous statutes. Section 1584 provides as follows:

> Whoever knowingly and willfully holds to involuntary servitude or sells into any condition of involuntary servitude, any other person for any term, or brings within the United States any person so held, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

A. Peonage

The purpose of the Anti-peonage Act of 1867, 18 U.S.C. 1581, is to outlaw peonage, "a status or condition of compulsory service. based upon the indebtedness of the peon to the master. The basal fact is indebtedness.[41/] The condition exists, therefore, where a person is compelled by force or threat of force to work for another in payment of a debt. The amount of the debt and the means used to coerce the victim are immaterial.[42/] In addition to prohibiting peonage, Section 1581 prohibits the return of a person to a condition of peonage; the arrest of a person with the intent of placing him in a condition of peonage; and the arrest (not necessarily under color of law) of a person with the intent of returning him to a condition of peonage.[43/]

Perhaps the most common type of complaint received in the Civil Rights Section in the field of forced labor involves the arrest of an employee who has just left or is about to leave the employment.

41/ Clyatt v. United States, 197 U.S. 207, 215 (1908)

42/ Pierce v. United States, 146 F. 2d 84, cert. den. 324 U.S. 873 (1945).

43/ United States v. Gaskin, 320 U.S. 527 (1944).

The arrest is usually predicated upon a minor larceny or other minor offense, and its evident purpose is either to punish the employee or to place him in fear of prosecution so that he will return against his will to the employment. If the arrest is followed by efforts to return the employee to the place of business or the farm, it may be found that the arrest was made with the intent of placing the employee in a condition of peonage.

B. Involuntary Servitude and Slavery

There are many situations which cannot be reached by the Anti-peonage Act, but which are prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment and constitute violations of the statutes dealing with involuntary servitude and slavery -- 18 U.S.C. 1583 and 1584. The fundamental difference between the peonage and the involuntary servitude and slavery statutes lies in the element of debt, which is not a part of the offense under the latter statutes. As stated above, it was not until the revision of the Criminal Code in 1948, that a holding, as such, would constitute a criminal offense. Apparently for this reason, and because of other inadequacies of the involuntary servitude and slavery provisions, a body of case law has been built up under Section 1581 while the other statutes have been relatively neglected.

Perhaps the most important case, and the only reported case, decided under the involuntary servitude or slavery statutes is United States v. Ingalls,[44/] involving provisions of what was then 18 U.S.C. 443, (now 18 U.S.C. 1583). Defendant Ingalls was convicted

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44/ United States v. Ingalls, 73 F. Supp. 76 (S.D. Calif. 1947).

under an indictment charging that on or about October 11, 1946, she and another "did entice, persuade, and induce another person, namely, Dora I. Jones, to go from Berkeley, Alameda County, to Coronado, San Diego County, California, * * * with the intent that Dora L. Jones, be held as a slave." In the defendant's motion for a new trial, the District Court's definition of the term "slave" was challenged. The Court reviewed the evidence and showed that for about 25 years the defendant had kept the victim in her household as a servant. During this period the victim was required to arrive early in the morning and perform practically all the household labor in the defendant's home. She was forbidden to leave except to perform errands and required to work long hours without compensation. Poorly fed, she was denied the right to have friends, and was physically abused on several occasions. When she expressed a desire to leave, the defendant reminded her of an adulterous relationship which the victim had had in the past with the defendant's first husband and of an abortion to which she, the victim, had submitted. This threat of exposure and prosecution held over the victim kept her in slavery, although the misconduct had occurred 38 years previously.

The victim had come into the service of the defendant at the age of 17 and had been in fear of the defendant throughout the years. When she did try to leave the defendant, it was only at the inducement of the defendant's daughter who had her leave the family automobile in which she was required to sleep during a cross-country

trip, and complain to a member of the Berkeley, California, Police Department, in whose presence the defendant renewed to the victim the threat of exposure and because of these threats, she returned to her employment with the defendant. The District Court concluded that she was "one who had no freedom of action and whose person and services were wholly under the control of defendant and who was in a state of enforced compulsory service to the defendant" and, therefore, was a slave within the meaning of the statute.

It should be noted that prosecution could not have been undertaken in this case under <u>any</u> theory, had it not been for the fortuitous circumstance that the victim left the condition of slavery for a very short period of time in 1946. At the time of the holding of the victim, a holding in involuntary servitude as such was not an offense, and it was necessary for the prosecutor to find a break in the continuing condition of employment to permit the use of the provision which makes it an offense to entice, persuade, or induce another to go any place with the intent that he be made or held as a slave. Her visit to the police station and the subsequent threats of the defendant which caused the victim to return, made the statute apply. Today, of course, Ingalls could be prosecuted under Section 1584 for the holding as such. The Peonage Statute would not have been appropriate, since there appears to have been no debt involved in the case.

Aside from the general conspiracy statute (18 U.S.C. 371), Section 241 of Title 18, U.S.C., may be used in the enforcement of the forced labor statutes. Section 241 protects citizens "in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured" by the Constitution. Since the Thirteenth Amendment guarantees to all persons the right to be free from slavery or involuntary servitude, it was held in Smith v. United States,[45/] that these rights are secured to every person within the jurisdiction of the United States and a conspiracy to deprive any citizen of the free exercise or enjoyment of such rights is indictable under the statute.

ELECTION STATUTES

Among the duties of the Civil Rights Section is the troublesome task of enforcing the Federal laws having to do with elections and election campaigns.

The Federal election laws, unfortunately, do not fall into any logical pattern. They outlaw activity ranging from the stationing of troops at polls to the mailing of anonymous campaign literature and yet do not control the actual mechanics of conducting elections. A brief history of Federal legislation in this field with reference to some of the more important problems which we face in enforcing the laws may be of interest.

The Constitution provides in Article 1, Section 2, for the popular election of representatives and, since the passage of the 17th Amendment, for the popular election of Senators. The qualifications

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45/ Smith v. United States, 157 F. 721 (C.A. 8, 1907, cert. den. 208 U.S. 618 (1908).

for voting in these elections, it is provided, shall be the same as the qualification for voting for the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the voter resides. Article 1, Section 4, provides that the States shall determine the time, place and manner of conducting these elections, but that the Federal Government may at any time make or alter such regulations. It is upon these Constitutional provisions that all election legislation, except that pertaining to Government employees, must rely.

Until 1870, with insignificant exceptions,[46/] Congress did not utilize its Constitutional right to legislate in the election field. After the Civil War, however, the reconstruction Congress, motivated in part by a desire to protect the Negroes in the South from disenfranchisement, passed the Enforcement Act[47/] which provided for complete supervision by the Federal Government of all elections in which Federal candidates were to be elected. The act outlawed every type of fraudulent and corrupt practice and provided for the stationing of Federal supervisors and Federal Marshals at the polls on election day.

Although the Enforcement Act had been held by the Supreme Court to be a valid exercise of Federal authority under Section 4 of

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46/ Such as an act of 1867 prohibiting Government officials from exacting political contributions from workers in Navy yards. (14 Stat. at Large 492) and the Act of 1842 providing for the election of congressmen by districts rather than by state-wide elections. (5 Stat. 491)

47/ Act of May 31, 1870, (16 Stat. at Large 140) entitled, an act "to enforce the legal right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several states of this union." Amended by Act of February 28, 1871 (16 Stat. at Large 433). Together, these statutes are referred to as the Enforcement Act.

Article 1, of the Constitution,[48] the advocates of states rights argued that the court had erred and that the conduct of elections was not an appropriate field for Federal legislation. Their efforts resulted, in 1894, in the repeal of practically all of the Enforcement Act.[49] The repealers overlooked, however, two rather innocuous appearing sections of the Act[50] which have survived as Sections 241 and 242 of Title 18, U.S.C.

The Enforcement Act had been repealed for only a few short years when the need for an entirely different type of Federal regulation of elections became apparent. Although the states were competent to cope with the mechanical problems of operating the polls on election day they were powerless to regulate the election campaign activities of powerful national interests whose expenditure of vast sums to influence the outcome of national elections was causing concern to many.

In the bitterly contested 1896 election it was estimated that $16,000,000.00, an astronomical sum in those days, had been spent to propagandize the electorate. The public was shocked when the young Charles Evans Hughes, investigating for the Armstrong Committee in New York, disclosed huge contributions by insurance companies to influence the 1904 elections.

As a result of these disclosures, Congress passed a bill in 1907 prohibiting corporations from making contributions in connection with political elections.[51] As amended to pertain to labor unions as well as corporations,[52] this statute now appears as Section 610, Title 18, U.S.C.

48/ Ex Parte Siebold, 100 U.S. 371, 1879

49/ 28 Stat. 36.

50/ Sections 6 and 17, originally Sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

51/ 34 Stat. 814.

52/ Made temporarily applicable to labor unions by the War Labor Disputes Act, Section 9. Amended by the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, Sec. 303.

In addition to barring the use of corporate funds, Congress, in 1911, imposed a limitation on the amount any candidate for a Federal elective office could spend in an election campaign. At the same time, Congress sought, by the passage of a bill requiring the filing of financial reports by Federal candidates, to subject campaign financing to the spotlight of publicity. As amended by the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, the provisions limiting campaign expenditures and the provisions requiring financial statements appear now as Sections 241 to 248, of Title 2. United States Senator Newberry of Michigan, in his campaign for reelection in 1918, together with his friends, spent more than $100,000 for his nomination and election. The prosecution which resulted succeeded only in casting serious doubt on the constitutionality of the statute which limited political contributions insofar as it applied to primary elections. The Supreme Court divided four ways on the question of the power of the Federal Government under Section 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution to regulate primary elections,[53/] and in the light of this confusion, the Congress followed the simple expedient of amending the law so as to make it inapplicable to primaries and political conventions. The new bill, known as the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, also codified the meager Federal law relating to elections and added a section prohibiting the soliciting of funds by one Federal office holder from another.[54/]

53/ Newberry v. United States, 256 U.S. 232.

54/ Section 312, Cor. Pract. Act, now Section 602, Title 18.

As amended to apply only to general elections, the Federal laws limiting campaign expenditures, prohibiting corporate contributions and requiring the filing of financial statements lost much of their effectiveness. In the southern states, where the primary election is all important, they became a virtual nullity.

Although the Supreme Court has indicated in the case of United States v. Classic,[55/] decided in 1941, that the Federal Government does have the power to regulate Federal primaries under certain circumstances, Congress[56/] has taken little action to plug the loopholes in the Corrupt Practices Act, which the Congress created following the Newberry decision. A notable exception, however, is the Taft-Hartley[57/] amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act which, in addition to barring campaign contributions by labor unions, extended the prohibition against corporate and union contributions to cover primary elections.

Although individual members of Congress submitted bills calculated to strengthen the existing election laws,[58/] it was not until 1939 with the passage of the Hatch Act that any significant progress was made. The Hatch Act is aimed primarily at preventing the political exploitation of Federal office holders and the misuse of official position for political purposes.

55/ 313 U.S. 299.

56/ Discussed above under Section 241 of Title 18. U.S.C. Supra Note 52.

57/ Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, supra.

58/ In 1937 and 1939 Senator Nye introduced Bills which would have extended to the whole election process and limited the expenditure of money in all Federal election campaigns. See S. 176, 76th Cong., 1st Session.

In Sections 13 and 21, however, the Act also attempts to regulate the use of money in campaigns. Section 13 attempts to limit to $5,000 the amount any individual may contribute to a candidate or political committee for his nomination and election but in fact only limits the channels through which contributions can be made. Section 21, which does not apply to primaries or conventions, limits to $3,000,000.00 the amount which may be accepted or spent by political committees. Unfortunately, the two sections are so loosely drawn and so full of inconsistencies that it has proved extremely difficult to establish a violation of their provisions.

In spite of the many shortcomings of the Federal election statutes, it is possible to formulate certain rules by which anyone may chart a reasonably safe course for his political activities. However, one may have to resort to frequent reference to the calendar since some of the rules apply to both nominating and election activities and others do not begin to run until after the date of the primaries or the nominating conventions. Certain prohibitions apply to all persons, including candidates and political committees, as follows:

1. No one may solicit or receive contributions from persons receiving Federal relief money or from administrative personnel of relief agencies (Sec. 604, Title 18 U.S.C.)[59/], or from Federal officeholders in a Federal building (18 U.S.C. 603). The latter

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59/ Hatch Act, Section 5.

prohibition applies to the mailing of a letter, soliciting contributions, to a government office. Incumbents in office may not solicit Federal office-holders at all. (Sec. 602, Title 18 U.S.C.)

2. No one may bribe or receive a bribe for voting or refraining from voting for a candidate for House or Senate in a general election (Sec. 597, Title 18 U.S.C.)[60/].

3. No one may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone in order to affect his vote in either a primary or a general election. (Sec. 594, Title 18 U.S.C.)[61/]

4. No one may bribe a voter by the promise of appointment to any job "provided for or made possible by any Act of Congress (Sec. 600, Title 18 U.S.C.), nor may he attempt to affect a vote by the threat of deprivation of employment provided for by Federal relief funds. (Sec. 598, Title 18 U.S.C.)[62/]

5. No one may furnish lists for political purposes of persons receiving Federal relief monies or of the administrative personnel of Federal relief agencies. (Sec. 605, Title 18 U.S.C.)[63/]

60/ Corrupt Practices Act, Section 311.
61/ Hatch Act, Section 1.
62/ Hatch Act, Sections 4 and 5.
63/ Hatch Act, Section 6.

6. No one may solicit contributions from any person or firm entering into any contract with the United States or its agencies for the rendition of personal services or the furnishing of supplies. (Sec. 611, Title 18 U.S.C.)[64/]

7. No one may contribute more than $5,000 to a candidate or to a national committee or a branch thereof in connection either with a primary or a general election campaign but anyone may give as much as he likes to a state or local committee. (Sec. 608, Title 18 U.S.C.)[65/]

8. No one may purchase articles of any kind or description, the proceeds of which are to inure directly or indirectly to the benefit of any candidate in the primaries or general election for the office of Senator, Congressman, President or Vice President, or of any national political committee. (Sec. 608, Title 18 U.S.C.)[66/]

9. Anyone who in two or more states directly expends more than $50.00 for a candidate for the House or Senate in a general election campaign

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64/ Hatch Act, Section 20.

65/ Hatch Act, Section 13.

66/ Hatch Act, Sec. 13(c). This is not to be construed to interfere with the regular business of a candidate.

must file an itemized statement of his expenditures with the Clerk of the House. He need not report such expenditures made on behalf of a presidential candidate nor need he report contributions to a political committee. (Sec. 245, Title 2 U.S.C.)[67/]

10. No one may accept a contribution in connection with a general or primary election for presidential and vice presidential electors or Senators or Representatives from a corporation or from a labor organization. Contributions, which include loans, may not be accepted from national banks in connection with even a general election of state officials. (Sec. 610, Title 18 U.S.C.)[68/]

These rules appear to be clear. Nevertheless, when we consider the vast area of election activity which Federal law does not purport to control, such as the actual mechanics of conducting elections, and add to it the areas in which Federal law falls short of effective control, such as controlling the total expenditure of funds in election campaigns, we see that the Federal Government actually plays a minor role in this most important field of political activity. Unfortunately, the public and even members of the bar fail to realize our very limited jurisdiction in these matters, and we are constantly

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67/ Corrupt Practices Act, Section 306.

68/ Corrupt Practices Act, Section 313.
Corrupt Practices Act, Section 309.

besieged with requests to take prosecutive action in cases which at most constitute violations of State law.

LABOR STATUTES

In addition to its other statutory assignments, the Civil Rights Section supervises the work of the United States Attorneys in criminal matters arising under a variety of labor statutes, designed to protect the rights and to promote the welfare of workingmen and workingwomen.

Among these statutes, and of special importance in these days of manpower shortages, inviting as it does the employment of under-aged children, is the Fair Labor Standards Act (29 U.S.C. 201 et seq.)[69/]. Prosecutions under this Act are by no means limited to child labor cases, and the Section's close attention to wage and hour cases has resulted in a constant improvement in the enforcement of the Act.

Of particular importance to railroad workers are four Acts. The Hours of Service Act (45 U.S.C. 61-66) is aimed to prevent excessive working hours and to eliminate the resultant danger to railroad workers and to the travelling public.[70/] The Safety Appliance Act (45 U.S.C. 1-16) penalizes railroads for the movement of defective

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69/ United States v. Darby Lumber Co., 312 U.S. 100

70/ Atchison etc. R. Co. v. United States, 244 U.S. 336

trains which over a long period of years had contributed to the high accident and mortality rate among railroad men.[71/] The Signal Inspection Act (49 U.S.C. 26-28) dealing with the installation and operation of signal systems on the railroads is aimed to reduce accidents on the nation's railroads.[72/] The last of these Acts is the Railway Labor Act (45 U.S.C. 152, 181) which assures to employees of both railroads and airlines the right to organize free from employer influence and control.[73/]

Then there is the Kick-Back Act (18 U.S.C. 874). Originally adopted at the depth of the last depression, it has become of mounting importance as Federal financing in pursuance of defense efforts increases the number of workers on Federally-financed construction projects. The purpose of this Act is to assure that workers actually receive the benefit of the wage schedules which Congress has provided for them instead of being intimidated and coerced into paying some part of the wages to contractors, subcontractors, and others.[74/]

In addition, the Section supervises criminal prosecutions under the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940 which (among other things) provides protection to servicemen and their families from evictions (50 U.S.C. War App. 530)[75/] and from seizures of property purchased on installment or mortgage payments (50 U.S.C. War App. 531, 532) during military service.

71/ United States v. State of California, 297 U.S. 175

72/ Delaware & Hudson Co. v. United States, 5 F. 2d 831.

73/ Railway Employees' Co-op. Ass'n. v. Atlanta B. & C. R. Co., 22 F. Supp. 510.

74/ United States v. Laudani, 320 U.S. 543.

75/ Clinton Cotton Mills v. United States, 164 F. 2d 173.

The Eight Hour law on Public Works (40 U.S.C. 321 et seq.) affords protection as to hours of work to mechanics and laborers employed by the Federal Government or by private contractors under Federally-financed contracts.[76/]

The Act against Interstate Transportation of Strikebreakers (18 U.S.C. 1231) provides punishment for the transporting of persons employed or to be employed for the purpose of obstructing or interfering by force or threats with peaceful picketing in labor controversies or the exercise by employees of the right of self-organization or collective bargaining. The primary purpose of this statute is to reach activities of the Pearl Bergoff type of professional strikebreaking agencies, which specialize in funishing thugs to "break" strikes.

76/ United States v. John Kelso Co., 86 F. 304.

Apoendix A

Henry A. Schweinhaut: "Interpreting the Hatch Act," 3 Federal Bar Association Journal 407 (Nov., 1939).

Schweinhaut: "The Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice," 1 Bill of Rights Review 206 (Spring, 1941).

Victor W. Rotnem: "Criminal Enforcement of Federal Civil Rights," 2 Lawyers Guild Review 18 (May, 1942).

Rotnem: "Clarification of the Civil Rights Statutes," 2 Bill of Rights Review 252 (Summer, 1942).

Rotnem and Fred G. Folsom, Jr.: "Recent Restrictions upon Religious Liberty," 36 American Political Science Review 1053 (Dec., 1942).

Rotnem: "The Federal Civil Right 'Not to be Lynched,'" 28 Washington Law Quarterly 57 (Feb., 1943).

Folsom: "A Slave Trade Law in Contemporary Setting," 29 Cornell Law Quarterly 203 (Nov., 1943).

Rotnem: "Civil Rights during the War: The Role of the Federal Government," 29 Iowa Law Review 415 (March, 1944).

Sylvester P. Meyers: "Federal Privileges and Immunities; Application to Ingress and Egress," 29 Cornell Law Quarterly 489 (June, 1944).

Rotnem: "Enforcement of Civil Rights," 3 National Bar Journal 1 (March, 1945).

Henry Putzel, Jr.: "Federal Civil Rights Enforcement: Current Appraisal," 99 University of Pennsylvania Law Review 439 (January, 1951).

Sydney Brodie: "Federally-Secured Right to be Free from Bondage." 40 Georgetown Law Journal 367 (March, 1952).

DIRECTOR
DIVISION OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

Department of Justice
Washington

November 10, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Attorney General has asked me to thank you for your letter of November 8, 1955 and to send you a copy of his address of October 16, 1955 before the Annual Interfaith Dinner in New York City.

Sincerely,

G. Frederick Mullen

G. Frederick Mullen
Director of Public Information

Enclosure

November 8, 1955

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brownell:

We have read with great interest the account of your speech before the annual dinner of the Inter-Faith Movement, Inc. in New York City on October the 16th, as reported in the New York Times of the following day. We were greatly impressed by this fine statement on the Government's efforts to further the elimination of segragation and discrimination from American life.

Would you be so kind as to have sent to us the full text of your speech? We shall be most appreciative.

Yours very truly,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

February 22, 1956

Mr. Arthur B. Caldwell, Chief
Civil Rights Section
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

Enjoyed my visit Friday.

Have looked through pretty closely the University of Pennsylvania speech in the revised October 1955 version. Excellent summary of what the Section does.

I wish I had been quick enough on Friday to see that I would need a copy for each of the twelve component State bodies helped by the Southern Regional Council.

Their names are attached.

If you will have someone be kind enough to send twelve copies of the speech I will send one copy to each State outfit and our people can find out what the Civil Rights Section is all about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

N.S. Subscription
entered 4/17/57

April 9, 1956

Mr. Arthur D. Caldwell, Chief
Civil Rights Section
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

Two of our State organizations have not received from us copies of the University of Pennsylvania speech (Revised October 1955 version) - The Civil Rights Section, Its Functions and Its Statutes.

We would greatly appreciate your sending us two additional copies, if they are still available.

Sincerely,

Beth Friedman
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

bf

Check front desk

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 26, 1956

Mr. Milton C. Vigo, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations says they never got the fat speech from the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice about what the CRS of the DJ can do.

If you are through with yours, would you send or lend it to them? If so, do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Did not receive
Milton Vigo

April 17, 1956

Mr. Milton C. Vigo, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Vigo:

The Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice has sent us an additional copy of its publication - The Civil Rights Section, Its Functions and Its Statutes, and we are forwarding it to you.

Sincerely,

Beth Friedman,
Secretary

bf

Beth

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

April 11, 1956

Miss Beth Friedman
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Friedman:

In compliance with your request of April 9, 1956, I am pleased to enclose two copies of the address before the University of Pennsylvania (Rev. October 1955) entitled, "The Civil Rights Section, Its Functions and Its Statutes.

Sincerely,

Arthur B. Caldwell

ARTHUR B. CALDWELL
Chief, Civil Rights Section

Encl.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

RECEIVED JAN 29 1958

JAN 28 1958

ans 1-30-58

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Supplementing my letter to you of January 23, 1958, I wonder if you would please send the Voting and Elections Section of the Civil Rights Division twelve copies of your pamphlet, "The Negro Voter in the South," by Margaret Price.

With appreciation of your cooperation, I am,

Sincerely,

W. Wilson White

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

January 23, 1958

JAN 24 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Last summer you were good enough to furnish this Department with material on Negro suffrage, which was supplemented by additional material you sent to us on November 27, 1957.

In discharging our responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act of 1957, I am interested in having information on as current a basis as possible on the subject of Negro suffrage. Any statistical or other data which you can furnish to the Voting and Elections Section of this Division would be very much appreciated. I wonder if you could put the Voting and Elections Section of the Civil Rights Division on your mailing list for any publications which your Council issues. Over and beyond that, it would be most helpful if you could also supply it, on a continuing basis, with statistical and other data even though not in regularly published form.

With appreciation of your cooperation, I am

Sincerely,

W. Wilson White

W. Wilson White
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

January 30, 1958

The Honorable William P. Rogers
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly of our staff has advised me of her letter to you seeking an interview in mid-February. I should like merely to add a word of hope that you will find it possible to see her.

Mrs. Tilly has for many years been an outstanding figure among Southern church women and religious leaders. Working in recent years under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council, she has united their efforts, across denominational lines, to secure equal justice and opportunity for all. We feel it is a most significant development that representatives of the various women's religious groups in the South are now considering concentrated effort in the field of registration and voting.

I am sure that a discussion of this interest with you by Mrs. Tilly will be of benefit both to the church women of the South and to the Department of Justice.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Originals returned to file

Sent under separate cover:
12 copies "The Negro Voter..."

Placed on Mailing List for
N.S

January 30, 1958

Mr. W. Wilson White
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your two recent letters. In response to the last one, I am sending you separately twelve (12) copies of our report, The Negro Voter in the South.

We have little in the way of more recent information on Negro suffrage at the moment. In cooperation with other organizations, however, we are instituting some fact gathering efforts which should yield results that would be of interest to the Civil Rights Division. I shall make sure that all of the information we get in this field is passed on promptly to you, and I am placing your name on our complimentary mailing list for New South and other publications of the Council. If you find yourself in need of information which you feel that this organization might be able to furnish or readily secure, please feel free to call on me at any time. We wish you much success in your efforts and assure you of our dedire to cooperate in every way.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

FEB 6 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to thank you for arranging to send us the 12 copies of your report, "The Negro Voter in the South," which I have requested, as well as for placing my name on your complimentary mailing list for "New South" and other publications of the Council.

I have today written Mrs. Tilly suggesting that she confer with me on February 13, 1958.

Sincerely,

W. Wilson White

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

72-0

APR 1 1958

Rcd 4/3/58

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Southern Regional Council compiled county-by-county figures for potential Negro voters and the number of Negroes registered. These figures were introduced into the Congressional Record by Senator Douglas at the time of the debate on the Civil Rights bill last summer.

Would you please let us know if you have comparable figures for potential white voters and whites registered on the same county-by-county basis; or where such information might be available if you do not have it?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Acting Chief
Voting & Elections Section

Enclosures with Justice Dept. letter -
4/11/57

white registration figures for

1 - Ala - Copy in research file - Suffrage, Ala
2 - Ark - Original " " " - Suffrage Ark
3 - Fla - Copy " " " - " Fla
4 - Ga - " " " " - " Ga
5 - Ky - " " " " - " Ky
6 - SC - Orig " " " - " SC
7 - Tex - " " " " - " Tex

Mildred - Above information for your file, if needed -

Thanks -

Marge

A Special Report

from the S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUPS IN THE SOUTH

This is a summary report of a three-month field survey of the pro-segregation "resistance" organizations in the Southern States. Other conclusions drawn from the SRC survey, which was conducted by Paul Anthony, will be presented in later reports.

Revised
January 28, 1957

SR/2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM April 11, 1958

From: Research Office

Re: White Voter Registration in Southern States

The following material listing total white voter registration in eight Southern states was extracted from data supplied to the Southern Regional Council in 1956 by consultants who participated in our Negro Voter Registration survey. It should be emphasized that these figures are estimates only; due to their fragmentary nature and, in some instances, questionable reliability, they were not incorporated into the SRC Voter Registration Report.

Several consultants did not report on white registration (or total registration, from which white registration could be computed in this office). The attached lists include data for Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. Only a partial listing of counties was reported in Kentucky and Texas. We have in our files no information on white registration in Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

Although registration figures were obtained from the most reliable and official sources available, almost every consultant report received in this office emphasizes the estimative nature of the statistics. The South Carolina figures are obviously rough estimates; no such records are kept in South Carolina. (Registration figures from this state will be of no value after the current re-registration is complete.) The statistics from Alabama were obtained by subtracting Negro registration figures (furnished by our consultant) from a listing of total registration figures printed in The Birmingham News, May 20, 1956.

April 9, 1957

To: HCF

From: MM

Re: Justice Department request for white voter registration figures.

Here are the figures on white voter registration from eight states, prepared for mailing to the Justice Department. I wonder if the attached memo can go with them? It may sound too negative, with such emphasis on estimative nature and questionable reliability; however, I do have qualms about their reliability and wanted to clear us in case there are errors.

One of the reasons for my doubts is that I find a definite source ~~of the~~ for the statistics in only a few of the states; most consultants didn't list their source. Another is that Margaret Price's memory of the project is that there were no county by county figures valid and complete enough to use in our report, although there were reliable state totals. She, of course, didn't work with ~~most of our~~ the consultant's figures, and has no working knowledge of their reliability.

We'll mail the figures if you'll return them - I just want your approval of the memo.

More than 50,000 Negroes—

Eligible voter list may soar to 900,000

BY HUGH SPARROW, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 19—All won't vote, of course, but, just the same, between 875,000 and 900,000 Alabamians—an all time high—will be eligible to cast their ballots in the forthcoming May 6 primary.

As of April 15, the registered voter total was about 875,000. Between now and April 30, when registration books will close so far as the May 6 primary is concerned, names of several thousand additional men and women will be added to the voting lists.

The eleventh hour qualifiers should bring the total to close to 900,000, if not in excess of that number.

Of the 875,000 already qualified to vote, between 50,000 and 60,000 are Negroes, most of them qualifying during the last year or two. The number of Negroes eligible to vote, moreover, is reported to be about five times the total just four years ago when Alabama last elected a governor.

The record 875,000 total, as of April 15, would have been much higher if several counties, Cullman and Geneva in particular, had not conducted voter reidentifications. As a result, names of several thousand erstwhile voters were eleminated from the lists.

Exhaustive study

FIGURES INCLUDED in this list were compiled by this reporter after an exhaustive study of the voting lists of Alabama's 67 counties which recently appeared in daily and weekly newspapers in the respective counties.

According to the official

Turn to Page 10, Column 7

BIRMINGHAM NEWS

April 20, 1958

County-by-county report

County	1950 Census in thousands	White Over 21	1958 Total Voters	1958 Negro Voters	1956 Total Voters	1956 Negro Voters
Autauga	18.2	5,717	5,107	68	4,478	55
Baldwin	40.9	19,028	16,312	480	13,312	...
Barbour	28.6	8,012	6,721	200	6,500	185
Bibb	17.9	6,681	5,825	100	6,238	.....
Blount	28.9	15,399	11,300	35	11,815	.....
Bullock	16.1	2,633	2,404	4	2,365	.....
Butler	29.2	9,464	9,286	392	10,788	387
Calhoun	79.5	37,397	24,386	1,948	23,497	1,732
Cherokee	17.6	8,821	8,413	212	7,600	230
Chambers	39.5	15,710	13,200	.....	12,011	.....
Chilton	26.9	12,888	12,008	400	12,200	.....
Choctaw	19.1	4,914	5,284	51	5,093	.....
Clarke	26.5	7,832	8,414	333	8,527	339
Clay	13.9	6,934	7,448	122	7,298	88
Cleburne	11.9	6,051	5,700	60	5,200	.....
Coffee	30.7	13,561	12,732	495	10,588	.....
Colbert	39.5	18,063	15,342	700	17,606	717
Conecuh	21.7	6,734	6,216	900	6,444	.....
Covington	40.3	19,988	16,800	500	15,928	.....
Coosa	11.7	5,262	5,401	316	4,837	296
Crenshaw	18.9	7,604	7,441	500	6,909	459
Cullman	49.1	26,268	16,000	100	25,268	50
Dale	20.8	9,418	8,277	200	7,665	...
Dallas	56.2	12,597	8,960	128	7,488	106
DeKalb	45.1	24,601	20,500	35	20,097	.....
Elmore	31.6	12,247	9,649	200	12,496	136
Escambia	31.4	11,276	12,205	1,000	10,902	.....
Etowah	93.8	47,214	35,200	1,900	35,362	1,500
Fayette	19.3	9,279	8,600	300	8,560	236
Franklin	25.7	13,460	11,313	400	11,155	.....
Geneva	25.8	12,660	6,288	89	10,151	72
Hale	20.8	3,680	3,600	155	3,304	190
Greene	16.4	1,820	1,901	118	1,791	98
Henry	18.4	5,646	5,343	384	4,941	335
Houston	46.5	19,698	13,728	700	12,540	.....
Jackson	38.9	19,381	12,558	22	13,805	.....
JEFFERSON	558.9	226,280	127,500	11,000	115,742	7,000
Lamar	16.4	8,141	8,361	250	8,140	.....
Lauderdale	54.1	23,831	16,100	697	23,908	618
Lawrence	27.1	10,905	9,885	500	8,871	372
Lee	45.1	16,207	10,308	300	9,450	.....
Limestone	35.7	14,737	10,562	53	8,102	.....
Lowndes	18.1	2,057	2,306	.....	2,252	.....
Macon	30.5	3,081	3,350	1,044	2,892	968
Madison	72.6	30,662	20,600	1,800	19,300	.....
Marengo	29.4	5,456	6,375	108	5,881	117
Marion	27.2	14,271	12,293	100	14,394	.....
Marshall	45.0	24,740	19,150	35	15,958	.....
Mobile	231.1	93,506	57,860	5,152	50,511	3,136
Monroe	25.7	7,184	6,000	25	6,500	21
Montgomery	138.9	51,869	31,835	3,017	29,535	2,107
Morgan	52.9	26,602	18,000	1,000	17,563	.....
Perry	20.4	3,757	4,090	255	4,382	238
Pickens	24.3	7,324	6,498	800	5,003	763
Pike	30.6	10,062	6,500	350	8,667	.....
Randolph	22.5	9,880	11,011	...	8,786	.....
Russell	40.3	11,800	8,228	850	8,378	.....
Shelby	30.3	13,250	10,000	350	9,262	.....
St. Clair	26.2	12,123	8,700	375	8,500	.....
Sumter	23.8	3,600	3,033	175	3,354	.....
Talladega	65.3	23,317	18,000	2,500	24,691	.....
Tuscaloosa	94.0	42,200	28,692	4,000	26,221	.....
Walker	63.7	30,882	24,000	900	17,563	459
Washington	15.6	4,929	6,478	100	5,845	.....
Wilcox	23.4	3,056	3,183	.....	2,877	.....
Winston	18.2	9,484	8,008	.....	7,199	.....

Negro vote may double over 1954

Continued from Page 1

Jefferson County list, made public the past week, the county's registered voter total is approximately 127,500. When names of the April qualifiers are added, the number by April 30 should be about 130,000.

Of the 127,500 voters, 11,000 are Negroes.

In 1956, just before the May primary, Jefferson had 115,000 voters, of which 7000 were Negroes.

Mobile's registered vote total increased from 50,000 for the entire county in 1956 to 57,860 on April 15, 1958. The number of Negro registrants increased from 3136 to 5152.

Montgomery's registered voters as of April 15 totaled 31,835, representing a gain of about 2000 since 1956. Montgomery County had 2107 Negro registrants in 1956. Today the number is 3017.

Tuscaloosa County, it appears, has an even larger number of Negro voters than Montgomery. The total stands at 4000.

UNTIL NOW Alabama has not had a total list of Negro registered voters. In the past the number has been largely a mystery. In fact, many counties even now do not identify Negro voters in the official poll list.

In making the check it was necessary to count the number of Negroes in those county voting lists which identified Negro voters.

In counties not identifying Negroes it was necessary to check with county voting authorities to get the figures.

IT APPEARS from the voting lists which this reporter closely checked that Boards of Registrars abandoned an old custom in allocating Negro voters to polling places.

Just two years ago, for instance, Box 3 in Precinct 9, Jefferson County, was almost a 100 per cent Negro box. After the May, 1956, primary, the official tally, for example, showed Gov. Folsom received 582 votes for Democratic National Committeeman and his two opponents received one vote apiece.

That indicated Negroes were inclined to vote as a bloc.

In the present race for governor, some have been saying as soon as the votes in the May 6 race are counted it will be known whether or not Negroes voted bloc fashion and also just which of the gubernatorial candidates was the recipient of the Negro bloc vote.

It appears new arrangements have been made by most of Alabama's registrars this year, which will make conclusions more difficult if not well nigh impossible to reach.

No longer is Box 3, Precinct 9, an all Negro box.

Instead, there appears to be just one big voting place—Box 1, Precinct 9. The poll list shows that about 2000 voters have been assigned to that box. Of that total, by actual count, about 55 per cent of the voters are Negroes.

The mixing of Negro and white voters to form a much larger box may have been occasioned by the expanded use of voting machines. But, just the same, the proportion is so nearly even that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to draw any clear cut conclusions when the votes are counted.

The same procedure was resorted to in Macon County.

That county has about 1000 Negro registered voters. Most of them are concentrated in the area near Tuskegee Institute.

The voters in that area have been assigned to one big box or voting machine station in which the proportion is about three times as many white voters as Negroes.

Again, very little conclusion can be drawn from what may be the voting result.

THE LARGEST concentration of Negro voters in Montgomery County, too, appears to be in a voting box or station in which about three times as many white voters also cast their ballots.

In Mobile County, 321 Negro voters, in one instance, are assigned to the same voting place which has a voter total of 1476. In Ward 22 there are 783 Negro voters out of 1476, and in Ward 2-P 880 out of 2504 are Negroes.

In Precinct 15, however, 304 out of 330 are Negroes, and in Precinct 16 the ratio is 248 Negroes to 69 white.

IN OTHER WORDS, the situation appears to be this:

Not only is the Negro vote almost double what it was in 1956 and sufficiently large to be used as a coercive weapon if voted in a bloc, but there is now less chance than ever that the voting ways of Negroes will become generally known.

In the table which accompanies this story, the voter total for 1958 is given for each county, along with the number of Negro voters. Where no Negro voters are shown it could mean there are no Negro voters or it could also mean that identification of Negro voters could not be made.

Given also is the county population according to the 1950 census, the number of white people 21 and over in each county and the number of registered voters, white and Negro, in each county in 1956.

April 24, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting and Elections
Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

I thought you might like to have a copy of this tabulation of poll tax payments compiled by the State Auditor of Arkansas.

As in the case of our earlier tabulation, poll tax payments are used as a measure of voter registration.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

April 25, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting and Election Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

With apologies for this series of almost daily communications, I thought you should have a copy of the enclosed report from The Birmingham News.

Hugh Sparrow, the newsman who compiled these figures, is the most respected political reporter in the state. Thus the figures should be fairly reliable.

I might mention that the Southern Regional Council has just received a grant of $10,000 to enable us to do a modest followup of our 1956 survey of Negro registration and voting. If there are specific types of information that would be particularly helpful to you and your associates, we should be glad to consider them in setting up our fact-finding procedures. Needless to say, any such communication from you would be treated in confidence.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 ("Eligible Voter List May Soar to 900,000", Birmingham News - Apr. 20, 1958)

Rec'd 4/28/58

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

72-0

APR 25 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This acknowledges your letter of April 11, 1958, supplying us with the material which we had requested on white registration figures for certain southern states. We also acknowledge the revised figures on Negro registration included with your letter of April 11.

We are appreciative of your cooperation in supplying us with this material, and we also wish to thank the Southern Regional Council for the Special Report entitled "The Move To Disenfranchise the Negro Voter", compiled April 17, 1958.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, Jr., Acting Chief
Voting & Elections Section

VIA AIR MAIL

April 11, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting and Elections
Section
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Here is what we have on white registration at the time of our 1956 survey. Early in the survey, we decided that the compilation of reliable county-by-county white figures would not be of sufficient value for the purposes of our study to warrant the time and effort it would require. So we ceased our attempts to collect further such data, or to evaluate the data we already had.

As you will see from our research assistant's memorandum, also enclosed, the attached figures are incomplete and limited in reliability.

Our figures on the potentially eligible population were taken from the 1950 Census reports.

I believe Louisiana registration figures are centrally compiled by the State Board of Registrations, the Georgia figures by the

Secretary of State, and the Florida figures by some comparable state official. You could probably obtain from these officials more current county registration data for these three states. As for the other states, I know of no similar sources.

Incidentally, several errors were found in our figures on Negro registration, as printed in the Congressional Record. I am enclosing a corrected version.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

White voter registration figures for eight states:
Alabama
Arkansas
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
South Carolina
Texas
Virginia

Corrected version of mimeographed Negro Voter Registration Figures

ack 5/21/58

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

72-0

[redacted] 14 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This acknowledges your letter of April 24, 1958, enclosing a copy of the poll tax tabulation for Arkansas; and your letter of April 25, enclosing the "Birmingham News'" voting compilation. We wish to thank you for sending us this information, which in both cases is very helpful.

In your letter of April 25, you ask, in connection with a grant which the Council has recently received, if there are specific types of information which would be helpful to us. We are, of course, interested in the latest available figures in the Southern states of Negroes and whites who are of voting age and those who are registered to vote. But it would be very useful if, in addition, we had reliable information about the educational background of those who are of voting age. Such information would provide at least a rough basis for evaluating the significance of the disparity between the number of whites and Negroes registered to vote and the number of voting age.

Limitations on personnel and funds will doubtless necessitate confining such a survey or study to those states, and perhaps particular areas thereof, where the problem of discriminatory registration and voting procedures is likely to be most substantial.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, Jr., Acting Chief
Voting & Elections Section

May 21, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting & Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your letter of May 14. Your suggestions for our further study of Negro registration and voting in the South are very helpful.

Enclosed is a recent newspaper article from the Columbia, South Carolina State which may be of some interest to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Columbia State Article, 5/14/58: "Negro Voter Registration Ranging 9 to 20...")

file copy

Negro Voter Registration Ranging 9 to 20 Per Cent

Columbia Record State 5-14-58

By BOB PIERCE

From Special and AP Reports

Negro voter registration is ranging from under 9 per cent to more than 20 per cent of the totals in South Carolina counties.

It will probably be some time before the secretary of state's office in Columbia receives final state figures but totals are filtering in after independent announcements in some counties.

If there is a block Negro vote, the registration total could be significant in some counties.

The deadline to obtain the new registration certificates, good for 10 years, passed Saturday.

Richland, with a registration of 38,775, enrolled an estimated 8,000 Negroes—about 20.6 per cent of the total.

On the other hand, Clarendon registered only 324 Negroes out of a non-white population of 22,636. The figures show 3,453 registered from a white population of 9,379—leaving a Negro percentage of only 8.6 per cent.

Richland's registration, considering its 1950 census population of 142,565, compared favorably with Charleston County's voter enrolment.

Charleston recorded 40,[illegible]6 voters and its 1950-population was 164,856. Charleston registered 32,859 whites, leaving the Negro figure at 18.15 per cent.

In Florence County, 17,953 are enrolled to vote—16,090 white and 1,863 Negro.

The Dillon County total is 5,780, with about 15 per cent of those registered Negro. The [illegible] registration was 9,830.

The figure was set at 12,200 in Union County in a county where 8,000 and 9,000 votes are normally cast in the Democratic primary. The 1950 census listed Union County's population as 31,334.

Marlboro County has a registration of 7,411 persons. A breakdown by race was not immediately available.

Kershaw County's final total was 9,790—some 200 more than the Registration Board expected as approximately 700 signed up the last two days, 400 of them Saturday. Kershaw expects to be in the top 5 per cent, percentage-wise in South Carolina registration. Only about 10 per cent of those registered were Negroes.

In Spartanburg County, approximately 44,000 persons were registered out of an estimated voting population of 55,000—the best registration in the county in many years.

At least 25,000 re-registered in Anderson County.

Greenwood County's unofficial total was 11,680 and it is believed 15,000 persons were eligible.

Greenville County exceeded its 353 goal of 50,000. It is believed 75,000 are eligible to vote in the county.

The Abbeville County crowd was 5,538—3,563 less than the 9,101 on the old books. It was estimated 65 per cent of the eligible voters are registered.

Laurens County had an estimate of 11,600.

Oconee registered approximately 7,000.

The Pickens total was believed to be more than 10,000. Pickens hardly ever has more than 5,000 to vote in a primary.

McCormick's final total was 1,399.

Orangeburg County registration is 12,288 of which 2,220 are Negroes. The number of Negroes registered is about the same as previously.

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & RELIGION

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

July 17, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting and Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

I am about to leave town for the rest of week and am writing you thus hastily to tell you where our efforts stand.

Emory Via of our staff will be sending you today or tomorrow some clippings which bear on the question of intent of the 1949 Georgia Registration Act. We have also discovered that the Georgia League of Women Voters had an observer present at the sessions of the Election Law Committee which formulated the provisions incorporated in the 1958 Act. We are in the process of securing a copy of this observer's report and will write you further about it as soon as possible.

Next week we will continue to look for further relevant materials.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Clips sent to Henry Putzel by EFV - 7/18/58:

1/12/49 Const., "Excerpt from Gov. Talmadge's speech to the House and Senate on 1/11/49"

1/26/49 Const. "Voter-Test Wins 146-56 House Nod; 4-Year Registration Set, $1 Fee Out."

9/20/49 Journal. "Fears the New Georgia Registration Law Will Disfranchise a Large Number of White Voters."

14/5/49 Atl. World. "Voices in the Distance" (editorial)

2/23/49 Chatt. Times. "It's Over in Georgia." (editorial)

2/10/49 Journal. "Capitol Memos ... Stretched Contracts Get the Spotlight."

12/18/48 Chatt. Times. "Talmadge Plans Education Vote Test, Would Disbar 80 Per Cent of Negroes."

9/25/49 Journal. "Ballot Law Not Yet Out of Legal Woods."

1/13/49 Journal. "Boswell Case Aids in Drawing State Vote Bill"

1/16/49 Journal. "New Vote Plan a Waste of Time."

1/5/49 Const. "Fewer Negroes Re-register in Bibb County"

Ltr to file
Clips, etc., to HM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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72-012
72-19M-29

JUL 17 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This acknowledges your letter of July 11, 1958, enclosing material which we had requested concerning the background of Georgia voting legislation. We have made copies of pertinent items and are herewith returning all of the clippings to you in accordance with your request.

This material was very useful to us, and we wish to thank you kindly for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Acting Chief
Voting & Elections Section

Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL

July 11, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting and Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Enclosed are a few newspaper clippings and a copy of a letter distributed by Governor Marvin Griffin which have at least some slight bearing on the question of discriminatory intent behind the 1958 registration law. So far we have found little that would serve as firm evidence of discriminatory purpose. Part of the problem arises from the fact that the two opposing factions in the legislature backed different bills.

We have only begun to canvass our material as yet, however, and I shall be sending you more information next week.

We should like to have the clippings back as soon as you have had a chance to copy any that might prove useful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Clippings and materials sent to Mr. Putzel - Dept. of Justice
July 11, 1958

Ltr. circulated by Margin Griffin re; voting and registration.
Atl. Daily World - 8/31/57 "Griffin Threatens to alter Election Laws of Ga."

11/8/57 Const. "Bolster Voting Laws Foil U.S., Griffin Asks"
11/8/57 Const. "Movement is Growing to Curb Negro Voting" by Wm. Bates
11/22/57 Const. "Crime Barriers and Stiffer Tests Proposed..."
11/22/57 Const. "No Statenville Charter, Court Says, Halts Voting"
11/22/57 Const. "A Professor Might Fail Proposed Voters' Test."
11/22/57 At. World "Qualifications Tests for Voters Being Proposed"
11/22/57 At. Journal, "Tighter Vote Plan Aimed at Negroes."
11/24/57 N. Y. Times, "Negro Vote Curb Asked in Georgia"
12/1/57 Journal and Const., "Election Law Proposals Held Peril to South's Stand"
12/8/57 Journal and Const. "Bloc Voting Curb Effort Up Again"
12/7/57 Journal and Guide, "Ga. Seeking Anti-Race Voting Laws"
12/15/57 Journal and Const., "Solons to Seek Modification in Proposed Voting Curb Plan"
12/29/57 Chat. Times, "Georgia Aims at Negro Voters"
1/2/58 Const., "Tighter Rules for Voting Loom as State's Leaders Back Scheme"
1/7/58 Journal, "Moate Urges Poll Tax to Curb Negro Voting"
1/19/58 Journal & Const., "Tough Voter Law Faces Softening"
2/10/58 Const., "Griffin Toying with Dynamite in Pushing for Re-Registration"
2/5/58 Journal, "Dirty Pieces of Silver"
2/10/58 Const., "Voters Rap Insurance Rise Plan"
2/11/58 At. World, "Griffin, Vandiver Close to Agreement on Voting Taxes"
2/16/58 Journal & Const., "Politics Pushes Legislation into Background..."
2/19/58 Const., "House Kills Governor's Voter Bill"
2/11/58 Journal, "Bills Before the Legislature
2/20/58 Const., "Vandiver's Curbs on Voters Approved 134-40..."
2/20/58 Const., $ "$1.00 Poll Tax Amendment is Defeated"
3/26/58 Chatt. Times, "Griffin Accepts New Voter Bill"
3/30/58 Journal & Const., "State Law Paves Rough, Rugged Road to Ballot Box"

HCF
FYI
Please Return for filing

July 18, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Acting Chief - Voting and Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

At the request of Harold Fleming I am sending you some materials relative to the legislative intent in the passage of the re-registration law of 1949 in Georgia. The enclosed clippings do three things: (1) They show the governor's intent in akking for a re-registration law and the intent of the legislators in providing him with the kind of law he requested; (2) they indicate that there was a wide public acceptance of the idea that the legislation was intended to curb Negro participation in the electoral process; (3) they adequately demonstrate that "bloc voting" in Georgia politics means "Negro voting".

Clip #1 is an excerpt from Governor Talmadge's address to a joint session of the House and Senate on January 11, 1949. The full text of this speech is officially recorded in the Journal of the Georgia House (1948-1950) on page 79ff. This clip is the full text of that part of the speech which is excerpted. In December the governor had a conference of legislators to discuss a possible registration bill. On the day following his January 11 address, there was introduced into the house H. B. #2 - the second order of business for the session - a voter re-registration bill. A suitable bill was agreed to after amendments and substitute bills had been introduced in both the House and Senate and deliberated upon by a conference committee.

Clip #2 indicates some of the elements that went into the bill's passage and the main provisions of the bill itself.

Clip #3 contains five articles which indicate that there was a public idea that the bill was intended to hamper Negro voting; these clips also show that bloc voting is equated to Negro voting.

Clip #4 gives some information on a court attack made against the bill; this attack arose largely because of practical difficulties in implementing the re-registration law.

Clip # 5 further indicates discriminatory intent. More importantly, it shows that the governor and the legislature were on notice that recent court rulings required the absence of discriminatory language if a re-registration law was to stand constitutionally. This awareness has continued until the present time, so that it is difficult to find instances of discriminatory intent in the official public records.

Clip #6 indicates how the governor felt a good registration procedure should operate under his re-registration law. Bibb County is one of Georgia's eight most populous counties; the city of Macon is located there. The report of lower Negro registration in Bibb was not typical for the state as a whole. Note that the quotations in this clip are directly from Talmadge's own political weekly paper.

I trust that by tomorrow evening I will be able to send you some information on the proceedings of the special elections law committee which reported out the 1958 bill.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Clips sent to Henry Putzel by EFV - 7/18/58:

1/12/49 Const., "Excerpt from Gov. Talmadge's speech to the House and Senate on 1/11/49"

1/26/49 Const. "Voter-Test Wins 146-56 House Nod; 4-Year Registration Set, $1 Fee Out."

9/20/49 Journal. "Fears the New Georgia Registration Law Will Disfranchise a Large Number of White Voters."

14/5/49 Atl. World. "Voices in the Distance" (editorial)

2/23/49 Chatt. Times. "It's Over in Georgia." (editorial)

2/10/49 Journal. "Capitol Memos ... Stretched Contracts Get the Spotlight."

12/18/48 Chatt. Times. "Talmadge Plans Education Vote Test, Would Disbar 80 Per Cent of Negroes."

9/25/49 Journal. "Ballot Law Not Yet Out of Legal Woods."

1/13/49 Journal. "Boswell Case Aids in Drawing State Vote Bill"

1/16/49 Journal. "New Vote Plan a Waste of Time."

1/5/49 Const. "Fewer Negroes Re-register in Bibb County"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

July 25, 1958

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Chief, Voting Section
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Here is the final installment of the materials in response to your request. Mainly the enclosures consist of copies of the minutes of most, if not all of the meetings of the Election Laws Study Committee. Most of them are very non-committal summaries that give little indication of the motives prompting the members of the Committee. But one or two - notably the minutes of the meeting of August 15, 1957 - touch on the discriminatory intent of the Committee's work.

In any case, you and your associates will be able to determine whether any of this material is germane to your purpose. Since these documents were lent to us by others and must be returned reasonably soon, I will appreciate your sending them back to us as promptly as you conveniently can.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

72-012

JUL 30 1958

EV - f.y.i. + return of materials.
H/CF

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you kindly for your letter of July 25, 1958, and the material enclosed therewith. We have had all the material copied and are returning it herewith.

We also wish to acknowledge with thanks Mr. Via's letter of July 18, 1958, and the copies of newspaper items enclosed therewith.

We are very grateful for your prompt response to our request for this information.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Acting Chief
Voting & Elections Section

Enclosures

August 19, 1958

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Chief - Voting and Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Mr. Fleming, who is away from the office, has asked me to reply to your letter of the 11th.

The attached clippings should clear up the confusion surrounding the several Georgia registration laws. The voter registration law of 1949, generally thought to be an effort to limit Negro voting, provided that all of the names of the State's approximately 1,200,000 registered voters would be thrown out and that all persons then registered would have to re-register under the provisions of the new law. Thereafter, during 1949, only some 360,000 persons registered. Many former voters, especially in the rural areas and smaller counties of the State, showed no inclination to register before the gubernatorial elections of the spring of 1950.

The General Assembly of 1950 postponed until 1952 the effective date of the voter registration act of 1949. The General Assembly of 1952 combined

the voter registration lists of 1948 and 1950, in effect repealing much of the act of 1949.

I trust the enclosed clippings will clear up this matter to your satisfaction.

Unfortunately, we do not have in our files any information concerning official comments relative to the deliberate omission, from official records, of references to racial motivation.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures:

"Foes of New Vote Law Gird for Repeal Battle" - Atl. Const. 1/13/50
Excerpt from: "Text of Talmadge's Progress Address to Assembly Opening" - Atl. Journal, 1/14/52
"125 General Bills Passed by Assembly..." - Atl. Journal, 2/13/52
"General Bills Passed This Term" - Atl. Journal, 2/14/50

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number
72-19M-29

AUG 11 1958

Air Mail

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In some of the newspaper clippings which were sent with Mr. Via's letter to us of July 18, 1958, appear several statements which seem to imply that the Georgia Voter Registration Law of 1949 contained a provision which had the effect of wiping out Georgia's voter list and requiring re-registration for all persons. For example, in an article from the Atlanta Journal dated September 25, 1949, it is stated:

> The re-registration act, Gov. Herman Talmadge's No. One legislative plank, wiped out Georgia's huge voter list of 1,200,000 names and provided for a new registration of all voters before they could vote in next year's primary.

However, we note that Section 34-102 of the Code of Georgia, annotated, 1955, which is based upon Acts 1949, pp. 1204, 1206; 1952, pp. 12, 13, provides:

> 34-102. Re-registration of persons qualified to vote 1948 or 1950 election but who have become disqualified. - Notwithstanding any other provisions of this law, any person who was registered and qualified to vote in the 1948 general election or the 1950 general election or both shall not be required to reregister under the terms of this law unless such person shall have become or becomes disqualified to vote, by reason of having been purged from the list of qualified voters or for any other reason whatsoever, in which event, such person shall, in

order to become qualified to vote, re-register under the terms of this law.

No citations of decisions appear for that section.

We wonder whether there is any explanation for what appears to be an inconsistency between the newspaper accounts to the effect that re-registration was required for everybody and the foregoing provision of the 1949 law which seems to imply that such was not the case. We should very much appreciate your giving us any background which might clarify this matter.

We are also interested in knowing whether the Council has in its files any information concerning official comments, if such there be, to the effect that official records (like the legislative Journal or committee reports) should be kept free of references which might disclose a racial motivation behind voting legislation.

Thank you kindly for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, Jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

Enclosures: Copy of HCF ltr. to Hon. Wm. Rogers - dtd. 8/21/58
"A Brief Account of the Origins and Aims of SRC"
Mimeographed Board List
SRC News Release re: Presidential News Conf. - 8/20/58
Atl. Const. Editorial - "Ike Cites His Oath..."
August 21, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

August 21, 1958

Mr. W. Wilson White
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mr. Rogers, with the enclosures, which you may find of interest.

You were kindness itself to give me so much time in the midst of a busy day. I only wish we could have pursued further several of the matters we discussed.

Since Mr. Rogers expressed an interest in our membership, I am also sending for your files a board list which includes brief identifications and a short history of the Council.

Let me know whenever we can be of service to you in your vitally important work.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Enclosures: Atlanta Const. Editorial - "Ike Cites His Oath..." 8/21/58
SRC News Release re: Presidential News Conf. 8/20/58

VIA AIR MAIL

August 21, 1958

The Honorable William P. Rogers
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

This is to express my appreciation for the generous opportunity on Tuesday to discuss with you and Mr. White our mutual concerns. I hope I made it clear that in your efforts to advance civil rights you and your associates have no firmer supporters than this Council. We are eager to be of all possible assistance to the Department.

We were deeply gratified by the President's fine statement yesterday on integration problems. It could not have been more timely and is sure to have a constructive effect in the South. Enclosed is a copy of a public statement by the Southern Regional Council supporting the President's views, as well as a favorable editorial from the Atlanta Constitution.

We shall be sending Mr. White information that may be of interest to the Civil Rights Division. Do call on us at any time we can be of service.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

August 26, 1958

The Honorable M. F. Ryan, Jr.
First Assistant to the Assistant
Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Thank you very much for the time you gave me last Friday. Please know that I am deeply grateful for your interest.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have written to Mr. White.

Please thank the young ladies in your office for their gracious courtesies to me.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/mf

August 26, 1958

The Honorable W. Wilson White
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

I regret that you were not able to see me last Friday, but I did appreciate very much the time and consideration given me by your First Assistant, Mr. Ryan.

I came with a request which I laid before him, but told him that I would write you in detail.

One feature of the program of the Southern Regional Council is its work with church women of the South. They call themselves "The Fellowship of the Concerned - Southern Women Concerned About Their South." We are to have a workshop with them here in Atlanta at Clark College, October 16th and 17th, and we need you or someone from the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to interpret for them the new civil rights legislation and also the power and limitation of your Department.

The workshop begins at 11:00 A. M., on the first day and closes after lunch on the second. We would suit the hour to your convenience. We have funds for travel and entertainment.

This is not anything entirely new for the Department of Justice. While Mr. Clark was chief justice, he sent some one to speak for me three different times - Junaluska, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; and Lakeland, Florida.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is a delegated body - about 150 women of the three faiths and both races. They are leaders selected to attend by their over-head bodies and they are from the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky. Enclosed you will find a brief resume' of the work of past years.

These are women of deep convictions and sincerity trying to find ways to help our section in these distressing days.

There is no publicity either before or afterward about the workshop.

Please give this request your best consideration and I sincerely hope you will find a way to grant it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/mf

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Rcd 8/28/58

Department of Justice
Washington

August 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of August 21, 1958, and the enclosed material. I was very interested in reading the history of your Council, and also in learning more about the membership.

I enjoyed very much having an opportunity to talk with you, and hope that in the very near future we will be able to continue our discussion.

Sincerely yours,

W. Wilson White

W. Wilson White
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

August 28, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of August 21st. I was glad to have an opportunity to talk to you and shall look forward to seeing you again.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

William P. Rogers

Attorney General

VIA AIR MAIL

September 9, 1958

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Chief, Voting Section
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Concerning the Georgia Voters Registration Acts, I have just discovered the enclosed brief, which should be of substantial help to you. It is an amicus brief in an old case before the Supreme Court of Georgia challenging the constitutionality of the Voters Registration Act of 1949. (The dismissal of the case on a technical point is indicated in the handwritten note on the face of the brief.)

In addition to the constitutional arguments, there begins on page 10 lengthy documentation of the discriminatory intent of the 1949 statute. Since the 1958 statute is the successor of the 1949 and incorporates most of the same provisions, this should be applicable to the current act.

You will note that the brief is signed by, among others, Elbert P. Tuttle, now Judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

When the copy of the brief has served your purposes, please return it to me.

Needless to say, we are following with great interest the newly instituted Terrell County case.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Department of Justice

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE WILLIAM P. ROGERS

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Prepared for Delivery

Before the

CALIFORNIA STATE BAR CONVENTION

Coronado, California

Wednesday, October 8, 1958

During our nation's growth, problems have arisen, from time to time, challenging to a most basic concept of our constitutional system - equal justice for all people under law. In some parts of our country we are again faced with such problems.

Unfortunately there is resistance in a few areas to decisions of the federal courts determining the legal rights of Negro school children. Continued resistance cannot fail to damage the fabric of our government and the standing of our nation in every corner of the world. The problems are thus of urgent concern to all of us.

It is vitally important that all persons, whatever their personal views, understand the law and comply with its requirements. I am not unmindful that many persons who resist the decisions in the School Cases do so out of deep personal conviction. Many of them do not intend to defy the courts or to deny to others their lawfully determined rights. In large measure, I think they have relied on representations, by state officials and others, that there was some constitutional means, other than closing down the public schools, by which they might maintain their traditional practices.

Tragic though it is, the closing of some public schools has demonstrated the fallacy of this notion. But even though the alternatives should now be perfectly clear, much misunderstanding and confusion, charged with high emotion, persist.

The late Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of New Jersey, once said that, "No class in our society is better able to render real service in molding public opinion than the lawyer." Today our profession has a heavy responsibility to provide leadership and guidance to the end that there shall be orderly compliance.

Last week, the Supreme Court, speaking as one, announced its opinion in the case of Cooper v. Aaron.* The opinion is a memorable one. In its opening words, the Court solemnly declared, "As this case reaches us, it raises questions of the highest importance to the maintenance of our federal system of government." The Court has answered the questions posed by the case and it has done so in clear and unmistakable terms. For lawyers, there can certainly be no substantial doubt as to the existing legal situation.

There is, first, the basic proposition that the Constitution is, in the words of Article VI, the "supreme Law of the Land," of binding effect upon the states "any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." State legislators, executives and judicial officers, as well as federal officials, are solemnly

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*August Special Term, 1958, No. 1

committed by oath of office to support the Constitution. For, as the Court points out, "No state legislator or executive or judicial officer can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it."

No less fundamental is the proposition that it is the province and the duty of the federal judiciary to interpret and expound the law of the Constitution. From the earliest days of the Republic, it has been recognized that this is a permanent and indispensable feature of our constitutional system of government. Under the system thus conceived, we became a united nation. Under it, we have weathered every constitutional crisis.

The opinion recites and the Court, as it is now constituted, unanimously reaffirms the constitutional principle declared in Brown v. Board of Education*: That enforced segregation of the races in public schools is inherently discriminatory and constitutes a denial of "the equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court further emphasizes that "the constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color *** can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted 'ingeniously or ingenuously'."

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*347 U.S. 483.

The Court points out, at the same time, that the federal district courts, in the exercise of their equity powers, may take account of local factors in order to bring about the transition to non-segregated schools in an orderly and systematic manner. Time, it is recognized, will be required in some communities, though not in others. The timing and the manner of transition are left to local school boards under the supervision of local district courts. However, delay in any guise because of hostility to the principle announced will not be countenanced.

The applicable legal principles have thus been clearly established. And, as President Eisenhower said last week: "It is incumbent upon all Americans, public officials and private citizens alike, to recognize their duty of complying with the rulings of the highest court in the land." "Any other course," he cautioned "would be fraught with grave consequences to our nation."

It is not enough, in the administration of justice, to declare the legal principle. The law is not a mere intellectual pastime. It provides the framework for the establishment of orderly human relationships. Legal principles must be implemented by persons who have both a respect for the law and an understanding of the particular requirements which it imposes.

In the Department of Justice, we have received hundreds of letters from all over the country concerning the School Cases and the problems of desegregation. As you might surmise, they reflect every shade of opinion. Certainly the points of view of all persons on this important national issue need to be carefully weighed and given thoughtful consideration.

One point of view often advanced is that the problem is purely one of local concern. Why, they ask, are federal courts interfering with the operation of local public school systems?

Of course, public education--and I quote from the Supreme Court's opinion of last week--"is primarily the concern of the states." But that is not the end of the matter. As the Court goes on to point out, all state responsibilities "must be exercised consistently with federal constitutional requirements as they apply to state action."

Illustrations of this principle are abundant. The enforcement of a state's criminal laws is certainly the primary responsibility of the state. Thus, in providing for trial by jury, a state may choose any reasonable method it wishes for organizing juries and selecting jurors. But a state may not exclude persons from jury service on the basis of race, creed or

color. Thus, in Strauder v. West Virginia,* decided in 1880, the Supreme Court set aside a Negro's conviction on the ground that state law had effectively excluded all members of his race from service on the grand and petit juries. In doing so, the Court emphasized that the Fourteenth Amendment was drafted because "it required little knowledge of human nature to anticipate * * * that state laws might be enacted or enforced to perpetuate the distinctions that had before existed." The amendment "was designed," the opinion continues, "to assure to the colored race the enjoyment of all the civil rights that under law are enjoyed by white persons * * *."

Consider another example. In the exercise of its police powers, a state may regulate, by licensing or other measures, the manner in which a local business is conducted. It may also restrict entry into that business to qualified persons. But, as was held at an early date in the leading case of Yick Wo. v. Hopkins,** this certainly does not mean that a state may administer a licensing statute so as systematically to exclude from an occupation persons of a particular race -- in that case, persons of Oriental ancestry.

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* 100 U.S. 303

** 119 U.S. 356

A state has full control over its election machinery. But it does not follow that it may adopt a scheme of registration which is subtly calculated to disfranchise voters of a particular race. The Constitution, as was said in one such case, "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination."*

So, also, in the field of public education, a state is free to work out, as it chooses, the details of its public school system. Buildings, school buses, teacher selection, curricula, all the elements which go into a school system and its management, are, as they have always been, the affair of the state and local authorities. What the Supreme Court has said is this: The state may not hang a sign upon the door of the public school, "For White Children Only." For the state to do this is to deprive Negro children of rights guaranteed to them by the federal Constitution.

Others say to me, "A majority of the people in our community are opposed to desegregation of the public schools. What has happened to the democratic principle that the views of the majority should prevail?"

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* Lane v. Wilson, 307 U.S. 268

This question shows a basic misunderstanding of our constitutional system of government. The Constitution does not mean one thing in Maine, another in Florida, and something else in California. People living in different sections of our country may have different viewpoints on particular issues, but constitutional rights are fundamental guarantees which may not be denied in any area.

To be sure, there is always the right to seek change in the law through orderly constitutional processes. But disagreement with a constitutional principle declared by the Supreme Court of the United States does not give those who disagree the right to override the Court's mandate. The constitutional rights of individuals and of minority groups would be worth little if a majority could push them aside at will. As the President has said: "We must never forget that the rights of all of us depend upon respect for the lawfully determined rights of each of us. As one nation, we must assure to all our people, whatever their color or creed, the enjoyment of their constitutional rights and the full measure of the law's protection."

A closely related question takes this form -- Is it the business of government to tell people with whom they shall associate?

Of course, it is not. Private preferences or prejudices, noble or ignoble, present no constitutional question. But state action stands on a different footing. The injunction of the Fourteenth Amendment applies to state action and provides that no "State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Individuals may not look to the state to aid or support their particular private prejudices.

This point is well illustrated by the Restrictive Covenant Cases.* In those cases, various individuals had entered into agreements restricting the use and occupancy of certain property to members of the Caucasian race. A piece of property covered by such an agreement was conveyed to a Negro family, whereupon other property owners in the area brought suit in a state court to restrain them from taking possession. On review, the Supreme Court concluded that, standing alone, these private arrangements did not violate the Constitution. Nonetheless, the Court held, the state may not make available to individuals the "coercive power of government" to deny to persons, on grounds of race or color, the enjoyment of private property rights.

As I stated earlier, many who write are confused because they have been led by state laws and by some of their state officials

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* Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1; Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24.

to believe that there are means and devices by which the principle of segregation might be maintained in their public school systems. But, as the Court stated last week, "State support of segregated schools through any arrangement, management, funds, or property cannot be squared with the (Fourteenth) Amendment's command that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." If it ever were doubtful, it is plain now that subterfuge and evasion will not work. They are self-defeating. They lead but tortuously to a dead end.

One of the cases cited with approval in the Supreme Court's opinion is the decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in the case of Derrington v. Plummer.* The facts of that case are worth noting. A county in Texas had leased a cafeteria in a newly constructed courthouse to a private tenant. The tenant then undertook to exclude Negro patrons. The Court of Appeals, pointing out that the courthouse had been constructed with public funds for the use of citizens generally, held that the acts of discrimination were as much state action as if the county had operated the cafeteria directly.

In still another case which involved operation of public facilities through the agency of a private corporation, a federal

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* 240 F. 2d 922

district court in West Virginia stated, "Justice would be blind indeed if she failed to detect the real purpose of this effort * * * to clothe a public function with the mantle of private responsibility."*

As Justice Holmes once declared, "States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification * * *."**

The lesson is written in large letters, plain to everyone's view. An Alabama lawyer recently summed it up in these words: "To a lawyer who has followed the segregation cases it is apparent that the state cannot exercise any part in the operation of a private school system. In other words, if we are to have a segregated school system then public education as we have known it is finished."

It is encouraging that responsible voices are beginning to be heard with more frequency. Ministers, school boards, parent-teacher associations, students, some of our state officials are speaking out courageously and realistically. For example, the Attorney General of North Carolina said last week:

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* Lawrence v. Hancock, 76 F. Supp. 1004

** Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536

"Those states which seek to evade have been and will continue to be unsuccessful, and, to those states, there are but two avenues which remain open -- an obedience to the law or avoidance of the law. To avoid the law, the state merely goes out of the business of public education. That day should never come to North Carolina."

In speaking of compliance, let me re-emphasize that the courts have not imposed drastic or inflexible requirements. An examination of the decrees now outstanding discloses that the district courts, in the exercise of their equity powers, have approved a variety of plans submitted by local school authorities. These plans embrace different approaches. Thus, in some, the transition is to be initiated in the first grade; in others, at a different level. In Little Rock, for example, the first step under the school board's plan was to be taken in the senior high school in the year 1957 -- a date more than two years removed from May, 1955, when the plan was initially approved by the local district court -- and it was to be gradually extended to the remainder of the school system over a period of six years. The test applicable in each instance is whether the specific plan submitted, viewed in the light of prevailing local conditions, provides a prompt and reasonable

start towards desegregation. Time is allowed in appropriate cases, if it is utilized in good faith.

But there must be an end to delusion and an awareness of the path which, in view of our constitutional system and the unanimous decision of the highest court in our nation, must inevitably be followed. The crux of the matter is one of intention. In those states where there has been a willingness to seek methods of good-faith compliance reasonable solutions are being found. Where people have sought to comply, they have, in every instance, made progress. On the other hand, those who seek to thwart compliance are sowing a bitter harvest. There is not only the damage, already evident in some places, to public schooling. There is this, also, to weigh and consider. Disrespect for law in one area breeds disrespect in others. And in an atmosphere of disrespect, rebelliousness leads soon to violence.

A few moments ago, I quoted the Attorney General of North Carolina. He also said this: "However distasteful may be the job which is assigned to me by law, I intend to take my stand on the side of the law--and neither through public utterance nor in any other manner will I seek to advise people to take any other stand than that which I know under the law is the only stand we may take. If this is politically inexpedient, dangerous or fatal, I'll just have to be content with what the future holds for me."

All responsible citizens must face the realities. They, too, must take their stand on the side of the law. I repeat - given the will to comply in good faith, all problems of accommodation and adjustment can be satisfactorily met. The federal government stands ready to cooperate and assist by every means within its power in the search for such solutions. But without a basic willingness to comply, any search, by whatever means, is apt to be merely time-consuming and frustrating.

We have known in the past problems which cut deep and caused division within the nation. The comforting conclusion which one can draw from our history is that, regardless of the travail or the shame of the day, the nation has invariably emerged strong and united. If we are to be faithful to the principles upon which our nation was founded, we must go forward today with the task of translating into reality the constitutional guarantee of equality under the law.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

OCT 13 1958

72-012
72-19-0

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This acknowledges your letter of September 9, 1958, and the copy of the brief in Franklin v. Harber, enclosed therewith. In accordance with your request we are returning the copy of the brief herewith.

We wish to thank you kindly for letting us see it.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

Enclosure - 1

October 22, 1958

The Honorable William P. Rogers
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

We are grateful for your clear and forceful speeches interpreting the issue involved in the school integration controversy.

I thought you would like to see the enclosed copy of our monthly publication New South, in which we have reprinted substantial portions of your address to the American Bar Association.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

cc: The Honorable W. Wilson White

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

October 28, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter dated October 22. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing and sending me the copy of New South.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

William P. Rogers

Attorney General

October 31, 1958

Honorable W. Wilson White
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. White:

We are glad to give such help as we can to your quest for research material on desegregation procedures of public schools. The Southern Regional Council itself has made no comprehensive survey on this subject, and I know of no unpublished material of ours that would be pertinent.

I am enclosing, however, a list of books, pamphlets, and articles which deal in one way or another with the process of school desegregation. Undoubtedly your staff has or knows of most of these publications. Those marked with an asterisk are available from the Southern Regional Council, and we shall be glad to forward copies of any which you do not already have. The others can be secured from the sponsoring publishers or library facilities.

You should know of one major study that is going on. This is a broad scale survey of the educational and administrative aspects of public school desegregation, financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education and carried out by

Commission No. 5 of Phi Delta Kappa, the professional educational society. The chairman of the Commission is Dean J. B. White of the School of Education at the University of Florida, and assisting the Commission is an advisory committee of school superintendents experienced in the desegregation process. I am told that the findings of this survey are expected to be published soon after the turn of the year, perhaps in January 1959. While I have not seen any of the findings, I should think this would be the most comprehensive study of its kind since the project reported in The Negro and the Schools and Schools in Transition. The latter volume, published in 1954 and based on experiences in non-Southern communities, is still the most useful analysis of these problems.

Do call on us if we can be of further help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Bibliography - Techniques of Desegregation)

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

OCT 17 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are interested in obtaining research material on the subject of desegregation procedures for public schools. Your unpublished survey of September 1956, would doubtless be of assistance to us in this connection. Is it possible to obtain a copy of this report?

If you can suggest any further studies, existing or in preparation, particularly analyses of techniques used in the different communities which have desegregated, we shall be very grateful for your advice.

Sincerely,

W. Wilson White

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Phi Delta Kappa
Commission 5
Dean White, U of Ala
about Jan.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

WWW:ILB:lmc

NOV 26 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have received your letter of October 31, 1958, and the attached bibliography regarding techniques of school desegregation.

Thank you very much for your courtesy in sending us this information.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Harold H. Greene
HAROLD H. GREENE
Chief, Appeals and Research Section

MARKED: "PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL"

VIA AIR MAIL

February 3, 1959

Mr. St. John Barrett
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barrett:

I hope there is no objection to my jumping channels and writing you directly.

Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College here in Atlanta is going to be in Washington next Friday, February 6, through Monday, February 9. If you or one of your colleagues have time to schedule an appointment with him on Monday, I believe you would find the discussion helpful. Dr. Brazeal has recently made some field inquiries for us in Baker County, Georgia, where there have been indications of discrimination against Negroes wishes to register to vote. Although we do not yet have Dr. Brazeal's written report, his verbal account of his findings is most interesting and may well be useful to you.

Dr. Brazeal will call you Friday afternoon to see if a Monday appointment is possible.

I remember your Atlanta visit with pleasure and look forward to our next meeting.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Dr. B. R. Brazeal

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

FEB 4 1959

WWW:SJB:11h
72-19M-27

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We will be most interested in learning from Dean Brazeal of the results of his field inquiries in Baker County. We appreciate very much any encouragement you may have given him to talk with us.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: St. John Barrett
ST. JOHN BARRETT
Second Assistant

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Brazeal, B. R.

REGARDING:

Memo dtd. 2/19/59 re: Expenses covering conf. in Washington for SRC with members of Civil Rights Division of U.SJustice Dept. on political status of Negroes in selected Ga. counties.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. Dept. of Justice

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

February 20, 1959

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

RE: Conferences in Washington, D. C. on February 8, 1959 at the Request of Southern Regional Council

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

(1) During the morning of February 8, I had a conference with Messrs. St. John Barrett and Henry Putzel of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. We covered matters relating to the Baker County, Georgia, case.

Mr. Putzel already knew some of the facts which were unearthed when F.B.I agents investigated instances of violence which followed the efforts of four Negro residents to register in Baker County, where at the present time not one Negro is registered. We discussed future procedures in this county and some strategies which may well be used to develop well-founded legal reasons for concrete action. Since it is not likely that any ~~well qualified~~ formally well-educated litigants are to be found in Baker County in the reasonably near future, Mr. Barrett and I seemed in agreement on the following procedure: Have the Federal Government initiate legal action against Baker County registrars to restrain them from denying would-be Negro registrants from having an opportunity to display that they are or are not qualified to register and vote.

Finally, Messrs. Barrett and Putzel expressed an interest in receiving the Baker County report as well as the reports involving the political status of Negroes in several other counties in Georgia.

(2) In the afternoon of February 8, I had a conference with Messrs. Berl Bernhard, Charles E. Clark, George Johnson and Berton Stevenson. These men are the ones who are working largely with registration and vote denial cases. We covered most of the matters which were covered in the morning conference. For almost two hours we dealt with many of the techniques which are used to deny Negroes the right to register and vote in several of these Georgia counties.

These gentlemen expressed a keen interest in getting copies of the Baker County report and others which I have worked out for several Georgia counties.

I feel that these conferences were worthwhile, especially if they help in some measure to stimulate more action in behalf of beleaguered Negro residents of the "hard-core" Georgia counties.

B. R. Brogdon

file Copy

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

APR 17 1959

RECEIVED APR 20 1959

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brazeal:

On behalf of Mr. St. John Barrett and myself, I wish to thank you kindly for your courtesy in sending us copies of your voting reports of August 31, 1956, for various Georgia Counties. This material will be very useful to us.

If from time to time additional material of similar nature is available, we should much appreciate being supplied copies thereof.

Sincerely,

Henry Putzel, jr.

HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

May 14, 1959

Mr. St. John Barrett
Second Assistant
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barrett:

Thanks for your letter and the copy of your communication to Dean Brazeal. We will continue to send material which may be of interest to you, and I hope you will call on us any time you feel the Council may be of service.

I, too, was sorry we didn't get a chance for conversation at the Clearing House meeting, but will hope for that opportunity the next time I am in Washington.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

RECEIVED MAY 14 1959

WWW:SJB:arg

MAY 12 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was sorry not to get a chance to talk with you after the Civil Liberties Clearing House meeting last month, but had to get back to the office.

Thanks for sending us copies of Dean Brazeal's reports on Negro voting in Georgia. For your information, I enclose a copy of my letter to him of even date.

I hope you will drop in to the Civil Rights Division next time you are in Washington.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHITE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By St. John Barrett

ST. JOHN BARRETT
Second Assistant

Encl.

WWW:SJB:arg

MAY 12 1959

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Dean and Professor of Economics
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brazeal:

I have only recently completed reading your reports to the Southern Regional Council, on Negro participation in politics in certain Georgia counties. I found them most interesting. Materials such as these not only assist us in gaining a fuller appreciation of the problems in this field, but will also be of direct help to us in evaluating complaints of denial of the right to vote in the particular counties covered by your reports. We are anxious to receive any further reports which you may prepare.

Sincerely,

W. WILSON WHYTE
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By

ST. JOHN BARRETT
Second Assistant

CC: Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

JMFR,JrtHFtemb
72-0

AUG 28 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We were very interested indeed to receive from you a copy of the Southern Regional Council release for Sunday, August 30, 1959, of a statement about the Council's full report on the voting survey entitled "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price. We note that the full report will be published next week. We shall be very grateful to you if you will let us have several copies of the report.

Thank you for your, as usual, fine cooperation.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. F. RYAN, JR.
Acting Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By:

HENRY PUTZEL, Jr., Chief,
Voting & Elections Section

Wilson White Quits Post With Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 (UPI). J. Wilson White has resigned as assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, effective Saturday.

President Eisenhower accepted the resignation Monday with praise for the way White has "handled the many sensitive problems" in his field for the past two years.

White, 53, is returning to private law practice in Philadelphia. He was the first head of the special Civil Rights Division, which was set up under the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Col Journal Sept. 29, 1959

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION

Date January 20, 1960

From: **Mr. St. J. Barrett**

To: Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

I thought this would be of interest to you.

St. John Barrett

SJB

Department of Justice

FOR RELEASE TO MORNING NEWSPAPERS
MONDAY, JANUARY 18, 1960

The Department of Justice released for general publication today the text of an article by Attorney General William P. Rogers which appeared in a supplement to the New York Times of Sunday, January 17 sponsored by the Urban League:

HOW THE LAW HELPS

"The law" is not a mere abstract body of rules which government officials have imposed upon our society. Rather, the Constitution and the laws of our nation express the conscience and morality of a free people and, with their sanction, state their sense of the fitness of things and the rightness of relationships.

The law protects the rights of each individual to exercise his freedoms meaningfully. It makes a man's home his castle; protects his business activities, and guarantees his right to speak, write and worship as he pleases.

A cardinal principle of our system of government is equality. To be sure, people are not equal in all things. But rights guaranteed by the constitution and the laws of the United States, or of the states, must not turn on such factors as race, religion or place of national origin. It is a source of great national pride that in the eyes of the law in America all people are equal.

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 in the School Segregation Cases illustrates the principle of equality under law which assures that race or color may not be used as a criteria for different treatment under the law.

The decision in that case was that the "separate but equal" doctrine--which permitted a state in effect to say to citizens, "you are white so do this" and "you are colored so do that"--violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. More precisely it held that a state violates the constitutional provision that no state shall deny to any person the "equal protection of the laws" when it denies to a Negro child who is otherwise qualified for admission to a particular school and who seeks admission, the right to enter that school.

Consider the long range consequences if the case had been decided the other way. It would have been possible for states to establish "separate but equal" public schools for other racial groups and for different religions. Or, based on such a holding, it could have been argued logically that "separate but equal" public highways might have been maintained for persons of different color or different religions.

"Equality before the law" is natural for us because we are a nation whose forebears came from many countries and from many religious groups, and we know the strength resulting from diversity so long as the government does not discriminate on the basis of such diversity. Would the world have the same respect for us and would we respect ourselves, if we could boast merely that the United States stands for "segregated equality before the law?"

What resulted from the School decisions? The response, as we know, was varied. The decision met defiance in some areas. Although there are five states that still have no desegregation in their public schools, the bright side of the picture is that in 17 states (and the District of Columbia) which had

compulsory segregation in 1954, approximately 760 biracial districts now operate on a desegregated basis. Of these fewer than 40 were compelled to desegregate by specific court order.

How did the law help? In those few instances where there was obstruction to court orders requiring desegregation in the public schools, the Department of Justice acted with dispatch to uphold the authority of the courts. But the spirit of the law, as pronounced in the school decision, has been accepted in hundreds of communities. Clearly the law as authoritatively determined by the Supreme Court provided the impetus for parents and children and school boards to make meaningful the principle of equality before the law for Negro school children.

The law has made it possible to open other new avenues of approach and channels of contact which permit the development of greater understanding between the races. For example, the executive orders of the President to abolish segregation in the armed services and in employment on Government contracts, and the action taken by the government to eliminate segregation in the Nation's Capital, have afforded the opportunity for large numbers of individuals of all races to form opinions of one another on a personal and unprejudiced basis.

The Constitution and laws also protect the right to vote and to have that vote counted without discrimination because of race or color. This means that state laws determining the eligibility of voters must be applied fairly and impartially. For example, when a state official requires Negro applicants to answer questions of unreasonable complexity while at the same time permitting white applicants to be registered with little or no questioning, the law is violated. The Department

of Justice, under laws enacted in 1957, has proceeded diligently by legal action to prevent this and other forms of unlawful discrimination wherever they occur.

Each year, on an over-all basis, more and more members of minority groups who have previously been deprived of their franchise are enjoying the right to vote. Thus the law, particularly the Civil Rights Act of 1957, is moving us ever closer to the day, when by universal consent, all persons may cast their ballots without discrimination based on race or color.

The beginning of all equality before the law is the unabridged right to cast one's vote. When minority groups exercise their franchise effectively, it invariably follows that they achieve a greater measure of other fundamental freedoms.

What are some things to remember in considering how the law helps?

First, the law defines legal rights. But rights to have meaning must be exercised. It is for this reason, for example, that I have repeatedly urged all persons of all races to exercise their right to vote. Only as each individual seeks to exercise and is denied his constitutional rights can legal processes be brought into play.

Second, there is no right to flout the law. Some mistakenly believe that when a law is not to their personal liking, they may disregard it at will. Others think that the popular sentiment of the moment in a particular area should prevail over the law of the land. But the constitutional rights of all of us have little value if they must yield to the pressures of the day in a particular community. Throughout our history, the law has been a stabilizing influence, respected and obeyed by the overwhelming majority of our people.

Third, the fact that tensions have resulted in some areas as the result of cases in the field of civil rights does not mean that the law has not been helpful. On the contrary, the very fact that tensions exist may be evidence that progress is taking place. If the status quo in a few areas which denies constitutional rights to some American citizens were not disturbed, there would be no tensions.

Fourth, our laws reflect the moral code of a free people. Of course, the law alone is not enough to make man moral or honest or tolerant or understanding. But because our laws have a moral foundation, they serve to teach, to mold attitudes and outlooks, and to crystallize public opinion in support of concepts which are fair and just.

Finally, we must remember that we are a nation dedicated to the rule of law, to a system which attaches primary importance to the worth of each individual. Progress in the field of civil rights is inevitable not only because these rights find protection in the law but because this is morally right. The processes of the law cannot solve all human problems, but scrupulous regard for the rights of others and for the integrity of the law's processes lies at the very core of ordered liberty.

March 30, 1960

JC, BC, LWD, MA, MM, WF M. FLOWERS

REPLACEMENT FOR W. WILSON WHITE, JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION.

Since W. Wilson White resigned from the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division in Sept. of last year, Joseph M. F. Ryan, Jr. has been serving as Acting Assistant Attorney General of that Division.

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr., has now been appointed to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division as a reppacement for Mr. White.

Please see that Mr. Tyler is put on appropriate mailing lists.

SYMINGTON WARY ON RIGHTS BILLS

In Visit to Alabama, Senator Avoids Taking Any Stand—Calls Peace Main Issue

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 25—Senator Stuart Symington carefully skirted the civil rights issue today while displaying his political wares in the Old Confederacy.

Accompanied by his wife, he smilingly moved from a press conference to a television interview to a speech before the local Chamber of Commerce.

The Missouri Senator disavowed any intention of collecting delegates to the Democratic National Convention "at this time." However, he left no doubt that his goal was the Presidential nomination.

If he felt he was in enemy territory, he gave no indication of it. Political observers generally contend that Alabamians favor Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader.

Governor Absent

The state's Governor, John Patterson, has expressed a personal preference for Senator John F. Kennedy. The Governor's office said a virus attack and laryngitis had prevented Mr. Patterson from introducing the Senator tonight as scheduled.

Mr. Symington spoke out firmly on what he called the chief issue of the coming campaign—world peace. He attacked Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba as a "cheap, demagogic rabble-rouser." He accused the Eisenhower Administration of gross mismanagement of defense, agriculture and the national debt.

When he termed Vice President Nixon a candidate whom "any good Democratic could beat," there was the implication that only modesty prevented him from naming one of the possibilities.

But not once did the tall man from Missouri say anything on the question of minority rights that would set the battle flags flying in this city of the Deep South, which served as the capital of the Confederacy before it was named Richmond.

Wary on Rights Questions

Asked by newsmen whether he favored a proposal for Federal voter registrars in areas where qualified Negroes are denied the ballot, he replied:

"I haven't studied it."

Would he support the anti-lynching measure now before the Senate?

"I don't know."

Is school desegregation proceeding rapidly enough or should the Justice Department be given power to initiate desegregation suits?

"In my state, it is proceeding rapidly."

Senator Symington, who has been credited with a liberal voting record on civil rights measures, pointed out that the foregoing matters were being considered by committees and would be brought to the Senate floor for debate.

"I listen to the debate and then I vote my conscience," he said.

In a general comment on the problem, he asserted that Supreme Court had made its decision on school segregation, "and I think the matter will be worked out."

NEW YORKER GE CIVIL RIGHTS P

President Names H. R. Tyler, Ex-Assistant U. S. Attorney, as Head of the Division

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25—Harold Russell Tyler Jr., a New York lawyer, has been chosen to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division.

President Eisenhower is expected to send the nomination to Congress in a few days. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is completing a routine inquiry.

Mr. Tyler, who is 38 years old, is a partner in the firm of Gilbert & Segall, 405 Park Avenue, New York.

His only previous Government experience was as an assistant United States attorney in the Southern District of New York from 1953 to 1955.

The Civil Rights Division was created after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. It has general charge of Federal legal activities in behalf of Negro and other minority rights, with particular attention to voting.

W. Wilson White, the first Assistant Attorney General in charge of the division, resigned last September. Since then the acting chief has been Joseph M. F. Ryan.

Mr. Tyler, a Republican, has been moderately active in the party, though he has never run for office. He worked for the election of Governor Rockefeller and Senator Kenneth B. Keating in 1958.

Mr. Tyler is a graduate of Princeton and Columbia Law School. He entered the Army during World War II as a draftee and rose to the rank of captain. He returned to service in the Korean War in 1951 and 1952.

In the United States attorney's office Mr. Tyler helped to prepare one of the largest criminal tax cases ever brought by the Government against Herman Harvey Klein, a former Baltimore liquor dealer, who drew a five-year sentence.

Mr. Tyler was born on May 14, 1921, at Utica, N. Y. He is married to the former Barbara Eaton of Hewlett, L. I. They have three children. Their home is in Bedford, N. Y.

As far as is known, Mr. Tyler had had no specific experience in civil rights. Some observers think that may be just as well, considering the controversial spot he will find himself in.

Mr. Tyler's predecessor, Mr. White, had difficulty getting past Southern opposition to Senate confirmation. Then he was criticized from the other side for allegedly doing too little for Negro rights.

MF -

Have we ever replaced Wilson White on our mailing list with his successor, Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.? If not, please see that it is done throughout.

HCF

LWD ✓
MF (file)

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

April 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was pleased to receive your letter of April 6th, together with the enclosed list of Negro institutions of higher learning.

Needless to say, I would be anxious to hear the results of the visit of your consultant to McCormick County. Also, I am delighted to hear of your timely plans for further voting inquiries this year in those counties where there has been abnormally low registration.

Last but not least, I shall look forward to receiving the additional information which you mentioned in your letter.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
Special Assistant to
the Attorney General

April 6, 1960

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General
Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

A bout of 'flu, followed immediately by a week of jury duty, has delayed my writing to say how much I enjoyed meeting with you and your colleagues.

I haven't been entirely inactive on the matters we discussed, however. We have arranged for a consultant to visit McCormick County this coming weekend and will convey his findings to you at the earliest possible time. We have also compiled a list of counties with sizeable Negro populations and abnormally low registrations, as subjects for similar field inquires as soon as they can be arranged.

We have discussed with Lucius Pitts, Executive Secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, the possibility of his paying a visit to your office. He feels that some of the information he has acquired in his constant travels through Georgia would be of help to you. I will be writing

you further about this; meanwhile, Mr. Pitts is to furnish us a list of his counterparts in the other Southern states, which I will forward to you.

Finally, enclosed is a list of Negro institutions of higher learning. Although it is dated 1950, we know of no later compilation. I think it unlikely that a current list would differ in any important respect.

Call on us if there are other ways in which we can be helpful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

H CF/mf
Enclosures

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

March 30, 1960

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The purpose of this brief note is to tell you how much my colleagues and I appreciated your visit last Thursday, March 24.

I hope that your busy schedule will leave you some time soon to get in touch with me about some of the matters we discussed here last Thursday. Moreover, I hope that we can enjoy another visit with you the next time you are in Washington.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

via air mail

April 26, 1960

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General
Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

I am glad to send you, at last, the enclosed field report on the status of Negroes with respect to voter registration in McCormick County, South Carolina, prepared by Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College. As you will see, the means used to discourage Negro registration there are subtle and indirect, and there have been no recent instances of outright denial of registration. If we hear of such developments later, I will of course let you know.

Also enclosed is a list of the executives of state Negro teacher associations in the South. As a rule, these men are extremely well informed of racial conditions throughout their respective states.

Finally, Mr. Lucius Pitts of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association has expressed to me his willingness to make an early visit to Washington and to meet with you and members of your staff. I believe you would find such a discussion rewarding.

Mr. Pitts could make the trip on one of these dates: May 10 through 12, May 17, or May 19. If none of these is convenient for you, please let me know what later dates would be satisfactory and we will work out the arrangements with Mr. Pitts.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
P. S. -- We have followed with interest newspaper reports of the Department's inquiries in several Georgia counties.

BC. Lucius Pitts

via air mail

April 27, 1960

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr., Chief
Voting and Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Our information on the requirement of "vouchers" in Alabama is, I am afraid, both dated and imprecise. The statement in The Negro Voter in the South was based on field reports gathered during our survey of 1956. The Alabama consultant sent a questionnaire to one or more local Negro leaders in each county. The information tabulated on the attached sheet was taken from these questionnaires, as completed, but we made no effort to verify the reports or to clarify seeming inconsistencies.

I am also enclosing a memorandum from our research director explaining the limitations of these data.

I hope this information will at least provide a few useful leads.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure -

File with letter

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 26, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: LWD

I have reviewed the Alabama field reports for the 1956 survey, and have below indicated the replies for every county where use of vouchers was reported.

We have no field reports on the following counties: Blount, Clay, Cullman, Lauderdale, Lowndes, Marion, Marshall, Montgomery, Washington, Wilcox, Winston.

Besides these, any counties not listed below are ones in which it was reported that vouchers were not used.

This raises the obvious question of Bulloch County. Our investigator was explicit, that no vouchers were required. Either he was in error, or the practice was adopted after 1956.

The replies for Madison, Macon, and Lawrence Counties (last on the list) seem wrong on their faces; which part of each answer is wrong is, however, only to be guessed at.

It should be emphasized (a) that these reports are as of 1956 and, (b) were not verified. Where towns are noted in parentheses, the data applies to the town, and not necessarily to the whole county.

* * *

Questions:

a. Does the board require white character witness or vouchers?
b. Must these witnesses actually sign the blank?
c. Is this required of white applicants?

County	a.	b.	c.
Mobile	*	yes	yes
Geneva (Slocomb)	yes	yes (1 signer)	n. a.
Conecuh (Evergreen)	yes	yes (1)	d. k.
Clarke (Thomasville)	yes (3 witnesses)	n. a.	n. a.
(Grove Hill)	yes (2)	n. a.	n. a.
Perry (Marion)	yes	yes	no
Houston	yes	yes (1)	yes
Marengo (Linden)	yes	yes (1)	d. k.
(Demopolis)	yes	yes (1)	yes
Chambers (Lafayette)	yes	yes	yes
(Lanett)	yes	yes	yes
Henry (Abbeville)	yes	yes (1)	yes
Choctaw	yes	yes	yes
Dallas (Selma)	yes	no	n. a.
Covington (Andalusia)	yes	yes (1)	n. a.
Sumter (Livingston)	yes	yes (1)	yes
(York)	yes	yes (1)	no
Elmore	yes	yes	d. k.
Hale	*	yes	no
Greene	yes	yes	no
Baldwin	*	yes	yes
Etowah	yes	no	* *
Franklin	yes	no	yes
Autauga	yes	no	d. k.

County	a.	b.	c.
St. Clair	yes	no	no
Madison	no (?)	no	yes
Macon	no (?)	yes	d. k.
Lawrence	no (?)	no	yes

* Requires character witnesses, but may be white or Negro

* * In some cases

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

JMFR,Jr.:DLN:bjb
72-012

APR 18 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At page 12 of the pamphlet by Margaret Price entitled The Negro Voter in the South, it is stated that many Alabama boards of registrars require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants for registration. The Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1959) indicates that this practice has been used in Macon and Bullock Counties. We should appreciate it if you would provide us with the names of any other counties in Alabama or elsewhere where this practice has been followed.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. F. RYAN, JR.
Acting Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

May 13, 1960

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Special Assistant to the Attorney General
Office of the Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

I hope you will pardon this multi-purpose letter.

First, let me say that I shall look forward to further word of your progress on the idea of a chain-store conference. I am enclosing a report -- the first of several -- on the desegregation of lunch-counters in three Texas cities. More copies are available if you should have need of them.

Secondly, this is to confirm in writing the fact that Mr. Lucius Pitts will be at your office at 10:00 A. M. on May 17.

Thirdly, I am enclosing the memorandum of counties suitable for voter registration surveys. Your reactions to this method of selection and its results will be appreciated.

Finally, I am also enclosing an excerpt from a letter just received from the Rev. Robert Hughes,

director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This information is probably already familiar to you and your colleagues, but, if not, may be of some value.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

May 2, 1960

Harold C. Fleming, Executive
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 26, 1960, together with the interesting enclosures.

Advised Pitts

We would be most pleased to see Mr. Pitts here in the office on May 17th. I would suggest a time of 10:00 a.m. of that day, but please tell Mr. Pitts to feel free to select his own time to accord with his travel plans, etc.

The report of Dean Brazeal relating to McCormick County has been read by us with interest. It is to be hoped that the interested and qualified Negro citizens in that County will make an effort this year to register and vote.

Finally, I am most grateful to you for forwarding the list of executives of state Negro teacher associations. Such information is of great benefit to us.

I anticipate that there may be some developments from this end within the next several weeks in which you will be interested. Indeed, I may be in touch with you by telephone in this regard in the middle of the month.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
Special Assistant to
the Attorney General

May 17, 1960

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr.
Chief, Voting and Elections Section
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

Thank you for your letter of May 12.

The Alabama consultant for our voting study of 1956-57 was Professor J. E. Pierce at Alabama State College in Montgomery. Since some time has elasped, either he or some other knowledgeable person in Alabama would be the one to supply the names of local Negro leaders throughout the state. There is, in fact, what I understand to be a well organized registration campaign functioning in the state. Professor C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute is among those who is active and knowledgeable about this effort.

As for Professor Pierce, I have had no communication with him for a long time and don't know how closely informed he is currently about these matters. As I suggested in my last letter, the findings that we got from Alabama were far from perfect. It would be well to preceed with care in using information from the same sources without independent verification.

If we can help further, call on me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
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JMFR,Jr.:JHF:bab
72-012

MAY 12 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This refers with thanks to your letter of April 27, 1960, and the material you enclosed concerning the use of the "voucher rule" in Alabama. Though, as you noted, the information is somewhat dated, it does give us a better understanding of the use and effect of this practice.

As you were advised on the occasion of your recent visit with members of the Civil Rights Division, we are interested in having the names of Negro leaders who are conversant with the voting situation in various parts of the South. The list of teachers' association representatives which you sent to us on April 26 will be very helpful for that purpose. Similarly, the name and address of the Council's Alabama consultant to whom you referred in your letter of April 27, would be of assistance to us. From him, or from you if possible, we might then wish to obtain the names and addresses of the Negro leader or leaders in each of the Alabama counties. This information would greatly facilitate our operations.

We read and very much enjoyed your articles in the latest issue of The Reporter and the Magazine Section of the Sunday Times a few weeks back.

Thank you again for your assistance and cooperation.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. F. RYAN, Jr.
Acting Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, Jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

June 16, 1960

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

Thank you for your helpful letter of June 9 concerning our memorandum on voting studies.

I realize you are moving in this field at a rapid pace. Whatever we turn up that may be of interest to you, I will pass on promptly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD ✓
Pls return

HF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number
HRT,Jr.:DLN:bjb
72-012

JUN 9 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you, belatedly, for your letter of May 13, 1960, and the enclosures.

We have given careful study to the memorandum proposing voting studies in certain counties. The criteria used in selecting the counties as subjects for surveys seem to us to be sound.

Your memorandum raises the question whether the fact that several counties in which there may be racial discrimination are grouped in the same congressional district would be an advantage in establishing a pattern or practice of discrimination within the meaning of the 1960 Act. It is likely that the courts will construe the term "affected area" to mean the subdivision of the state in which the defendant registration or election official administers the laws. If so, in the ordinary case, the "affected area" would be the county and a voting referee would be appointed for the county or counties involved but not for the congressional district as such. We believe, therefore, that the congressional district need not be considered in selecting counties to be studied.

You have perhaps noted that, acting under the 1960 Act, we have now made demands for the inspection and copying of registration records in the following areas:

Alabama: Montgomery, Sumter, and Wilcox Counties

Georgia: Early, Fayette, and Webster Counties

Louisiana: East Carroll, East Feliciana and Ouachita Parishes

South Carolina: Clarendon, Hampton and McCormick Counties

If we receive information that a group of Negroes in a given county tried to register but were rejected because of their race, one of the first steps we will take is to demand the inspection of the registration records in that county. The examination of the records may disclose the reasons why the Negro applicants were rejected and also whether the tests and standards applied to Negroes are different and more stringent than those applied to white registrants.

I wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

HAROLD R. TYLER, Jr.
Special Assistant to
the Attorney General

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

9/14/60

LWD
MFL

Department of Justice
Washington

September 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was pleased and grateful to receive yours of September 7, concerning the Clarendon County, South Carolina, situation.

It is disappointing to hear that Negro leaders in that county have stated that the Negro citizens who have been subjected to certain reprisals are unwilling to give statements or affidavits to that effect.

We will continue to follow this situation and study all possible ways of getting appropriate factual information pertinent to these reports of economic pressures. It may well be that I will be in touch with you further in this regard.

Best personal wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

via air mail

September 7, 1960

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Special Assistant to the AttorneynGeneral
Office of the Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

The Labor Day Weekend has delayed my response to Henry Putzel's inquiry concerning Clarendon County. I can now report, however, that one of our South Carolina people paid a visit to Clarendon and looked into the question of economic pressures against Negro registrants or would-be registrants.

The results are none too clear. The only local Negro leader who maintains unequivocally that such pressures have been applied is Billie Flemming, the NAACP leader in Manning, S. C. Mr. Flemming declares that it is "not uncommon" for landlords to threaten eviction of Negroes prominent in the school desegregation or registration efforts. He adds, however, that none of the Negroes involved would be willing to give affidavits or testimony.

Flemming and one other Clarendon Negro leader — the Rev. J. W. Seals of the AME Church, Route 5, Manning — speak of "obstructions" to Negro registration. These seem to be the familiar subtle techniques of evasion and slowdown, which, as you know better than I, are difficult to prove.

In short, Clarendon County seems to us to present little clearcut evidence of reprisals in the voting field, although

experienced investigators might unearth sufficient evidence to warrant official action.

My best regards to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

October 18, 1960

Mr. Henry Putzel, Jr., Chief
Voting and Elections Section
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Putzel:

In response to your letter of October 10, regarding Sumter County, Georgia, I have consulted Lucius Pitts and others. The best source of information within the Negro community there appears to be the Barnum brothers, proprietors of a funeral home of that name in Americus. The Barnums are reported to be both knowledgeable and unintimidated.

As for white sources, I am afraid I have no suggestions to offer. Those we know of are either too biased or too intimidated to be of assistance. Of course, there are the residents of Koinonia Farm, but, as you know, they are the objects of discrimination as intense as any experienced by Negroes in that area.

I hope the suggestion made above will be of at least some slight help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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HRT,Jr.:DLN:bjb 5056
72-19M-40

OCT 10 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have been advised that some Negroes in Sumter County, Georgia, recently tried unsuccessfully to register to vote. Among them were Mr. Ed Hicks, Jr., Mr. Willie M. May, Mr. Sam Sims, Jr., and Mr. Robert Junior Solomon, who advised us that they failed the thirty-question examination propounded to them by the registrars.

Inasmuch as these four individuals have fourth and fifth grade educations, it cannot be concluded from the fact that they failed the examinations that they were denied the opportunity to register because of their race. Messrs. Hicks, May, Sims, and Solomon were unable to furnish the names of any other Negroes in Sumter County who have attempted to register to vote.

Our statistics indicate that less than 7% of the Negroes of voting age in Sumter County are registered to vote. We should appreciate having any information you can give us concerning the registration of voters in Sumter County, including the names of any Negroes who are apparently qualified but have been denied the opportunity to register to vote, and the names of any white persons in that county who may be cooperative and who may be conversant with registration practices and procedures used in the registration of white persons in that county.

Thank you for your kind assistance.

Sincerely,

HAROLD R. TYLER, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel, Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

Per Pitts
Barnum Bros.
Funeral Directors
Americus

via air mail

November 1, 1960

Mr. Allen J. Krouse
Attorney
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Krouse:

Mr. Fleming, who is away from the office, has asked that I handle your inquiry of October 24.

We felt that the best source of information for persons in Peach and Bibb Counties was Mr. Lucius Pitts, Executive Secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association. He has sppplied us with the following:

Peach County:

Rev. E. L. Greene
Vineville Avenue
Fort Valley, Ga.

Mr. Harold Hunt
Hunt Funeral Home
Macon Street
Fort Valley, Ga.

Bibb County:

Mr. Betram Hooper
c/o Tindall Heights
Housing Project
Tindall Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Mr. Frank Hutchings
Hutchings Funeral Home
New Street
Macon, Georgia

There may be some question concerning the contacts in Peach County. They may not feel - according to Mr. Pitts - that they can speak freely. If you find this to be the case, Mr. Pitts feels that he knows of a desirable contact in a county bordering Peach who could be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

HRT,Jr:GWJ:mk
72-19M-34 4808
72-19M-35 4807

OCT 24 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It has been brought to our attention that certain practices exist in Bibb and Peach Counties, Georgia, whereby segregation by race is practiced in voting processes and facilities.

In an effort to correct this situation, we are interested in locating several Negroes in each of these counties who have first hand information of these practices and who could testify thereto. It would be appreciated if you would furnish me with the names of such persons so that we may contact them.

Sincerely,

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Allen J. Krouse
ALLEN J. KROUSE
Attorney

Peach County:

Rev. E. L. Greene
Vineville Ave.
Fort Valley, Ga.

W. Harold Hunt
Hunt Funeral Home
Macon St.
Fort Valley, Ga.

If difficulty in getting information from above LP knows a man in neighboring county that is good source of information.

Mx BIBB County:

Mr. Bertram Hooper
c/o Tindall Heights Housing Project
Tindall Ave.
Macon, Georgia

Mr. Frank Hutchings
Hutchings Funeral Home
New Street
Macon, Ga.

via air mail

October 4, 1960

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

We have received information about a recent incident in Lamar County, Ga., that I thought I should pass on to you, although it is likely that you are already fully informed about it.

My informant was the Rev. J. A. Baxter, who lives in Atlanta at 1304 Marcy Street, S. W., but serves as pastor to several rural Negro Methodist churches, including that in the Unionville community, Lamar County. Mr. Baxter's account was based on the facts as he had them from members of his congregation there. His description of the incident was as follows:

Leonard Gardner is a leading member of Mr. Baxter's church and a leading figure in the local Negro community. A farmer and well-digger, he and his family have lived on rented property on State Highway 36 between Jackson and Barnesville, Georgia. Among other things, he has been active in getting local Negroes to register and vote. Some two months ago, he reported to friends receipt of a threatening, anonymous note and the burning of a cross in his yard by persons unknown.

At about 9:00 p.m. on September 3, three armed men appeared at his home, forced him from the house,

and took him away in an automobile. Mrs. Gardner saw the men but did not recognize them, since one wore a hood and the other two had stockings over their faces. Mr. Gardner appeared the next day and reported that he had been severely beaten and told to get out of the state. He is known to have reported the incident to the Sheriff of Lamar County, after which he left for Cleveland, Ohio, where he still is, by latest accounts. His wife and dependent children moved in with the oldest daughter, who lives near Barnesville, Ga. The sheriff is believed in the Negro community to be investigating the incident and to have called in the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Baxter also told me that reports and rumors are rife in the local Negro community that others who have given leadership on voter registration and other "controversial" matters have been threatened with treatment similar to that visited on Leonard Gardner. He reports that the atmosphere in the community is one of fear and apprehension.

Mr. Baxter is willing to assist any investigation of the Gardner incident or the general situation in the county. He believes that the sheriff is in touch with both Mr. and Mrs. Gardner; but, should that not be the case, he can reach them without difficulty.

So far as we know, the incident has received no publicity and has not been brought to the attention of any other private agency.

If we can be of service by eliciting further facts through Mr. Baxter, or in any other way, you have only to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File
Intimidations file
w/cr. ref in
Dept. of Justice file

NOTE FOR FILES:

Information contained in this letter was received from Rev. J. A. Baxter, 1304 Marcy Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia (pastor of Methodist Church in Unionville, Lamar County, Georgia)

Telephone number: MU. 8-9281

MR. BAXTER WAS SENT TO THE COUNCIL BY BISHOP M. LAFAYETTE HARRIS (SRC board member)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Copies sent to
Bishop M. L. Harris
& Rev. J. A. Baxter
11/21/60
mf.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

HRTjr:IEB:mc 5889
72-19m-41

NOV 16 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 4, 1960, forwarding information received by you from Rev. J. A. Baxter concerning Leonard Gardner, who formerly resided on State Highway 36, between Jackson and Barnesville, Georgia.

We had previously received information with respect to this matter and the situation is under investigation. If violations of federal laws are disclosed, appropriate action will be taken by this Department.

Thank you for supplying the information.

Sincerely,

HAROLD R. TYLER, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Henry Putzel Jr.
HENRY PUTZEL, Jr., Chief
Voting & Elections Section

June 8, 1961

Miss Hortense Spear
Executive Director
Young Women's Christian Association
310 East Charles Street
Muncie, Indiana

Dear Miss Spear:

Many thanks for your very encouraging letter of May 31st. It was good to learn of your desire to offer your services in the field of race relations and I am sure that with your education and experience you can make an important contribution in this field.

Unfortunately we do not have a position in the Department of Justice in which your abilities could be used. I would suggest that you contact Mr. George Barrett, 216 Third Avenue North, Nashville, Tennessee or the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth, Atlanta, Georgia. I know that both will appreciate your offer as much as I did and it is my sincere hope they will be able to take advantage of it.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Robert F. Kennedy

RFK/nsb

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Department of Justice
Washington

February 27, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for the notes on the waiting room situations in a number of towns. You may have noticed that we filed a suit in Jackson last week. As far as I know, that is the last city in which there is official segregation on a continuing basis. We have had sporadic incidents which are still under investigation.

Very truly yours,

Burke Marshall

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Shreveport
Negro lunch counter
"Negro eating area"
Signs in rest rooms

August 12, 1963

— file

Mr. Jerome K. Heilbron
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

We sent you Ken Morland's pamphlet, as you requested in your letter of July 18, and I am enclosing one we have just issued, by Dr. Robert Coles. I like this one especially.

I have been to Washington a couple times lately, but have had to get in and out about as fast as you do when you come through Atlanta. I'll take you up yet, however, on the invitation. I would really like to.

You and Burke and John have been awfully busy lately. Would it be of any help to you all to get off to some quiet place with Wiley and me (perhaps others, if you wished) to exchange thoughts about voting? We can't be certain yet, but are almost certain that the Voter Education Project is going to be greatly enlarged. I know that we would be helped in making our decisions by getting your views of the problems.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Wiley Branton

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

July 18, 1963

✓ SB - pls do
return to LD

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Recently I read that the Southern Regional Council, in conjunction with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, had published a report on school segregation in the south. I believe the author is J. Kenneth Mortand. Would you please send me a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry

JEROME K. HEILBRON

Jud
7-23-63
M.M.

P.S. When are you coming to Washington? We've moved into a new home and would like you to help us with the crab grass. We might even fix you a steak or take you sailing. Just call when you get here.

Jerry

ADDRESS REPLY TO
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
ATTENTION OF
ASSISTANT SHOWN BELOW

OUR FILE

United States Department of Justice

file

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA 1

August 16, 1963

For your information & file
Thank you for your info. J.M.

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Attorney General Robert Kennedy advises me that you were among those attending White House and Justice Department conferences on the present racial crisis confronting the nation.

The facilities of this office are available to assist you and all other citizens in efforts to solve the various problems which exist or might arise in the Northern District of Georgia.

I would appreciate being advised of any developments which you think would be of interest or use to this office or to the Attorney General.

Please feel free to call upon this office if we can be of any assistance.

Yours truly,

Charles L. Goodson
CHARLES L. GOODSON
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

CLG/kms

Files — ~~Dept~~ File cabinet 18 U.S. Dept. of Justice

via air mail special delivery January 8, 1964

Mr. Jack Rosenthal
Attorney-General's Office
Room 5114
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Enclosed are the four (4) synopses of developments in 1963, and our September 1961 recapitulation. I have included also a few other things which may be of interest to you; one of them has been marked for return, because it is one of our very few remaining copies, and I would appreciate your returning it at your convenience.

Please let me know if we may help you in any other way.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960

File: U.S. Dept. of Justice

MS-file

February 14, 1964

Colonel Benjamin Muse
Southern Regional Council
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Colonel Muse:

This is just a note to thank you for sending me a copy of your report on Mississippi, and your other reports. They are most valuable. I am duly grateful to the Southern Regional Council -- a gratitude I shall demonstrate by sending a copy of this letter to Leslie Dunbar.

Sincerely,

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

File
U.S. Court -
~~Exec. Branch~~
U.S. Dept. of Justice

File

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

MAR 3 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for the copy of the Resolution of the Southern Regional Council passed at its' annual meeting on January 30, 1964.

Personnel of the Civil Rights Division, other members of the Department of Justice and myself, who are working to achieve equal treatment, under law, for all of our citizens are grateful for your expression of confidence. You have my assurance that we will continue to try to prevent any legally qualified person from being denied the right to vote because of race, color or religion.

Sincerely,

Robert Kennedy

Attorney General

File U.S. Govt Dept. of Justice

MAJOR EATHERLY by Willson Whitman

THE NATION

April 27, 1964 . . 35c

The Goulart Ouster

Brazil in Perspective

Andrew Gunder Frank

MJ - file (where appropriate correspondence dept Justice)

THE HOFFA TRIAL

Fred J. Cook

WHEN THOUGHTS ARE UNTHINKABLE

Barrows Dunham

The First Full Account of a Fateful Trial Raises This Disturbing Question: Can Jungle Warfare Subvert American Justice?

THE HOFFA TRIAL . . . . Fred J. Cook

On the late afternoon and evening of February 6, 1964, James R. Hoffa and several of his attorneys were sitting in Room 914 of the Patten Hotel in Chattanooga, Tenn. The short, chunky, earthy boss of the Brotherhood of Teamsters was on trial again in Federal Court, accused this time of attempting to fix a jury in a previous trial in Nashville. The case was not going well for Hoffa. Just two days earlier, the government had pulled a startling surprise; it had placed on the stand its star witness, Edward Grady Partin, boss of a Teamster local in Baton Rouge, La., and Hoffa's inseparable companion during the entire course of the Nashville trial from October 22 to late December, 1962. Partin had acquired such status that before the trial ended he had become sergeant-at-arms at Hoffa's door, deciding who should have access to the throne room. Now the government had revealed that Partin, all the time, had been an undercover agent for the FBI and the Justice Department. He had been informing on Hoffa throughout the Nashville trial. And now, in Chattanooga, he had taken the stand, ready to testify that Hoffa had participated actively in the Nashville jury rigging.

Hoffa's attorneys were understandably worried. They wanted to sit down and confer with their client, but they didn't know where they could confer with some assurance of privacy.

From the start of the Chattanooga trial in mid-January, they had all been aware of the hovering shadow of the FBI, had all felt under constant surveillance. Mysterious cars had followed them from their law offices to their homes. There had been strange disturbances on their telephone lines. Even in the privacy of Hoffa's suite, they looked over their shoulders and they hesitated to talk, even in whispers, so convinced were they that the room was bugged.

James Hoffa Klein

Harry Berke, a Chattanooga lawyer for thirty years and chief local defense counsel for Hoffa, later testified about the events of February 6:

> *We had been trying to get a conference with Mr. Hoffa, but we were afraid to discuss the matter of defense and the evidence and so forth in either Mr. Haggerty's room or Mr. Hoffa's room or in fact any other rooms that are rented up there at the hotel. So I suggested that we go, that we just go out maybe and get a drink, a Coca-Cola, somewheres, and sit down and discuss the next day's proceedings.*

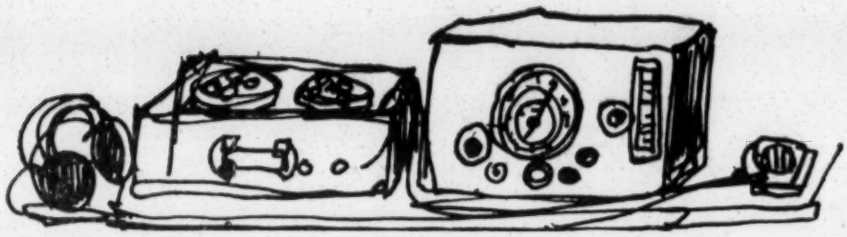
Marvin Berke, Harry Berke's son and law associate, had his car available—a two-tone Pontiac, license 4U-8888. The two Berkes, Hoffa and Morris Shenker, another attorney advising the Hoffa defense, left the hotel and walked toward Marvin Berke's Pontiac. This simple action triggered a wave of surveillance and countersurveillance.

The government, as it later acknowledged, had an aerie in a building across the street, from which it could keep the 11th Street entrance of the Patten Hotel under observation. On the street it had a number of innocent-appearing cars equipped with radios and "phantom" aerials and manned by FBI agents. The building lookout and control post, designated B-2, was in constant communication with the roving cars, identified by numbers.

When Hoffa and his attorneys left the Patten this message flashed:

> *B-2 to 14: They are proceeding to the vehicle now, quite an entourage, will copy.* [This means photograph.]
>
> *B-2 to 14: I don't think you want to go near this vehicle due to its contents (pause), ah, they are ready to pull out in front now and I think the package* [the particular individual being tailed] *you are interested in is, he didn't even get into, uh, three other individuals go in, he is now crossing Market Street,*

Fred J. Cook's The FBI Nobody Knows, *expanded from a special issue of* The Nation, *will be published by Macmillan this spring.*



uh, looks like he is heading over the Rent-a-Car—Avis Rent-a-Car place. . . .

The air continued to crackle with information as the FBI kept its omniscient eye on Hoffa and others in his "entourage." How did the words of FBI agents come to be recorded for posterity? Very simply.

On the FBI Wave Length

Hoffa's attorneys, convinced that they and their witnesses were under FBI surveillance in the midst of trial, had the previous weekend gotten in touch with Bernard B. Spindel, a nationally known expert in all forms of wire tapping and electronic eavesdropping. Spindel had worked for Hoffa before, had even been indicted with him and acquitted in a case brought by the government on the contention that Hoffa had violated the law by having the telephone lines in his Teamsters' office in Detroit monitored. Spindel, in Rome, N.Y., after listening to the description of Hoffa's current plight, agreed to fly to Chattanooga.

He packed and shipped, air freight, about 1,000 pounds of electronic equipment, and on Monday morning, February 3, he caught an American Airlines flight to Nashville. When he landed at the Nashville airport, the FBI, as it later acknowledged, had two agents waiting on the field to shadow him. Since the FBI on its word of honor never tapped a telephone during the entire course of the Hoffa trial, this demonstration of precise advance knowledge must be a clear case of forensic telepathy.

At Nashville, Spindel rented a car and set out for Chattanooga. The FBI, as it later acknowledged, had some eight or ten agents waiting to pick him up at the Chattanooga city line. As Spindel's car passed, they took out after him and trailed him right down to the Patten Hotel, where he vanished into Hoffa's suite.

Spindel quickly determined that the area around the Patten was swarming with FBI agents. He located wave lengths from which exceptionally strong radio signals appeared to be emanating in the vicinity of the hotel. He borrowed a dictating machine and began to record the conversations that came over the air as FBI agents communicated with their control post and shuttled their cars back and forth through the Chattanooga streets. The result was that, when Hoffa and his attorneys left the hotel on February 6, seeking privacy in Marvin Berke's automobile, Spindel was recording the excited observations of FBI agents.

The chitchat that Spindel preserved disclosed that the G-men were in some perplexity about the identity of the men in Hoffa's entourage. They apparently had been on the lookout for Spindel as their special "package," and they argued back and forth about whether a man with a bald spot on the top of his head was Spindel. Harry Berke, as it happens, has just such a bald spot.

Young Berke, on his father's instructions, drove to the West Side Urban Renewal District, "an entirely desolate area" where all the old houses had been torn down and no new building had yet begun. A car followed them; when they slowed down to a snail's pace, so did their shadow. "We stopped when we got to the end of East Ninth Street before making the turn and this car stopped," Harry Berke testified.

They turned back toward town. "This car followed. Now while we were on the way to Main Street we stopped either once or twice and this car stopped." When they got back into the city area, the car that had been trailing them suddenly spurted past them at high speed, and though they tried to follow it, they lost it in traffic.

Back in Spindel's hide-out in the Patten Hotel, the electronic monitoring equipment once more came to life. The watching agents reported the return of the car. The discussion continued whether "the package" had been in the car and about just who had left it. "Well, I'm coming down that way now, just to get a look at it," said one agent, William L. Sheets, who later recalled he'd said the words Spindel recorded.

Other cars and the movement of other members of the Hoffa party distracted the agents and kept the air lively with their comments.

"Say, Bill," the radio squawked at one point, "the two occupants in that car were 'The Man' [Hoffa] and the ex-boxer, O'Brien [Charles 'Chuck' O'Brien, business agent of the union in Chattanooga and a constant associate of Hoffa]."

The action continued:

B-2 to 14 and 23, uh, the ex-fighter just came out with two unidentified WMAs [White Male Americans]. *He got in the car, he is not moving as of yet and the other two individuals separated, walked around the corner, and headed North on Market on foot.*

Twenty-three, you were just photographed. . . . There was a guy standing against the hotel with a camera and as you pulled up to the light, he stepped out behind your car and photographed your plate. The ex-fighter just got out

of the car and walked back into the hotel.

The surveillance (it should perhaps be noted at this point that the government later got purple in the face contending it never spied on Hoffa, any of the other defendants, witnesses or lawyers) continued:

> *. . . As you probably know, the vehicle, uh, the "big boy" [Hoffa] just got back to the hotel, evidently he parked the car.*
>
> *There are a few fellows that are going in the same direction, so that Mr. Big and, uh, his necessary assistant so I don't think you want to be anywhere around that lot right now. . . . The big guy came out with the entourage and they looked like they all got back. . . .*

Out To Get Hoffa

Such was the atmosphere in which James R. Hoffa was tried in Chattanooga. The boss of the Teamsters is one of the most powerful labor leaders in America, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy and the Department of Justice have been contending for years that he is also one of the most unprincipled and most ruthless. Though he had been repeatedly brought to trial on a variety of charges, he had always escaped either by acquittal or a hung jury; and it was no secret that the Attorney General had set up within the Department of Justice a special investigative squad whose energies were devoted largely to the attempt to get Hoffa. Hoffa charged that he was the victim of a "vendetta," and the government itself at times all but acknowledged the charge, claiming the nation must be rid of the evil of Hoffa.

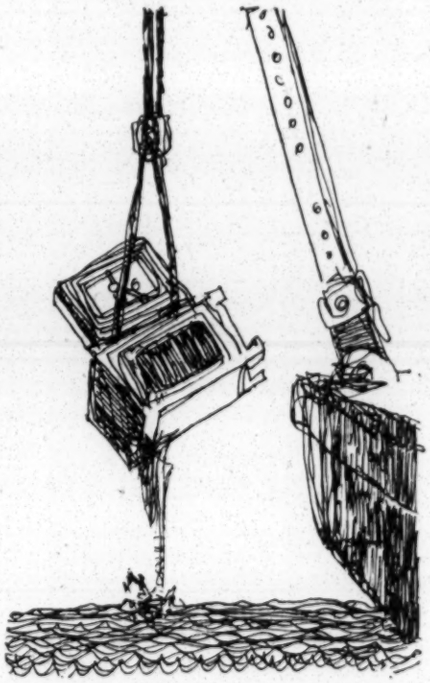
The danger of this attitude is that it rests upon authoritarian judgment, and it raises the question: How far will authority go to vindicate that judgment?

The record of the past indicates that it will go very far indeed. In the postwar era, with disturbing and increasing frequency, the entire weight of the FBI and the Justice Department seems to have been thrown, not into trials, but into campaigns to insure that their firm confidence of guilt would be upheld in the courts. But in Hoffa it encountered for the first time a defendant with resources almost as formidable as its own. Its own espionage and surveillance during trial could be met with counter-espionage and surveillance. The nature of a jungle war violating basic principles of justice could therefore be placed at last on the record.

That is the true significance of the recent trial of Teamster Boss James R. Hoffa in Chattanooga. It far transcends the importance of Hoffa himself. At stake are root principles of American justice—and American democracy.

Two Faces of a Spy

The Hoffa case begins and ends with Edward Grady Partin, a ruggedly built, square-jawed man, with slightly wavy, parted hair. He can, on occasion, look sturdily distinguished, and in the light of the great victory scored over Hoffa at Chattanooga, an effort has been made by government officials, aided and abetted by major media of information, to portray Edward Grady Partin as a national hero.



Typical was a recent article in *Life* that pictured the high-minded Partin as having been involved only in some inconsequential brushes with the law when he agreed to become undercover man and informer for the cause of justice. Partin, wrote *Life*, "was in jail because of a minor domestic problem," and had been indicted "on charges of embezzling $1,600 in union funds." It all sounded pretty trivial, and besides, Walter Sheridan, Kennedy's hand-picked head of Justice's special rackets investigative squad, had told *Life*: "I've dealt with a lot of informers, and until this guy, they all wanted two guarantees: nothing traced to them and never call them as witnesses. Ed asked for neither one.

"But asking him to take the stand in open court meant exposing him as an informer, jeopardizing his job—maybe much worse." Yet, said Sheridan, when he put the issue to Partin, he just shrugged and said: "I've come this far. Whatever you say."

The picture of a decent, courageous man helping the cause of justice is heartwarming.

But there is another Edward Grady Partin, so far unperceived by press and public, whose image *Life* might have discovered by a process no more laborious than reading some court testimony and digesting a few old clips. Partin's troubles with the law had a long history and were not what most citizens would call minor. In December, 1943, he and another man were arrested in the state of Washington for breaking into a restaurant. Partin pleaded guilty, and drew a fifteen-year term. He twice broke out of jail. Finally freed, he joined the Marines and was dishonorably discharged.

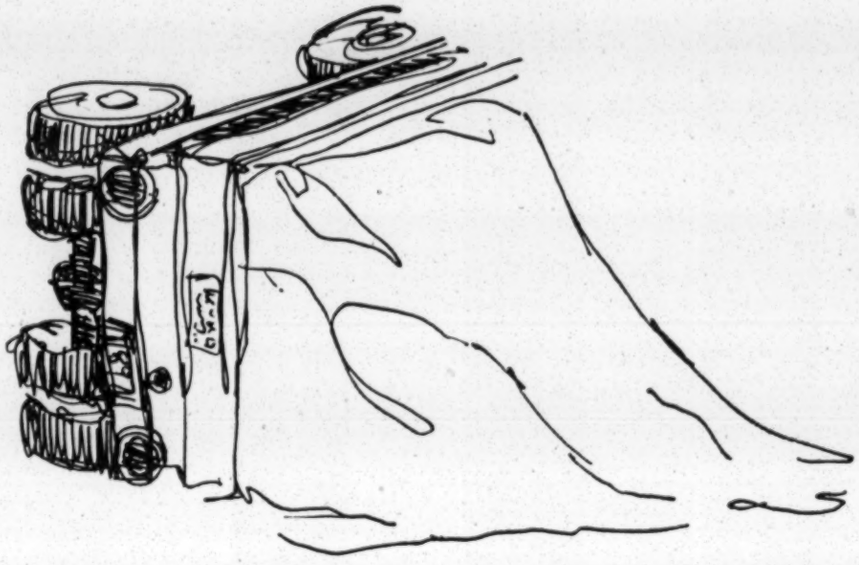
His more recent entanglements had been so numerous that he had acquired a certain headline notoriety in Louisiana. In November, 1961 (by this time he had been boss of the Teamsters local in Baton Rouge for some years), he was involved in a mysterious shooting. A pistol went off and inflicted a wound in his lower abdomen. Partin insisted to authorities that the gun discharged accidentally as he was handling it.

When this happened, Partin was already the object of official inquiry. Some rebellious members of his local had accused him of embezzling union funds. They also charged that he had gone to Cuba and consulted with a Castro aide. The 600-pound safe, containing all the union's records and books, disappeared from the union hall as if it had legs—a vanishing act that happened before federal auditors arrived upon the scene. The safe, empty, was later recovered from the Amite River.

Partin's principal critics in his local were A. G. Klein, Jr., and J. D. Albin. They testified, with others, before an East Baton Rouge grand jury, and the jury indicted Partin for forging a withdrawal card, a deed that, it was alleged, removed one of his critics from the

union. Subsequently, Albin and Klein were set upon by six Teamsters and savagely beaten. Shortly thereafter, Klein was killed when a truck loaded with sand "fell on him" in St. Francisville.

These misadventures aroused official curiosity. A joint probe by the FBI, attorneys of the Justice Department, and District Attorney Sargent Pitcher, of East Baton Rouge, resulted on June 27, 1962, in the indictment of Partin on twenty-six counts, thirteen of falsifying union records, thirteen of embezzlement. He was released in $50,000 bond. Should he ever be convicted and given the maximum sentence on all the counts, he could be fined $260,000 and sentenced to seventy-eight years in prison.



This indictment alone would seem to have removed Partin from *Life's* minor-offender class, but there was more to come. On August 14, 1962, he was named defendant in the first of a series of accident suits that were eventually to total $400,000. This first suit was filed by Airman Leo D. Paris, of Haverhill, Mass., stationed at the Lackland Air Force Base in Texas. Paris charged that at 12:30 A.M. Christmas Day, 1961, a sports sedan driven by Partin struck his car near Cuba, Ala., drove it off the highway and rolled it over several times. Paris and another airman were seriously injured; a third airman, William Andrew Halas of Milwaukee, Wis., was killed. The civil suits charge that Partin continued at high speed down the highway. An investigation by Alabama authorities led to Partin's indictment on Sept. 26, 1962, on charges of first-degree manslaughter and leaving the scene of an accident.

The day before this indictment was returned, Partin surrendered himself to Louisiana authorities on yet another charge — aggravated kidnaping. As long ago as the previous June, two children of one of Partin's henchmen, Sidney Simpson, had been snatched from a motel where they were staying with their mother, who had legal custody. Simpson refused to disclose their whereabouts. A summer-long investigation by District Attorney Sargent Pitcher ended with the indictment of Partin and Simpson for the kidnaping. The children were still missing. Partin at first was refused bail. Then, on Oct. 4, 1962, after having been missing for five months, the two tots, one two years old, one ten months, were turned over to authorities in the basement of the courthouse. This relieved Partin of the possible onus of a federal kidnaping offense and made him eligible for bail.

Partin's original $50,000 bond on the federal embezzlement indictment had been revoked by the bonding company after he became involved in his other troubles, but now quickly, almost magically, everything was straightened out. Partin obtained another $50,000 bond, and he raised $5,000 new bail on the Alabama manslaughter indictment, $5,000 more on the Louisiana kidnaping charge.

On October 7, he walked out of jail. On October 8, he telephoned James R. Hoffa in Newark, N.J.—with investigators, unknown to Hoffa, recording the telephone conversation.

Meeting the G-men

Partin testified that during his incarceration he had had a little talk with William (Hawk) Daniels, an investigator for Sargent Pitcher. The defense was never permitted to establish just what he and Hawk discussed, but it did show that this private tête-à-tête was followed by a more formal conference. Present were Partin, District Attorney Pitcher, Daniels, a couple of other men, and A. Frank Grimsley, an attorney for the Justice Department. Partin acknowledged that at this meeting Hoffa's name may have been mentioned "casually," just in passing. He insisted that "the main purpose of the meeting" had nothing to do with Hoffa's upcoming trial in Nashville, but he did acknowledge that he had "a plan" to discuss the trial. The defense was never allowed to probe into the nature of this "plan." Partin insisted the discussion hadn't gotten very far because some important government representative who was supposed to be there hadn't shown up. Actually, nothing had been accomplished, then? Well, no. Partin acknowledged that, when he left this oddly pointless meeting, there was "an arrangement" for him to meet later with a representative of the federal government. "Probably," he admitted, he talked to the government "the next day."

Grimsley, the Justice Department lawyer, testified that he met Partin "at least two times. Possibly three." These conferences were in Sargent Pitcher's office, and they "would all have taken place in late September or early October. Grimsley conceded that Partin "probably started" as an informer in "late September" and that, when he made his October 8 phone call to Hoffa, he definitely was a federal undercover agent.

What was involved in this transformation of the much-indicted Partin into a gallant spy working on the side of the angels? To this day no one has said, but it is perhaps significant that Partin has never gone to trial. Trial dates on the twenty-six-count federal indictment were repeatedly set and just as repeatedly postponed, twice on motions by the defense, four times on motions by the government. Then it lapsed into limbo, its status indefinite.

Significantly, also, just at the time Partin was sprung on bail Hoffa was facing imminent trial in Nashville. On May 18, 1962, he

had been indicted by a federal grand jury there in what became known as the "Test Fleet" case. The indictment involved the charge that Hoffa had accepted a pay-off of $1 million from a trucking concern to insure labor peace. The case was to go to trial in late October, and Partin, with all charges against him conveniently postponed, was at liberty to join his chief in Nashville.

He made a second phone call to Hoffa on October 18, 1962, one that was also recorded by detectives. Hoffa has always insisted that Partin billed himself as one who was being persecuted by the federal agents because he was such "a loyal Hoffa man" and that he asked permission to come to Nashville and discuss his problems. Partin insisted that Hoffa extended the invitation.

Before he left to join Hoffa's retinue, Partin also testified, he was briefed by Frank Grimsley, who gave him the Nashville telephone number of Walter Sheridan, the Justice Department investigator. Partin acknowledged that he knew just what kind of information his federal mentors desired of him. Grimsley told him, he said, "if I saw evidence of jury tampering or other illegal activities" to report immediately to Sheridan.

Partin arrived in Nashville on October 22, 1962. He had hardly set foot in the place before he discovered exactly what he had been sent to discover. The first jurors were not to be selected until the next day, but almost the first man he bumped into—a man whom he had never known, at that—told him of Hoffa's plans to rig the jury.

According to Partin, it happened this way: He had just arrived and was loitering in the coffee shop of the Andrew Jackson Hotel, waiting for Hoffa, when he struck up an acquaintance with a man calling himself Anthony Quinn, who said he was in the vending business. Later the same day Quinn came up to him again, laughed and said he wasn't really Quinn, he was Nicholas J. Tweel. Not knowing Partin, Tweel said, he had been cautious until he checked with Hoffa. Hoffa had assured him Partin was true-blue, and so Tweel, apparently out of a desire to make conversation, thereupon confided to Partin Hoffa's determination to commit a most serious crime.

Partin said on the stand: "He [Tweel] said that Mr. [Allen] Dorfman had called him and told him it would be a personal favor to him if he would come down to Nashville and help him set up a method to get to the jury."

Partin, of course, immediately communicated this intelligence to Walter Sheridan.

Within the next forty-eight hours there occurred the first of the jury-fixing rumbles that were to mark the course of the Nashville trial. On the opening day of jury picking, October 23, a juror named James C. Tippens was tentatively seated. It should be emphasized that the jury was not completed until October 25, and that at any time, up to the moment it was finally sworn in, Tippens might have been challenged and dismissed. An immediate effort to fix him, under the circumstances, seems so premature as to be almost idiotic. Yet Tippens, a Nashville insurance man, subsequently testified that when he returned to his office on the afternoon of October 23, he found a friend had been trying to reach him. He went to see his friend and was told it would be worth $10,000 to him to side with Hoffa in the trial. The next morning, Tippens reported this bribe attempt to Judge William E. Miller, who called in attorneys from both sides and then dismissed Tippens from the jury.

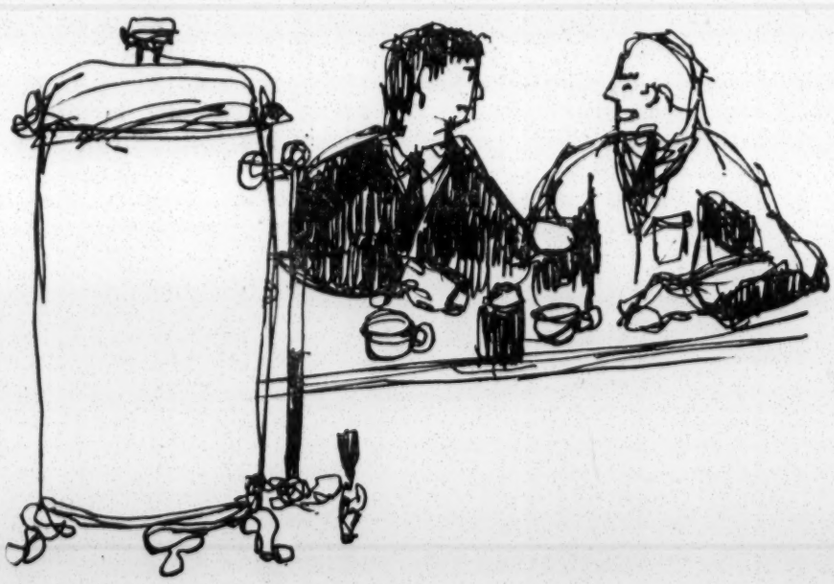
During the long course of the Nashville trial, with Partin nightly funneling information to Sheridan, there were two more reported attempts to approach and influence the jurors. Judge Miller in each case dismissed the jurors and replaced them with alternates. Since the jury in the Nashville trial was not sequestered but was free to read and hear what was going on, it would seem almost inevitable that it must have gained the impression, so prevalent in the rest of the nation, that Hoffa, caught in black deeds, had been desperately endeavoring to buy the jury. Yet when the case went to the jury on December 23, 1962, the jurors disagreed. They were split hopelessly. And amazingly, under the circumstances, the reported division was 7 to 5 for acquittal.

The 'Fix' Trial

But the federal government, with Edward Grady Partin in its corner, had laid the foundation for a new case. On May 9, 1963, another federal grand jury indicted Hoffa and five others on five charges of jury tampering. This was the case that went to trial before Federal Judge Frank W. Wilson in Chattanooga on January 20, 1964.

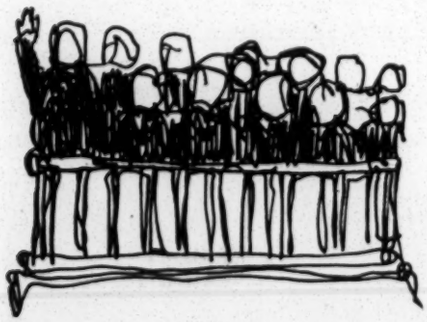
On trial with Hoffa in the Chattanooga case were: Ewing King, 50, recently defeated president of Teamsters Local 327 in Nashville; Larry Campbell, 39, a business agent with Hoffa's home local in Detroit; Thomas E. Parks, 50, Campbell's uncle, a Nashville funeral home employee; Allen Dorfman, 41, a Chicago insurance broker with close personal and business ties to Hoffa; Nicholas J. Tweel, a Huntington, W. Va., businessman who had business ties to Dorfman.

Almost from the first day of the trial, the defense was in open conflict with Judge Wilson. A special list of 200 veniremen had been drawn. When the list was announced, only the names of the



prospective jurors were revealed; defense attorneys were unable to obtain any indication of occupations or addresses. They protested that they were unable to fulfill the first function of defense attorneys—to examine the backgrounds of prospective jurors for traces of possible prejudice. Not until the day the trial opened, when it was too late for them to exercise this right, were defense attorneys able to obtain identifying information about the special panel.

Cecil Branstetter, a Nashville attorney representing Larry Campbell, put the issue strongly in an argument before Judge Wilson on the second day of the trial. Analyzing the first 100 names to be used in the jury-picking process, he had found the panel heavily weighted with types that could hardly be expected to be impartial toward Hoffa. Branstetter said he had found on the list: seven merchants; fourteen women whose husbands were all insurance men, bankers or executives in industry; fifteen retired persons (these included a colonel and a rear admiral); seven Tennessee Valley Authority electricians; four maintenance engineers; six supervisors or foremen; fifteen salesmen; sixteen executives; two bankers; two government



officials and one city employee; nine farmers. Branstetter found, as possibly counterbalancing influences, only two truck drivers, three general employees, one restaurant employee and six clerks. He argued that the list did not "even come close to representing a fair cross-section of employment categories in this community."

Jacques Schiffer, who represented Parks, joined the argument. He said he had gone to the clerk's office and sought copies of the questionnaires filed by the 100 additional jurors who were to be on hand the next day "and we were advised that they were not available. . . ." Judge Wilson, making no direct comment on this, remarked that he understood the defense had been "furnished a list of all jurors," and Schiffer responded, with a touch of irony, that the defense had indeed received the list "yesterday morning."

A second move by Judge Wilson led to another conflict with defense attorneys. Finding the selection of a jury proceeding too slowly for his taste, the judge took over examination of prospective jurors, barring defense attorneys from questioning to establish possible prejudice. Branstetter protested that Judge Wilson's examination was weak, that he was not making it clear the burden was on the government to prove guilt and "that there is no duty on any defendant to prove himself innocent." He argued that the Judge's instructions on this point were being given in "negative form," and he urged that "counsel for the defendants be permitted to directly interrogate the jurors." This Judge Wilson would not allow, and the selection of the jury was completed under the restrictions he had laid down.

The early testimony dealt with the alleged jury-fixing attempts in the Nashville trial. It was a build-up for the appearance of the prosecution's star witness, Partin, and for the all-out attack on Hoffa. Two predominant themes emerge from this early testimony — repeated startling changes by government witnesses and repeated testimony that the government, in its effort to elicit the story it wanted, threatened witnesses with indictment or other punitive measures if they did not come across.

An Ambitious Trooper

One extensive strand of the testimony dealt with the alleged attempt to influence a juror named Betty Paschal through her husband, James Morris Paschal, a Tennessee State Patrolman. The go-between in this endeavor was a man named Oscar (Mutt) Pitts, a trucking firm employee, and the alleged fixer was Ewing King, then president of the Nashville Teamsters local. Pitts, according to his testimony, had been a long-time friend of Paschal; and King, in late October, began to feel him out about what kind of man Paschal was. Pitts told King, he testified, that Paschal was "a good boy," that he and his wife both had some money, that money would be no inducement to them—but there was one thing Paschal wanted above all else, a promotion. He had been on the state patrol for some fourteen years, with never a promotion.

King felt confident, Pitts said, that the Teamsters with their political influence could get Paschal his much-coveted promotion. There was some suggestion that Paschal might be able to talk to his wife about the Hoffa trial. King asked what kind of woman Betty Paschal was. Pitts told him she was a woman "who could stand on her own two feet anywhere." King never mentioned specifically, Pitts said, what Paschal might talk to his wife about; he never suggested she was to vote for an acquittal.

This was the situation when, on the dark and rainy night of November 17, 1962, Pitts set up a meeting between King and Paschal at a lonely spring off the River Road. At this meeting, according to Pitts, King told Paschal he felt certain the Teamsters could get him a promotion. Again according to Pitts, Paschal was the first to bring up the subject of his wife; he mentioned that she was on the Hoffa jury. King wondered if Paschal could "talk" to his wife, but Paschal said they weren't getting along very well and, under the circumstances, he could do nothing with her.

On cross-examination by Harold Brown, Chattanooga attorney for King, the complexion of this testimony altered in some important respects. Pitts now agreed that he was the one who approached King, not King him. Pitts said he had backed a loser in the gubernatorial election; King had backed a winner; and so, knowing he had no influence, Pitts said he had asked King if he could help Trooper Paschal. This was testimony, certainly, that changed the entire direction of the stimulus.

Some other things changed when Brown confronted Pitts with the transcript of an interview he had given before a court reporter on May 14, 1963, in the law office of Leftwich and Osborn (Z. T. Osborn, Jr., had been Hoffa's counsel in the Nashville trial). In this Pitts had said that after they had discussed Paschal's promotion prospects Hoffa's name was brought up. Paschal himself first mentioned it, saying, "What are they going to do to Hoffa?" And King told him,

"They would do nothing if he could get a fair trial."

In this statement, Pitts had also said that "Ewing King did not ask James Paschal to help Mr. Hoffa in any way." He had even said that King asked Paschal not to tell his wife about their conversation—and that King had assured Paschal her being on the jury had nothing to do with their conversation about the possible promotion.

Pitts had difficulty remembering these statements, but when he read the document he had signed, he said: "I wouldn't deny it; if I said it, I said it; but I don't think I said that."

Pitts was obviously a harried witness. "I'm scared to death," he testified at one point. He said he had been questioned so many times he had lost count. He had talked to William Sheets, the FBI agent who had been active in the surveillance in Chattanooga; he had talked to James F. Neal, the U.S. Attorney in charge of the prosecution, to Walter Sheridan and to a number of other federal attorneys. Neal, he testified, "never did say a word out of the way with me," but one of the other government officials "got disgusted. He said, 'If you don't tell me the truth, I will get you and your wife both indicted.'" This occurred, said Pitts, "on a Sunday evening before I testified before the grand jury."

On further cross-examination, Pitts identified Walter Sheridan as the man who had made the threat to him about getting him and his wife indicted. "I will have to say that the reason Mr. Sheridan told me that if I didn't tell the truth and that I and my wife would be indicted was because I would not agree with something he was telling me." He testified now to virtually the same version he had originally given Osborn—that King had said to Paschal they should not be talking about Mrs. Paschal's service on the jury. "King just wanted to know what kind of woman she was," he testified.

This put the issue up to Paschal. The state trooper confirmed the details of the midnight rendezvous and the discussion of his possible promotion. But then his story veered sharply away from even the most positive testimony given by Pitts. He declared that King had brought up the fact that Mrs. Paschal was serving on the jury.

"He asked me if I could talk to her. I told him no, that I couldn't talk to her, that we weren't getting along too good." Paschal quoted King as saying: "You talk to her. I will get you the promotion."

Paschal said he then assured King he would talk to his wife. But he never did.

On cross-examination, this positive and damning testimony changed color like a chameleon. Paschal agreed that he had never reported this jury-fixing attempt; he should have done so, but he just hadn't. He conceded, too, that he hadn't testified to this same effect when he was questioned by Judge Miller the day his wife was thrown off the jury; that he hadn't told this story when he was first questioned by the FBI; and that he had signed an affidavit to an entirely different version when he was questioned in his own home by Osborn and made a statement to a court reporter.

He had told then about his interview with FBI agents. He said he had told them he didn't know King was connected with the Teamsters; he had told them he and King never even mentioned Betty Paschal's service on the jury — "that they never mentioned it and that I didn't have any occasion to mention it." In his statement to Osborn he repeated that "there was never any conversation about me talking to my wife." Paschal, incidentally, had had his own lawyer present at that questioning.

The 'Truth' or Else . . .

Before he changed this testimony to the accusing testimony he gave on the witness stand, he had several more sessions with the FBI. "They didn't tell me they were going to indict me," Paschal testified. "They told me I could get in trouble and maybe be indicted."

He identified Sheets as the FBI man who had given him this news. Sheets, he said, had told him also that he could lose his job. However, Sheets had always told him just to come on and tell the truth. Everybody, it developed, was telling Trooper Paschal to tell "the truth," but it became fairly obvious that the only truth they would believe was the truth they wanted to hear. Paschal testified that before he finally arrived at "the truth" to which he was now testifying, and to which he had testified before the grand jury, he had had a session with his superior, a former FBI man, and with the chief and the commissioner of the state highway patrol. "They told me that they wanted me to do the right thing and if I know anything other than what I had stated, they wanted me to tell it," Paschal testified. The chief, he said, told him he had been a good officer, but the chief also added "he wanted me to do the right thing and that they couldn't have anybody in the department that didn't." At one point, Paschal acknowledged that the effect all this had "on my mind is that it would be a lot easier on me —I would come near my not losing my job and everything would be better."

At the end of his uncomfortable session on the witness stand, Trooper Paschal testified:

I knew that I was deliberately perjuring myself when I was in the U.S. District Court and questioned by Judge Miller and Mr. Neal. . . . I knew that there is a penalty for perjury. . . . To my knowledge, there has been no indictment returned against me for perjuring myself. . . . I don't recall the federal government has threatened me with a perjury indictment — they may be going to. . . . I am still wearing the uniform of the Tennessee Highway Patrol.

Mr. Fields's Necktie

Even more curious than this checkered story was the third alleged jury-fixing attempt—an involved and tenuous skein supposedly designed to influence the one Negro juror on the Nashville panel, a man named Gratin Fields.

The prosecution's star witness in this phase of its case was a Nashville patrolman, James T. Walker. Walker knew Thomas Ewing Parks, the Nashville funeral parlor employee who was the uncle of Larry Campbell, one of Hoffa's business agents in Detroit.

Patrolman Walker testified that Parks telephoned him and later came to his home between 5 P.M. and 6 P.M. on a November day while the Hoffa Nashville trial was in progress. They sat in Parks's car and talked. Parks asked Walker if he knew anything about the Hoffa case. Walker said only what he read in the newspapers. Parks asked if Walker knew Fields, who lived up the street from him; Walker said that he did.

Parks asked if Fields needed money. Walker said he didn't know. Parks said "the big boys" wanted to talk to Fields—they needed one more man to hang the jury and "they would be willing to pay up to at least $10,000 to talk to him." Parks called Walker back two or three days later. Walker, in addition to being a city patrolman, ran a small stationery and printing business. Parks said he was opening a dry-cleaning business. He needed some handbills printed, and he needed someone to work for him. Did Walker know anyone he could hire?

Walker knew a couple of neighborhood youths, Walter Jackson and Carl Fields, who were in need of employment. Was Carl Fields, Parks asked, the son of the Fields who was on the Hoffa jury? Walker said he was. Walker declared Parks said, "That is my man." He asked Walker if he would get in touch with Carl Fields.

The obliging patrolman arranged a meeting at his printing shop that night. Parks and Carl Fields went out to Parks's car to talk; Walker didn't hear anything that was said. Later Parks telephoned Walker and asked him to find out what Fields was going to do. Walker called Carl Fields.

"Carl told me that he hadn't done anything—that he was afraid to talk to his father and would not talk to him," Walker testified. When he transmitted this information to Parks, one of the most curious aspects of this entire sequence developed.

"Parks wanted to know what Mr. Fields was going to wear—the type of necktie and that was what he wanted Carl Fields to find out for him," Patrolman Walker testified. "He said he had given Carl Fields some money—that he thinks he would come through."

Logic compels a pause here. This, supposedly, was a jury-tampering attempt. If so, why would Parks be possessed of such a consuming passion to know what type of necktie the one Negro on the jury was going to wear? Gratin Fields, by pigmentation alone, was identifiable in that jury box. The defense certainly knew what he looked like. What possible interest could it have in Gratin Fields's necktie?

When Parks didn't hear anything more from Carl, he came back to Walker and asked who wore the pants in the Fields family. Walker guessed that maybe Carl's sister, Mattie Leath, did. At Parks's request, he said, he drove out to a housing authority site where Mattie Leath worked. Parks stayed in the car, and Walker went in to see Mattie.

She told him, he testified, that Carl had discussed "the matter" with her. "I don't want any part of the government or anything of that particular type," Walker quoted her as saying. Walker told her that she was a fine girl; this was the upstanding attitude he would have expected from her; and if anyone bothered her again about "the matter," she should call the FBI and the police.

Having given this advice, Patrolman Walker—the man who by his own testimony knew that a jury-fixing attempt was under way, that a $10,000 potential bribe was involved—notified neither his superiors nor the FBI. He simply went back and reported to Parks, he testified, that it was "no dice" with Mattie Leath. On leaving him, he testified, Parks promised, "We will take care of you." Patrolman Walker added: "There was no amount mentioned." Even this offer to reward him for his dubious services did not impel him to report the incident.

On cross-examination by Jacques Schiffer, attorney for Parks, Patrolman Walker wrestled to explain why, if this was a jury-fixing attempt, he as a law officer had aided it. He insisted he didn't think "I and Mr. Parks were engaged in doing something unlawful through the conversation." He insisted, "I did not agree with Mr. Parks that he and I would try to influence" Gratin Fields. "It is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth that when I introduced Carl Fields to Mr. Parks, the defendant, there was only one purpose in my making the introduction, and that was for the purpose of securing a job for Carl Fields; there is no question about that."

If there is not, if this was *all* that Patrolman Walker was doing, then how valid is his other and damning testimony? Damning to Parks and damning to him. Innocence and guilt cannot so commingle.

Money on the Seat

Walker was followed to the stand by Carl Fields. He described what was discussed in Parks's car when he met Parks. "He asked me was my father on the Hoffa jury and I told him yes." Parks said, "Well, you know Bobby Kennedy is out to get Mr. Hoffa." Parks then asked, Carl Fields testified, "if I thought I could talk to my father as far as voting for acquittal." Carl Fields said: "I said no, I couldn't talk to my father about anything like that; I said he wouldn't go for anything like that."

Parks told him, Carl Fields said, that if he could influence his father it would be worth $10,000—$5,000 for him and $5,000 for his father. Carl insisted his father would not have anything to do with such a deal.

"Then he took five twenty-dollar bills and laid it on the seat of the car," Carl Fields testified. "He said, 'If you can just tell me what kind

of a suit he would be wearing or what kind of a coat he would be wearing tomorrow and give me that information before nine o'clock, I will give you another hundred dollars.' "

Carl Fields protested he didn't want the money; he didn't know whether he could do this. But Parks insisted "it would help him a great deal," and so Carl finally "obliged him" and took the money. "I saw his wallet, and it appeared fat," Carl Fields testified. Parks asked him to telephone before 9 o'clock that night because he, Parks, had to make a call to Louisville. (Parenthetically, it should be noted here that a favorite tactic of the prosecution throughout the trial was to try to bolster the testimony of its witnesses by producing telephone call slips showing that calls were made at the times witnesses had testified they were made. It should be obvious that this tactic can be the hallmark of a manufactured case just as readily as it can be proof of a legitimate one.) Anyway, in this instance, Carl Fields testified, he got a checkup phone call from Walker asking him what he was going to do; then he telephoned Parks and told him he couldn't ask his father about his attire. Did Parks want his $100 back? "No, you can just keep that for your trouble," he said Parks told him.

The FBI, Carl Fields said, had talked to him twice. "The first time, I didn't tell them the facts, but the second time I did." He had also given Osborn, Hoffa's Nashville lawyer, a statement "which was not true, because I didn't want to become involved in it."

Some Missing Notes

On cross-examination by Schiffer, Carl Fields said that both times he had talked to FBI Agent Sheets, Sheets had made notes on the conversations. Schiffer demanded that these notes be produced. The prosecution said they no longer existed. Sheets, taking the stand, explained that each time he finished talking to Carl Fields he dictated brief but virtually verbatim statements from the notes he had taken. Then he destroyed the notes. He had followed the same procedure in his discussion with Patrolman Walker. This, Sheets testified, was standard practice in the FBI.

Taken point by point through his first version of the Gratin Fields affair, Carl Fields acknowledged just how completely he had repudiated everything. He had denied flatly that anyone had asked him to influence his father's vote on the jury. He admitted he had said he wasn't even acquainted with Parks and had never talked to him. But now, Carl Fields insisted, this original statement was "a pack of lies." He had, he said, "deliberately lied" to the FBI and to Osborn. When he took an oath, he had "deliberately told a falsehood under oath."

Which of Carl Fields's two versions was true? How did Thomas Ewing Parks, if he was attempting to rig the Hoffa jury, come to put such emphasis on Gratin Fields's attire? For some possible answers, let's skip ahead to the defense's account of these events.

When Parks took the stand, he testified that, up to the very moment when he was indicted in the Chattanooga case, he didn't even know James Hoffa, Allen Dorfman, Nicholas Tweel or Ewing King, his co-defendants. The way Parks told it, he was walking down a Nashville street one day during the previous Hoffa trial and he happened to meet Patrolman Walker. Walker, Parks testified, "asked me did I want to make a little extra money. I asked how I would go about it."

Walker asked Parks to come out to his print shop about 5 P.M. Parks went. He told Walker he was ready to go to work and asked what did Walker have in mind.

"He said he had an assignment from the federal government," Parks testified. "He wanted me to help him out on a little detail. . . ."

Walker said he needed some information from a young fellow who would be out at the office between 6:30 and 7 P.M. What Walker wanted to know was what type of clothing the young man's father would be wearing each morning when he left home. Walker, Parks said, peeled off $125 in bills and said that each time the young man gave Parks sartorial details Parks was to keep $25 for himself and give the young man $100. The young man, Walker told Parks, was named Carl.

Parks went back that night and met "Carl." At Walker's suggestion, they went out to Parks's car to talk. Parks testified: "I got in the car and I said, 'I suppose Mr. Walker told you just what he wanted did. I have to give you my phone number where you can call me and then I will contact him in turn and give him your message and he wanted me to give you this money,' and I gave him the money."

That night about 8:30, Parks said, Walker called him and asked if he had received any message from Carl. Parks said he hadn't. Walker gave him a phone number at which he could reach "Carl," and Parks called.

Family Affair

"I said, 'Mr. Walker wants to know what you have got to tell him.' He said, 'I have talked this over with my mother. She thinks that I shouldn't get involved in it because I don't know what it is he is really trying to find out.' I said, 'You know Mr. Walker is a policeman and it wouldn't be anything illegal, I don't think.' He said, 'Yes, but it involves more than he evidently told me. I think I better give you the money back.' "

Parks said he told "Carl" to keep the money or return it to Walker; it wasn't his, Parks's, money to take back. He never saw "Carl" again, never knew his full name until he was himself indicted.

He testified he reported all of this to Walker, and Walker said, "Well, just forget it."

Parks did. About ten days later, he said, Patrolman Walker asked "me to drive him out in South Nashville." Parks drove Walker where he wanted to go; Walker got out, disappeared for several minutes, during which he saw Mattie Leath; and then Parks drove him back to the city and let him off, never knowing what it had been all about. When a federal grand jury began investigating the alleged jury rigging, Parks was subpoenaed. Having no lawyer, he said, he telephoned Patrolman Walker asking for advice, and Walker told him the best thing he could do was to claim the Fifth Amendment; if he did that, he couldn't possibly get into trouble. So he did.

Sometime later, Parks was indicted for not having filed a 1961 income tax return. His gross income for that year — this man whom Carl Fields had described as having a fat wallet — was listed as $1,568.17. After this indictment had been found against him, Parks testified, he had an encounter with

Walter Sheridan. When Parks appeared at the courthouse to plead on the income tax charge, a federal marshal told him Sheridan wanted to see him.

"He told me," Parks testified, "if I would cooperate with him, I could forget about the income tax thing if I would just go along with what he had in mind for me. . . . I said if I cooperated in any way I would have to be lying because I don't know a thing about these people's affairs no more than what I read in the papers. He asked if he would not indict me, would I go along and cooperate with him. I said, no, I wouldn't. He said, 'Suppose I take Larry out of it?' I said, 'It's still nothing I could tell you but a lie.'"

Parks said they talked for about two hours. "He told me that if I would cooperate with him, I wouldn't have to stay in Nashville, that I could take my choice of any city or state in the United States that I wanted to lie in under government protection. I wouldn't have anything to worry about."

Sheridan, Parks declared, asked if he would telephone his nephew, Larry Campbell, and ask Campbell to meet "with us" so that he, Sheridan, could make a proposition. Sheridan said, Parks explained, that "he wasn't interested in me or Larry, it was Mr. Hoffa he was interested in, so if we would cooperate with him, it would be a direct link to Mr. Hoffa."

Parks said it was impossible; he didn't know a thing; he couldn't help unless he lied; and "I said I refused to lie for anybody." So he was indicted. On cross-examination, Parks's testimony stood unshaken.

The result poses a most hideous quandary. Was there any substance to the government charge that Hoffa and his cohorts attempted to influence Gratin Fields? Or was this whole plot the work of an *agent provocateur,* intent on framing Hoffa?

The defense attempted to supply an answer by putting on the stand an informer of its own. He was Frederick Michael Shobe, an ex-convict who had worked for two years for Walter Sheridan's special investigative unit in the Justice Department.

Turncoat Shadow

Shobe had been convicted for burglary, forgery and armed robbery; he served a term in Michigan State Prison; and he had been released on four years' probation. He had obtained a job on the docks, where he had been thrown into contact with ex-convicts and other questionable characters. This, he was informed, was a violation of his parole, but there was a way out. Instead of being sent back to prison, he could go to work for Walter Sheridan's special investigative unit. He did. And for more than two years he ranged the country widely as an *agent provocateur* — a term he used himself to describe his function — inciting riots and fomenting trouble within the Teamsters union, his conduct vouched for, his expenses and his salary paid by a grateful federal government.

Why had Shobe defected? He had finally worked his way out from under the shadow of parole and found himself in the clear. He asked his federal mentors to get him a job. He had a college education and hoped to be able to get some training as a computer operator. After much delay, he finally was told a job had been arranged for him with the government — but in Japan. Shobe concluded that his federal sponsors, having used him, wanted to get him as far away as possible, where he could not possibly rock the boat. He rebelled and spilled all to William Buffalino, the Teamsters' attorney.

Taking the stand in the Chattanooga trial, Shobe demonstrated his intimacy with Sheridan by reading into the record Sheridan's Washington office number, RE 7-8200, and his unlisted home phone number in Bethesda, Md., OL 6-4525. He testified that Thomas McKeon, a federal aide, had sent him from Detroit to Louisville and Nashville in June, 1963, and had written out for him "the name of Brown's Tourist House where I should stay and Joe's Palm Room where I should frequent and that I should remain in daily communication with Walter at Nashville 242-2106." Shobe offered in evidence the piece of paper containing the notation that he said was in McKeon's handwriting. "That is what Mr. Thomas McKeon gave me along with $250, and I departed that night for Louisville," he testified.

His job, Shobe said, was to try to find "someone who would state that Larry Campbell or Charles O'Brien had made incriminating statements about their interest in the Hoffa trial. . . ." As soon as he reached Nashville, he consulted with Sheridan. Furious prosecution objections, sustained by Judge Wilson, prevented him from testifying about what he and Sheridan had discussed. But Shobe did get into the record that they had discussed Parks. ". . . he [Sheridan] was primarily concerned at that time with getting Mr. Parks to come into the government and at that time our plans were directed toward that end."

The government fought furiously now, with Neal leading the pack, against Shobe's being permitted to testify to anything specific. Judge Wilson sustained virtually every objection, and Jacques Schiffer was driven to take another tack with his witness. He asked Shobe if he had ever met Patrolman Walker. Shobe said he had; as he was leaving Nashville for Louisville, Walker had sidled up to him. At this point, yielding to prosecution objections, Judge Wilson dismissed

the jury and ruled Shobe would be examined in a *voir dire* proceeding. Schiffer, joined by all the other defense attorneys, protested vigorously. Throughout the trial, a favorite tactic of Judge Wilson's was to hold long *voir dire* hearings (he himself estimated at one point that 60 per cent of the record was compiled in the absence of the jury), and the defense objected strenuously that this procedure was ruining its case.

Schiffer argued that the defense had an "absolute right and a duty . . . to expose any attempt by the government to do something wrong or illegal and that it is a sign of weakness in their case when they attempt such activity and when such attempts are made to frame the defendants and Mr. Parks in particular . . . and where they attempt to fabricate testimony and suborn perjury, it is for this court to take such testimony and for the jury to hear it directly because it bears very materially upon all the credibility of all the testimony of all the witnesses put in here up to this point by the government."

Bribe Money

Judge Wilson refused to be swayed, and Shobe's testimony, probably as significant as any offered in the case, was never to get before the jury. Shobe stated that it was obvious to Sheridan and everyone else that, if the $1,500-a-year Parks were ever to be found guilty of bribing somebody, an explanation should be offered as to how the bribe money came into his hands. Shobe was assigned, he testified, to produce the evidence. He approached a man in Detroit named Harry Ellis, a numbers operator with numerous past violations and a whole series of new charges hanging over his head.

"I arranged for Mr. Ellis to have a conference with the U.S. District Attorney, William Merrill, in Detroit, in order that he testify that a man named John White, of Detroit, Mich., had brought bribe money to Nashville during the early fall of 1962," Shobe testified. "Mr. Ellis refused to do this."

Then, Shobe said, he shadowed Parks. Sheridan had given him the names of Parks's associates; Shobe got in touch with them and "well, I guess you would say I had threatened them to a certain degree. . . ." Still seeking a handle on Parks, Shobe spoke to a Nashville voodoo practitioner known as Bishop St. Psalm. He introduced the Bishop to James Durkin, the special Assistant Attorney General in the case. The Bishop published a small magazine and stipulated that, if he was going to help the government, he wanted some advertising. Assured that this might be arranged, he left Durkin's office with Shobe and went directly to Tom's Cleaners, a shacklike structure where Parks was trying to set up in business. Shobe testified that Bishop St. Psalm managed to pick up some object belonging to Parks, and when they returned to the Bishop's residence, the Bishop began to burn black candles and to utter incantations that were intended to sway Parks.

Shobe said that he personally never had any faith in black magic, but he had discussed the matter with Sheridan and Sheridan thought, since there were so many superstitious persons in Nashville, that it might be worth a try.

If Shobe was correct, if the federal government would not balk even at voodoo in its effort to turn a defendant into a witness, how far would it go? Schiffer got to the point in the following sequence:

Q. Let me ask you this now: As you sit here now can you tell us whether you had discussed with Walter Sheridan a plan to frame Mr. Hoffa?

A. We had discussed Mr. Hoffa, Mr. Buffalino and Mr. Fitzsimmons and various Teamster officials at different times . . . as a matter of fact, this was a constant topic, it was my understanding that the only reason for the existence of the particular department that Walter headed was to get Mr. Hoffa.

Q. I see. Was that made plain to you by Walter Sheridan that the purpose was to get Hoffa?

A. That is correct.

Q. And was it indicated to you that it made no difference whether he was—, they used legal or illegal means?

A. Well, preferably if there was something found that incriminated Mr. Hoffa, well and good; however, if there wasn't the feeling in the department was that Mr. Hoffa should be in jail anyway and that we—, if we had to resort to unfair tactics, well, that's where a person like myself came in at.

Q. I see. And that is why they called you into service because they wanted you, like you described, "that's why they wanted me in the service, to frame Hoffa," is that correct?

A. Well, to get him by any means, fair or foul, that was my understanding of the matter.

Q. And you were directly told that by Walter Sheridan?

A. That is correct.

The questioning shifted back to Shobe's first encounter with Patrolman Walker. It occurred at the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Nashville. ". . . he stated that he was working for the same man I was and, of course, I feigned ignorance because I had never spoken to Walker and I had no orders to contact him from Mr. Sheridan whatsoever, and Walker, I said, 'Well, whom do you work for?'

"He says, 'Well, you know Mr. Sheridan.' "

Shobe testified that he brushed off Walker. Later, he said, he checked with Sheridan and found that Patrolman Walker was indeed working for the government; he even read Walker's grand jury testimony. Schiffer asked if Walker had ever said "how long a period he had been working for Mr. Walter Sheridan," and Shobe replied: "Well, he told me that he had been on this case since it started."

The Kidnap Game

Now Shobe came to the most startling part of his testimony. The government was so eager to force the defendant, Parks, into becoming a witness for the prosecution, he asserted, that at one time he and Sheridan discussed a plan to abduct Parks and scare him within an inch of his life. Shobe had noticed that Parks "in the evenings sat out in front of Tom's Cleaners either on a milk crate or on a half a chair," and he felt it would be "comparatively easy" for him and a couple of companions to drive up and pretend to "arrest" Parks. They would carry out the fake by driving him to the huge parking lot in the rear of the Federal Building. There, suddenly, they would drop the pretense, handcuff Parks, gag and blindfold him, and then drive him out to a park in East Nashville.

There "we would take him out into the woods and well, we had a couple of shovels and we were just going to start digging a hole. And Mr. Parks being an undertaker, I imagine he would get the message. . . ."

After they had scared Parks sufficiently, they would remove his gag

and talk to him, pretending they were Hoffa strong-arms who had been assigned to do Parks in. If Parks was sufficiently scared to cooperate, fine. If he wasn't, Shobe had figured a way out. He would flash a signal with a flashlight; men waiting in the woods would come pouring out to "rescue" Parks; and Shobe and his companions, in the confusion, would get away. Shobe testified that "the only reason this plan wasn't carried out was simply because I felt that with the feelings against the government in Nash-

ville and their part in the civil rights, and I don't think the local authorities would just say release Fred Shobe if they caught me with this man bound and gagged in a car or else out digging a hole." Shobe had been afraid some local cop might accidentally bump into the plot, ruining everything, and when he realized "the penalty for kidnaping in Tennessee is death . . . why I took a bus and headed back for Detroit. . . ."

When the jury was called back into the courtroom, Shobe was permitted to testify to none of this. He was permitted to say that Patrolman Walker had told him he had been working for Walter Sheridan ever since sometime in 1962. He did get into the record that Walker and some other detectives on the Nashville force had come out to see him at his motel and to ask him if Sheridan would keep his promises to them. They were worried, Shobe testified, because the Justice Department was investigating the Nashville police force. Walker told Shobe that Sheridan had promised "that he [Walker] would be spared and that was the only form of compensation I understood from him that he was going to receive from Mr. Sheridan."

With Judge Wilson upholding the government's objections every step of the way, Shobe was not permitted to testify to his conversations with Sheridan; to the amounts he had been paid by the federal government to work for it as an informer; to any details of the plot to terrorize the defendant Parks into becoming a prosecution witness.

When he finished his direct testimony, he left the stand unchallenged. The government, through Judge Wilson's favorable rulings, had kept his most damning testimony from the ears of the jury. But Shobe had cast Patrolman Walker in the role of secret government agent, not a normally impartial witness. Since he had, it seems significant that the government let him go without asking a single question on cross-examination. His testimony was not impeached. And since it was not, the spoor of the *agent provocateur* looms that much larger in the evidence.

The Premature Fix

There was left to be considered, except for the testimony of Edward Grady Partin yet to come, only one jury-fixing attempt. This was the first in the sequence and the most important — the alleged $10,000 bribe offer to James C. Tippens, the Nashville insurance man, on the very day the jury-picking began. It is obvious that this incident should have been paramount in the government's case. The alleged attempts to influence Betty Paschal and Gratin Fields were disturbingly tenuous. Even if one accepts the prosecution's allegations at face value, it is admitted that neither Trooper Paschal nor Carl Fields ever talked to the two jurors. Mrs. Paschal and Gratin Fields knew nothing of the attempts until they were called before Judge Miller and banished from the jury.

But Tippens was one juror to whom a direct overture had allegedly been made. He had been told flatly it would be worth $10,000 to him to acquit Hoffa. In the light of this, it seems only logical that Tippens would loom as the principal exhibit in the prosecution's array of evidence. But it did not turn out that way.

Tippens' original story to Judge Miller in Nashville had been this: When he returned to his office after being tentatively seated on the jury on October 23, 1962, his secretary told him that a friend and neighbor, Lawrence (Red) Medlin, had been trying to get in touch with him. Tippens telephoned Medlin. Then, at Medlin's request, he went out to Medlin's "place of business" for a personal meeting. They talked, and Medlin told Tippens it would be worth $10,000 to him if he, as a juror, voted for Hoffa.

This account makes it obvious that Lawrence (Red) Medlin and his involvements were crucial to the Hoffa case. Who was behind this alleged bribe attempt? Who induced Medlin to approach Tippens? These were crucial questions. But, unfortunately, there was no way of getting at them because Medlin could not be produced in court. He had been indicted with Hoffa and the others, but when Hoffa and the rest fought for a change of venue and succeeded in getting their trial transferred from Nashville to Chattanooga, Medlin had not joined in the action. He preferred to stand trial in Nashville, and so his case was severed from the rest. This left a huge gap at the heart of the prosecution's case. Because Medlin was not on trial, because the government was prevented from tracing the alleged Tippens offer through him back to Hoffa or to anyone in Hoffa's entourage, there was a grave legal question whether Tippens should be allowed to testify at all.

The defense argued strongly that he should not. Logic and law both would seem to back this argument. But Judge Wilson decided to let Tippens testify. He decreed, however, that the testimony should be accepted only to the degree that it might tend to corroborate details of Partin's testimony regarding statements made to him by Hoffa.

Under the court's ruling, Tippens was permitted to say only that he had had a conversation with Medlin. He was not permitted to say what they had discussed. He was permitted to say that he had reported this conversation to Judge Miller the following day, October 24. He was not permitted to say what it was he had reported, but simply that he felt it was of such a nature that it disqualified him for jury service.

Slips of the Tongue

These were the restrictions, but there was no way of guaranteeing they would be obeyed. For example, Tippens testified at one point:

I went into Judge Miller's office and told him that I felt that I should be disqualified as a juror due to the fact that I felt like that I could not serve under the conditions that existed in which were, namely, I had been offered—

Berke roared an objection. Judge Wilson instructed the jury to disregard the remark. But the remark had been made, and the jury must have heard it.

The rest of Tippens' testimony contains many instances where, with the prosecution egging him on, he verged upon the unmentionable. At one point, before anyone could stop him, he got this out: "I told Judge Miller that I felt disqualified to serve on the jury due to the fact that I had been offered a sum of money." Berke objected. Branstetter demanded that the remark be stricken. The court instructed the jury to disregard it. But again the damage had been done.

Tippens testified that, after his session with Judge Miller on October 24, he had another talk with Medlin "at a barn where he keeps his horses . . . about a half mile from my place." Their "country places," Tippens explained, made them neighbors. Again, he seemed about to get into the details of what had been said in the judge's chambers; again, the defense roared its objections and the judge dismissed the jury while he listened to legal arguments.

Common sense says that all of this must have been infinitely prejudicial to the defense. The impression the jury must have gotten was that of a guilt-stained defense battling with every legal technicality at its disposal to keep the forthright Tippens from giving the jury testimony it had a right to hear. Yet the truth clearly is the very reverse of this. It was the prosecution's duty to establish that the alleged $10,000 bribe was linked to Hoffa. If it was not linked, testimony about it had no place in this trial.

The dubiousness of this entire sequence was to be thrown into high relief by the separate trial of Medlin in Nashville. There, on April 3, a jury convicted Medlin of offering the $10,000 bribe to his friend, Tippens, but curiously enough the government produced no proof to link the alleged offer to Hoffa or his aides. The government's case was based almost entirely on Tippens' testimony about his conversation with Medlin. Medlin, fifty-three, proprietor of a sandwich-packing concern, acknowledged that the conversation had taken place, but denied he had made Tippens any offer. He insisted he had only told Tippens about a conversation he had "overheard." Whom had he "overheard"? Who had planted this idea in his mind? These remained unanswered questions; and though the government in this trial was unrestrained by technicalities like those that had inhibited it in Chattanooga, it suggested no answers. Medlin swore that he had never heard of Hoffa, knew nothing about him—and his statement stood in the record, unchallenged by the government.

What is the meaning of this?

One cannot be certain, but the doubts born in the Paschal and Fields testimony are reinforced a hundredfold by the insubstantial nature of the Tippens charge. They are reinforced, too, by the way another early key element of the case, introduced by Partin, crumbled on close examination.

It will be recalled that on the first day Partin landed in Nashville (only a few hours before the Tippens mystery began to brew) he stumbled headlong upon the very evidence he had been sent to find. His story was that Nicholas J. Tweel, the West Virginia businessman who posed when they first met as Anthony Quinn, had confided to him Hoffa's plans to fix the jury. The implausibility of anyone's confiding such a dark secret to a man he had just met for the first time is comparable to the implausibility of the precipitate Tippens bribe. Nevertheless, that was Partin's story, and it is instructive to see what happened to it.

In the Coffee Shop

Tweel, when he took the stand, testified that he and Allen Dorfman, the Chicago insurance man who handled Teamster pension funds, had been involved in many business deals. The defense exhaustively documented their business relationship. According to Tweel and Dorfman, they had planned to meet in New York to iron out some pressing business transactions, but at the last minute Hoffa had asked Dorfman to come to Nashville with some records that might be essential to his defense. Dorfman, as a result, had telephoned Tweel and suggested that they meet in Nashville.

They were sitting in the coffee shop of the Andrew Jackson Hotel, Tweel testified, when Partin came up and introduced himself to Dorfman, whom he had apparently met previously. Dorfman in turn introduced Partin to Tweel. There never was any Anthony Quinn in the picture, Tweel testified; that character was Partin's fiction.

After Dorfman left, Partin engaged Tweel in conversation. Partin, Tweel said, told him all about his troubles in Louisiana and wanted to know if Tweel could recommend a good lawyer there. Since Louisiana was Partin's turf, not Tweel's, it seemed a strange request; but, as it happened, Tweel did have a friend who felt he had been well represented recently by a lawyer in Baton Rouge. Tweel couldn't think of the lawyer's name at the moment, but he told Partin he would try to find out if Partin wanted to get in touch with him later.

And that had been all there was to it. Tweel never invited Partin to his room later that night. Indeed, he never saw Partin again. Instead of chatting with Partin about fixing the Hoffa jury, Tweel had met some acquaintances, had dinner with them and then went out on the town with them, nightclubbing until about 2 A.M. This fact, too, was supported by independent testimony.

The next day, October 23, Tweel said, he and Dorfman went over to the court to look in on the opening of the Hoffa trial. In the courthouse, he said, he looked casually at a long list of veniremen from which the trial panel was to be drawn; but since he didn't know anyone in Nashville, he didn't examine the list closely. In fact, said Tweel, until this visit, he had never been in Nashville in his life, and after this one visit, he had never returned. When the morning court session ended, he and Dorfman conferred and settled their business matters; then Dorfman caught a plane to Chicago, and Tweel flew back to Huntington, W. Va.

In one sequence, Tweel testified: "During my stay in Nashville, I had no occasion to meet Mr. Hoffa. I did observe him in the lobby of the hotel. I observed him at the courthouse. I think these are the only two occasions I had ever seen Mr. Hoffa. I have never had any occasion to meet him. . . . The next time I saw Mr. Hoffa we were being arraigned together in Nashville,

Tenn. I don't know how I got involved with him myself. I didn't even meet him on that occasion."

Partin, after he testified, underwent cross-examination by Edward Grady, Tweel's attorney, and all but conceded that Tweel may have been right in disclaiming acquaintance with Hoffa: "I don't think that Tweel has ever said that he was real acquainted with him." A little later: "I have seen Mr. Tweel associated with Mr. Dorfman in Nashville but as far as Mr. Hoffa, I can't swear to anything that I would pin it down as being closely associated with him."

The government attempted to bolster this confusing testimony by a long, involved story that Hoffa on one occasion had a jury list phoned to Dorfman in Chicago, so that Dorfman could phone it back to Tweel, so that Tweel could phone back to Nashville with information on the jurors. Since Tweel had testified he had never been in Nashville and had no contacts there—and since the government offered no evidence to the contrary—this seems an idiotic procedure.

It is perhaps significant that, even in the atmosphere of the Chattanooga trial, the jury acquitted Dorfman and Tweel. On this aspect of the case, involving the first information he allegedly uncovered after his arrival in Nashville, Edward Grady Partin's story would simply not stand up. One needs to bear this in mind when turning to his accounts of incriminating conversations with Hoffa.

The Spy As Witness

The appearance of Partin upon the witness stand provoked one of the most heated legal battles of the entire trial. It raised fundamental and disturbing questions about American justice.

Partin had hardly begun to testify, had gotten into the record only his account of the conversation with Tweel, when the issue erupted on a defense motion to suppress his entire testimony. The defense attack was led by James E. Haggerty, former president of the Michigan State Bar and a director of the Detroit Bar Association, one of the attorneys for Hoffa. Haggerty's point was simple. He argued that Partin had been planted on the defense in an undercover capacity and had remained in that capacity during the whole of Hoffa's previous trial in Nashville. This, he contended, was as much an "improper intrusion on the defendant's right" as if the government had tapped his telephone lines or bugged his hotel room.

"He [Partin] was in discussion, I might tell you, with lawyers, he had had discussions with me during the trial of the case and to my knowledge discussions with others," Haggerty told Judge Wilson. "He was constantly hanging around, I never knew for what reason. He was in court nearly every day . . . he was at the hotel and Mr. Hoffa's suite where the lawyers conferred at night."

Harvey M. Silets, of Chicago, attorney for Dorfman and one of the sharpest minds in the defense battery, argued that this espionage upon the defense in the midst of trial was illegal, and, if it was, "the famous statement of the Supreme Court that the fruits of the poisoned tree are not any good extends here. . . ." Silets argued such action "taints everything this man touched." It was, he said, as if "Your Honor's law clerk should all of a sudden turn out to be an informer and a spy for the defense. . . ."

Cecil Branstetter cited the Judith Coplon case, washed out because of wire tapping of the defendant's phones and eavesdropping by the FBI on her conversations with her attorneys. He argued that the same principle applied to this direct, in-person eavesdropping.

U.S. Attorney James Neal met the onslaught with an almost-concession and a quibble. It was true, he conceded, that had Hoffa been convicted in the Nashville trial the verdict *might have been* tainted because the government had planted an informer in Hoffa's camp. But this, Neal argued, had absolutely nothing to do with the *new case* built upon information that informer had gathered. Therefore, the decision in the Coplon case had no relevancy and was not applicable.

Silets was infuriated by this hair-splitting. He recalled that in July, 1963, Federal Judge Frank Gray, Jr., had listened to five days of argument on the defense contention that this new, jury-tampering indictment had been based on illegally obtained evidence.

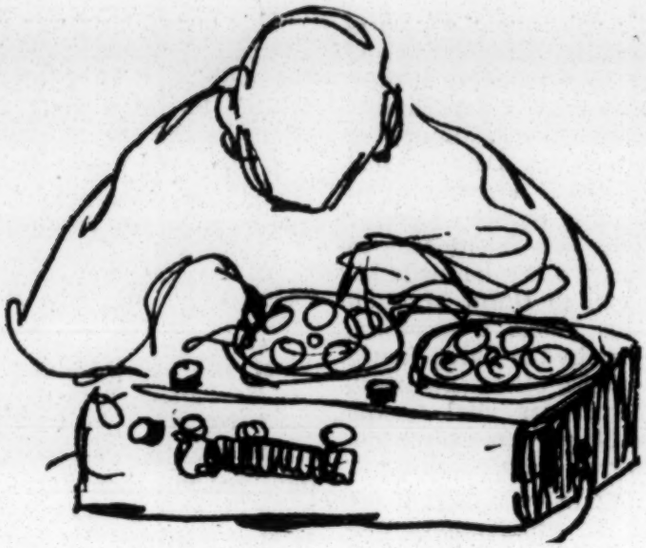
"I can remember as if it was said a moment ago," Silets told the court, "Mr. Neal in great pain and anguish saying to Judge Gray, Your Honor, there was no eavesdropping. There was no wire tap. There was no illegally obtained evidence. At that time, Mr. Neal must have known that such a thing as what has been perpetrated on this court was in fact in existence because that is the basis that this indictment was returned upon."

Neal countered that "there is no illegally obtained evidence in this case and there is no eavesdropping. Everything that this witness will testify to as things said to him were things intended that he should overhear because they were said to him."

It quickly became apparent that this contention depended upon one's ability to believe that the government had walked a very fine ethical tightrope all during the time it had Partin planted in Hoffa's camp. Neal's position was that Partin had been instructed to gather evidence only about jury tampering—about any law-breaking plots on the part of the defense. It had not been intended, heavens no, that he should gather information about actual defense tactics in the Nashville trial.

Memory Tricks

Partin, examined on this point, instantly displayed a striking mental ambivalence. He could recall in great detail all the conversations he had had with the defendants about their alleged jury-tampering endeavors, but his mind was a



blank about trial strategy they might have discussed in his presence. His explanation was that he had been told to remember the jury-fixing details and he "wrote" these down—just in his mind, that is—but he turned off the mental antenna and "wrote down" nothing about anything else. Partin dined constantly with Hoffa and Hoffa's retinue. Didn't the case constantly come up as a topic of conversation, Silets wanted to know. "I don't think it ever did," said Partin blandly. Not at all? Well, maybe, "as far as saying how it goes or something like that."

Time and again, Silets tried to extract from Partin some information he had overheard while tagging at the coattails of Hoffa's attorneys. Partin evaded, finally came up with this: "I didn't say for sure, sir, I said I may have been there when they discussed it, but I didn't remember because I wasn't interested in the case."

Not interested? Could any man, on the showing, have had better reason to be interested?

The defense attorneys from the Nashville trial had far sharper memories. One by one, they took the stand and were sworn in as witnesses. William Buffalino was especially emphatic:

I recall vividly that on the night of the 4th of December, 1962, he [Partin] was in our room, and I will explain exactly what I recall. . . . I was in the process of preparing, interviewing several witnesses, truck drivers, that were in from Detroit. . . . I asked questions and I made notes. These notes were typed in question and answer form. . . . They were typed and Ed Partin helped me staple them. He was carrying copies back and forth from one place to the other.

On the 5th, and the record will show, on the 5th or one of those days when Mr. Neal was interrogating the witnesses, he asked, "Isn't it a fact," or words to this effect, "Isn't it a fact that or were you supplied with questions and answers as to what your testimony should be?"

The Psychic Attorney

That same day, Buffalino testified, there was a second, significant incident. The night before, some five or six defense attorneys had been sitting around the large table in Hoffa's room, discussing trial strategy. Partin was sitting with them, idly shuffling a pack of cards, as he usually was. Buffalino outlined an approach he planned to take the next day when he put a certain truck driver on the stand. What happened when they got into court seems illuminating. Buffalino testified:

The next day when I got on this particular area I started, now, and this is the language, "Now, witness, I bring you back to 1953," and that is all I had to say and Mr. Neal jumped to his feet and said, "I object, Your Honor, they are getting into a different area."

I said, "How do you know where I am going, what I am going to ask?"

He answered, and he said, "Your Honor, I suggest, may I request, that the jury leave this room and I want to argue this particular case in the absence of the jury." The jury left, left the courtroom.

I said to Mr. Neal, "How do you know what I'm going to ask, all I said was 1953?"

He said, "I am psychic." That's in the record.

Neal stood and listened to this—and he made no rebuttal. It would seem he had no answer. Indeed, instead of denial, there was from the government a reluctant and partial confirmation.

This came from Walter Sheridan. Called to the stand by the defense, he testified about the manner in which Partin had kept passing him information.

Q. Now, did that information also constitute matters pertaining to the lawsuit that was then on trial?
A. Occasionally.

Sheridan said "the vast majority of the information consisted of the comings and goings of people"; it dealt with matters that, in his mind, were "at least unethical and improper," if not downright illegal. He regularly, said Sheridan, passed this information along to Neal, who was trying the case. But, in an effort to explain his action, Sheridan insisted, "I don't think any matters relating to the trial" were passed unless they dealt with jury tampering or fell within categories he considered "unethical."

Q. Isn't it true, Mr. Sheridan, on the 4th of December, 1962, Partin informed you that witnesses were being interviewed and that they had written questions available?

A. There was an occasion when Mr. Partin told me that witnesses were being interviewed by Mr. Buffalino and that they had questions and answers and he was going over them.

Q. He did advise you of that?

A. Yes, sir.
Q. Did he tell you who they were?
A. I knew who they were, I think.

This seems about as close to an admission as one could expect to get in testimony coming from a key government official, the very man who directed the operation.

Silets strove to show that Partin, from the beginning, had not been just a Teamster invited to Nashville by Hoffa and told freely what he had been told, but a government agent, employed by the government and planted on the defense. Buffalino, in his testimony, pictured Partin not only as a spy, but as an *agent provocateur,* egging on the defense. Buffalino testified:

I have some recollection that Partin said something about a particular juror, I don't know which one, that he was in the Army with one and he was starting to suggest that maybe he should get in touch with that fellow that he was in the Army with, that maybe when he goes on vacation he would be able to go in and live with juror.

I said, "Look, I want to have absolutely nothing at all to do with any such discussion. Lay off that. We have a cinch case. This case is absolutely nothing. And then so far as I am concerned I suggest you just forget about anything like that."

Silets attempted to follow this trail, to demonstrate Partin's deep involvement with federal prosecutors long before he came to Nashville. But when he tried to question Partin about his multiple indictments, Neal objected and Judge Wilson instantly sustained. Silets next tried to determine just what had been discussed in those conversations with Hawk Daniels and Frank Grimsley. "Well, sir, that is a matter not related to this here at all," Partin told him.

Neal objected; Judge Wilson instantly sustained the objection.

Silets tried again. "I would reluctantly have to say that it doesn't relate to this," said Partin. "It is something of a more serious matter."

Here was a witness who was functioning as his own expert on legal matters, determining in his own mind what was legally relevant and what was not. It is difficult to understand why a witness should have been permitted to decide such issues for himself, but Judge Wilson pronounced for Partin, saying. "I have difficulty in seeing how it is material to the issue that is now before the court."

The whole subsequent course of the trial was to demonstrate, of course, just how material it was. The defense was to establish ultimately, through the testimony of Grimsley and Hawk Daniels, that Partin had become a secret agent in late September or early October — and that he was functioning as one on October 8 when he made his first phone call to Hoffa after attaching to his phone a recording device lent him by the Baton Rouge District Attorney's office. But now, when the issue was vital to the trial's entire future course, the defense was barred from pursuing it.

Silets, trying to demonstrate the absurdity of the prosecution's pretension that Partin was not their hogtied man, asked Partin why he had hung on in Nashville for the entire two and a half months of the trial. Partin said he was there "on union matters and personal matters." "Do you mean for two and a half months you had union and personal matters?" Silets snapped.

Hoffa's Shadow

Silets demanded to know if Partin had been paid by the government. Partin denied flatly that he had. Silets demanded to know if he had been promised anything. Partin denied flatly that he had.

Q. Will you tell me, please, why did you want to take the assignment from the FBI to come to Nashville to do what you say you were going to try to do for the FBI?
A. I don't know.

Neal roared an objection and Judge Wilson sustained, but the answer had already slipped past Partin's lips.

Judge Wilson decided now to question the witness himself on this point. Partin denied to the judge that the government had "sent" him to Nashville.

Q. Did they provide transportation for you in Nashville?
A. No sir, they didn't.
Q. Were you in any way in the employ of the United States at that time?
A. No, sir, I wasn't.
Q. But was there any arrangement for the government paying any of your expenses and compensating you in any way in your trip to Nashville?
A. No, sir.
Q. At whose request did you go to Nashville?
A. Mr. Hoffa's. Telephone conversation at Newark, N. J.

This questioning was concentrated upon payments at the time of the Nashville trial in 1962, but when Walter Sheridan took the stand, Silets made the questions all-inclusive. This was the sequence:

Q. Have you ever authorized any payment to Mr. Partin?
A. No, sir.
Q. Has there been, to your knowledge, any money paid to Mr. Partin?
A. No, sir.
Q. Has any promise been made to Mr. Partin?
A. No, sir.

All the time, as Sheridan must have known, there reposed in government files a memorandum from Walter Sheridan himself to S. A. Andretta, administrative assistant attorney general. It was dated July 3, 1963, and it read:

Subject: CONFIDENTIAL FUND ITEM

In connection with the forthcoming trials in Nashville, Tennessee, it is requested that a check in the amount of $300.00 be drawn against the confidential fund beginning July 8th, made payable to A. Frank Grimsley, Jr., Attorney in the Criminal Division. . . . He will cash the check and give this money to a confidential source.

It is also requested that a check be drawn each month through November, 1963, made payable to Mr. Grimsley and mailed as above.

Under this circuitous arrangement, as the defense was to show near the end of the trial, the government funneled at least $1,500 into the hands of Partin's wife; yet, at the point at which this information was vital, the defense had only Walter Sheridan's flat denial.

On one other point the testimony of Sheridan gave the impression of technical accuracy rather than candor. He was asked by Silets if he had taken notes of his conversations with Partin. Yes, he said, he had — and he had kept them. The defense demanded that these notes be turned over to the court, so that Judge Wilson might examine them to see whether they contained information helpful to the defense. Over the objections of the prosecution this was done. Then Neal took over the questioning of Sheridan:

Q. With respect to these notes, Mr. Sheridan, how was that done? Did you attempt to make a substantially verbatim statement or notes of what the witness Partin told you?
A. No, sir.

Q. How did you do it?

A. Well, if he called me or I saw him, I would just make cryptic notes of the high points. As I usually do, of the conversation we had.

Q. In other words, you might put down one word that might be five minutes of conversation?

A. It could be.

The reason for the "cryptic note" technique quickly became apparent. In 1957, the Supreme Court, by its Jencks decision, had ruled that when the government put a witness on the stand it must, as a test of his credibility, give the defense access to any prior statements he had made on the subject matter of his testimony. J. Edgar Hoover objected that this would "throw open" the files of the FBI and expose his secret informants. Under his urging, Congress passed the so-called Jencks Act, watering down the effect of the Supreme Court decision. The act provided that such prior statements should be turned over to the trial judge, who would determine whether they were material to the defense. It also provided that, unless statements were taken substantially verbatim or had been signed or acknowledged by the witness, they did not have to be divulged at all. Neal now took full advantage of this Hoover-created loophole, and in arguments repeated throughout the course of the trial he contended that the defense was not entitled to see the "cryptic notes" of Sheridan or other similar data. And so, in effect, Judge Wilson ruled.

Hoffa Raising Cain

The judge, over protest, upheld the prosecution's theory that Partin had been not its man in Nashville, but Hoffa's. The judge's decision, which permitted Partin's full testimony to go before the jury, was delivered in these words: ". . . I would find that there has been no interference by the government with an attorney-client relationship of any defendant in this case. I would further find that the government did not place this witness, Mr. Partin, in the defendant's midst, rather that he was knowingly and voluntarily placed in their midst by one of the defendants."

Haggerty declared that "there is such a correlation here (between the Nashville and Chattanooga cases) that I cannot understand, frankly speaking, with all due respect, that Your Honor has reached his conclusion."

One might not understand, but one was going to have to listen to Edward Grady Partin.

Partin's testimony pictured Hoffa as a desperate man, intent on rigging the Nashville jury. After the Tippens fiasco, Partin declared, Hoffa was raging. He quoted Hoffa as saying: "The dirty bastard went in and told the judge that his neighbor had offered him $10,000." This meant, Hoffa added, "We are going to have to lay low for a few days."

On another occasion, when Hoffa felt that he had been hurt by some particularly damaging testimony, he confided to Partin, according to Partin: "I would pay $15,000 or $20,000, whatever it costs, to get to the jury."

On Monday, November 5, Partin testified, he encountered Hoffa and Ewing King together in the hallway of the Andrew Jackson. Hoffa was "raising cain at Mr. King" because King hadn't been doing what he had been told to do. Partin said that Hoffa roared at him: "King keeps telling me he can get the patrolman, but he don't get him."

On November 7, Partin said, he went into Hoffa's suite and told Hoffa he didn't think the trial was going very well. "Well, don't worry about it too much," he quoted Hoffa, "because I have got the colored juror [Gratin Fields] in my hip pocket."

Partin said Hoffa explained: "One of my business agents, Campbell, came into Nashville *prior to the trial* and took care of it." (Italics added.) Hoffa, Partin said, was straining every nerve to get a hung jury because, again allegedly quoting Hoffa, "if they have a hung jury it will be the same as an acquittal because they will never try the case again."

Still later, on November 14, Partin testified, "Hoffa was on King." He denounced King as "a stupid S.O.B. for thumbing around and not getting the job done."

In another conversation on November 19, Partin pictured Hoffa as "very upset because the highway patrolman didn't take the money." There had been, of course, no mention of money in the Paschal case because the Paschals weren't lacking money and all the trooper wanted was a promotion.

All these conversations, except those in which Hoffa was personally berating King, took place, according to Partin, when no one else was present because "Mr. Hoffa never has anyone present when he says something."

In essence, this was all there was to Partin's testimony. Credence depended on the weight one gave his word against Hoffa's word, and on the faith one put in the validity of the prosecution's other evidence concerning the three alleged jury-tampering attempts.

On cross-examination, the defense hammered at Partin for days. Harry Berke hopped instantly on the flaw in Partin's Hoffa quotation on the alleged fixing of Gratin Fields.

Q. Didn't you say this, Mr. Partin, speaking about Mr. Hoffa, he said "One of my business agents, Campbell, came into Nashville prior to the trial and took care of it?"

A. That's correct. That is exactly what I said, sir. You are right.

Q. How could he fix the jury prior to the time when he didn't even know who was going to be on it?

Neal shouted an objection. He argued: "He [Partin] is only telling what Hoffa told him." Judge Wilson sustained the objection. Jacques Schiffer hotly protested that the "question goes right to the roots" of the testimony, and he snapped that "every time we reach that point in cross-examination where we come to a crucial question we are not permitted to receive an answer. . . ."

Later, when Schiffer got his chance at Partin on cross-examination, he returned to the point, and finally got Partin to admit: "It puzzled me how Larry Campbell was going to fix or take care of the colored male juror in the case before the trial started."

The Castro Link

The defense struggled to get into the record intimations of Partin's friendliness toward Castro. It tried to introduce a letter from one of Castro's generals to Partin, thanking him for help in training Castro's militia, and it tried to show that Partin had been attempting to lease freighters to run arms into Cuba. But Neal's shouted objections blocked this line of inquiry.

"This is the most offensive thing I have seen in my life," the federal prosecutor stormed.

"Objection, objection," shouted Schiffer.

Judge Wilson sustained Neal and

told Schiffer: ". . . you will not be permitted to introduce charges for the purpose of attempting to degrade a witness. We're not here for that purpose."

Schiffer argued hotly that Partin's character was an essential issue; on it depended what credence was to be given to his testimony. He protested that the court was unfairly limiting the defense.

The Court Under Attack

Silets took over the cross-examination and began to delve into Partin's past, especially his early burglary conviction in Bremerton, Wash. Partin protested that he was unable to recall this or a subsequent dishonorable discharge from the Marines. Silets began to read him details from his record, and Partin argued: "It wasn't a burglary charge. You said it was a burglary charge. I said it wasn't." Schiffer hopped in with the angry observation that the witness wasn't answering the questions (indeed, at one point, Partin had begun to ramble off into a discussion about coon dogs), and the argument became heated. Schiffer moved for a mistrial, then asked Judge Wilson to let him withdraw from the case and put Parks "under the protection of the court and let Your Honor defend him because I am being prevented from defending him. . . ." Partin, he said, "defies the order of the court. But the court idly does nothing with this witness, and this is prejudicing my man. . . ."

Judge Wilson, as angry now as Schiffer, snapped: "Just make a note of this in the record. We will take it up at a later time. . . ."

Silets went back to the attack and detailed for Partin the breaking and entering charge on his record, the fact that he had drawn a sentence of fifteen years, that he had twice broken out of prison. "I said, sir," Partin told him, "I remember that I was confined to the reformatory school for something, so evidently if you say that's it, it must have been it, I don't remember the name of the place or who was there or whatever it was."

Silets pointed out that Partin had been able to recall in exact detail his conversations with Hoffa. Why couldn't a man with such a memory remember his own arrest and incarceration? "I don't remember, I certainly don't," Partin kept insisting. "I have never been convicted of but one felony in my life," Partin finally told Silets.

Q. You have pleaded guilty to other offenses, haven't you?

A. Minor fighting or something...

Q. And one of those was assaulting a Mr. Colotto which you plead guilty to on Dec. 2, 1955?

The Court: Sustain the objection.

Silets: I didn't hear one, Your Honor.

The Court: Well, counsel stood up.

During a recess, with the jury out, Haggerty lowered the boom.

"In my forty-one years of experience, mostly in federal courts," he said, "I have witnessed an exhibition this morning up to date that leaves me clearly puzzled and somewhat disgusted."

The witness, he said, had refused to answer questions. He had rambled off into extraneous matters. The prosecution lawyers, Haggerty charged, were sitting there in court, shaking their heads, grimacing and smiling to the jury. He said this "conduct is deplorable and should never be allowed in a court of justice."

Other defense attorneys accused the prosecution lawyers of signaling to the witness; Schiffer charged the "government wanted a drumhead court-martial and they are getting it." When Neal tried to interrupt, Schiffer shouted at the federal prosecutor: "I don't want to listen to Mr. Neal. You subvert justice here."

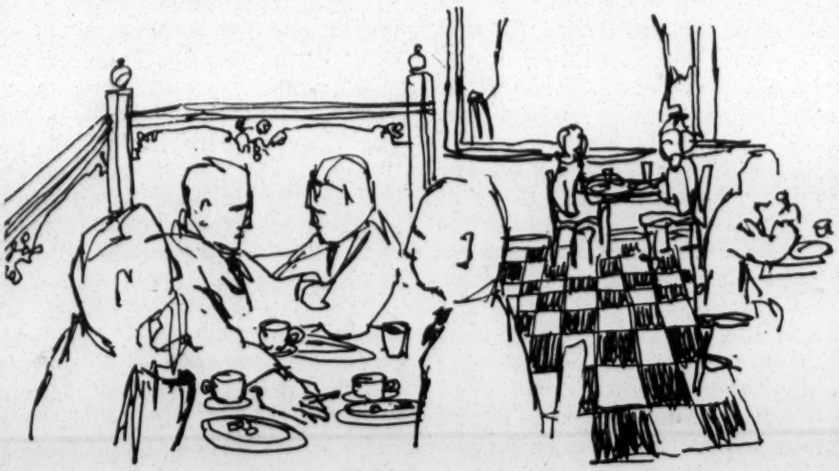
Haggerty then startled court and prosecution with a new charge. He offered "proof of the surveillance of the government of the Defendant Hoffa and of the defendants and attorneys." It was, said Haggerty, "a very difficult thing to prove, but we have photos taken last night and we have photographs of an FBI agent by the name of Sheets and we will present that proof this afternoon." He charged that the surveillance "is not casual, it's active, it's organized, and it hamstrings the defendants and the defendants' counsel."

At this point, James Durkin hopped up from the prosecution table and went rushing out of the courtroom.

Branstetter asked the court to instruct Neal not to discuss with Sheets the issue that had been raised. "That wasn't the purpose I sent that man out," Neal almost sputtered, "the purpose I sent that man was to get a subpoena to a well-known wire tapper who was indicted and tried with the Defendant Hoffa, who came into town the other day, Bernard Spindel."

"How do you know that, Mr. Neal, unless you have been surveilling the premises?" Silets demanded. Neal said the government would prove "we don't surveil the defendants or their counsel," but the government "has never said it would not surveil well-known wire tappers."

Schiffer and Neal now exchanged broadsides in a bitter argument. Schiffer, raging, protested to the court that he couldn't use his telephone because "it is being tapped by somebody." He wanted to put Neal on the stand and "let him say under oath that there has been no surveillance in this case, not anything to the effect, 'I know of none.'" The court, he said, relied on the integrity of a government attorney, and "I say he doesn't have it." Neal offered to take the stand and testify "to the very best of my knowledge and belief there have been no surveillance of any counsel." But he added: "I would expect, however, the court to hold Mr. Schiffer in contempt."



"For what? For telling the truth?" Schiffer shouted. "That is the type tactic of the government, as soon as defendant gets up and talks about the malfunctions of justice in this court by these prosecutors, they run to the court and they say, 'Throw Schiffer in jail, hold him in contempt, but leave us alone, Judge. We are the select fellows, we are the masters in this case. The Attorney General appointed us, he hates Hoffa, and we will get Schiffer, too.'"

At 1:30 P.M. this same day, February 7, Schiffer came thundering back from the luncheon recess, angrier if that is possible than he had been when he left. He charged that when he returned to his hotel room after the morning session in court, he discovered his files had been rifled. Schiffer told the court "all of my original documents, and the entire file which I have spent preparing for these many months for this trial on behalf of the defendant Parks was missing." Schiffer said he had been advised that a government investigator had been seen in the hotel about noon and that a federal marshal had been spotted near the door of his room. "This has never happened to me before," he told the court.

Judge Wilson ruled that he would take up the surveillance issue later; in the meantime, he would go on with the trial of the case.

One of the most decided and significant shifts in Partin's testimony dealt with the manner in which the government had paid without paying *him*. On the motion to suppress his testimony, Partin had sworn flatly that no payments had been made; Walter Sheridan had testified that no payments had been made. These assurances had bolstered Judge Wilson in his decision to permit Partin's testimony to go before the jury. Once that decision had been made, once the government had obtained the ruling it had to have, the real truth — a truth that seriously challenged the impression the government had created—began to peep out from under the rug.

On the Money Trail

At the close of his direct examination, Partin described numerous trips he had taken about the countryside — to Tennessee, Alabama, New Orleans — conferring with government agents. Then:

Q. Have any of those expenses been paid to you or indirectly paid to you in any way?

A. Yes, sir, they have.

Q. And how was that done?

A. I wouldn't swear how it was done, sir, I know what was done for, though.

Q. Well, to whom were the payments made? You said indirectly.

A. They were paid to my wife.

Q. Have all of your expenses been paid in that manner, that is, up to date, or are there still some expenses owing to you?

A. They still owe me.

It would seem from the very phrasing of these questions and answers that Partin had little difficulty recognizing that he had been paid, at least "indirectly," and the bland admission contrasted with his earlier flat denials.

This prosecution, which first had cultivated the impression no money was passed, now was admitting payments to Partin's wife, and it was contending, in a further quibble, that the payments weren't really payments — they represented "expense money." Silets, on cross-examination, probed the issue. How, he wanted to know, did it happen that money had been paid to Mrs. Partin?

A. Because I wanted my children taken care of, that's why.

Q. Well, how did that arrangement come about? Did you ask the government to do that?

A. I think they asked me did I have any outstanding things that had to be taken care of and during the course of the conversation I told them I was interested in that.

Partin insisted that he never submitted any vouchers to the government; he never signed anything to show receipt of the money. Well, who had paid for his expenses — Mrs. Partin? No, he had. Then why had the government paid Mrs. Partin? Well, he owed his wife alimony, and he wanted it done that way. How much had his wife received? "I didn't have an idea unless I would ask her," Partin said. "I just don't know offhand, it was around a thousand dollars or maybe more or less, I don't know."

Silets demanded all vouchers and checks covering this weird Partin-Mrs. Partin transaction. The prosecution fought against producing them, arguing they weren't "relevant," but Judge Wilson ordered the documents turned over to the court. In the course of the argument, Neal denied to the court that the prosecution had had any hand in the previous rifling of Schiffer's files, and he intimated that Schiffer had made the whole thing up.

The checks the government turned over to the court were for exactly even amounts, two for $300 each, two for $150 each. Partin must have been an extremely precise man, if the government's contention was correct, to contract exactly the same, even amount of expenses at periodic intervals. Silets, of course, argued that the whole thesis on the face of it was preposterous, that the checks really represented pay for testimony; and he argued that under a law passed by Congress October 23, 1962, it is "a crime" to pay witnesses for testimony.

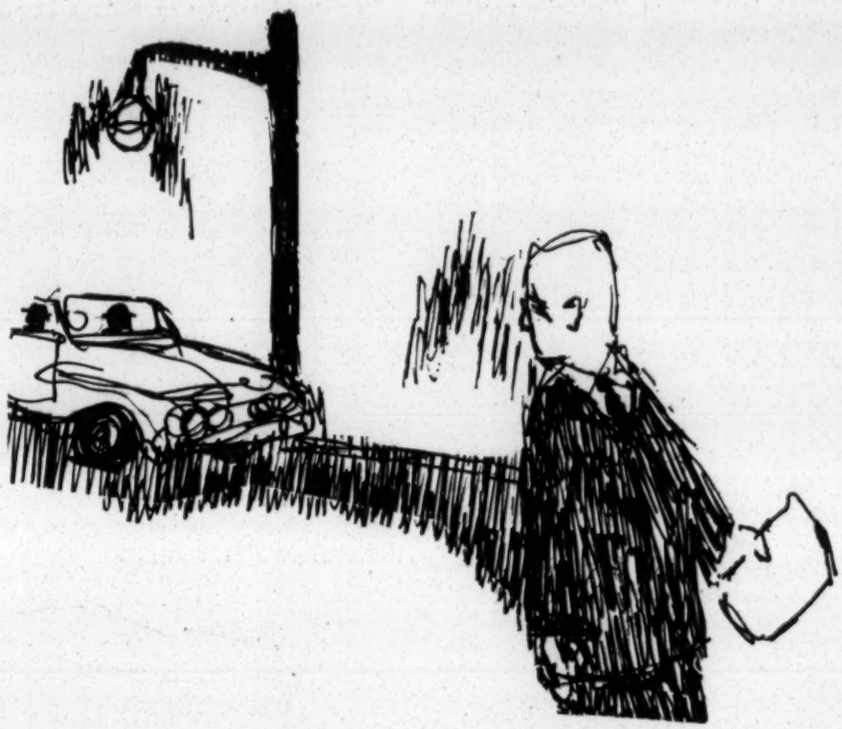
"That's an unmitigated lie," Neal roared, denying Partin had been paid for testifying.

Neal charged the defense was paying, too. Schiffer retorted certainly it was — mileage expenses and standard one-day witness fees as prescribed by law. Silets, who had been examining the checks during Schiffer's tiff with Neal, now asked to be heard.

"I am flabbergasted by these documents," he told the court. "Apparently the check was issued to Mr. Grimsley, then Grimsley used the check to go to the First National Bank of Atlanta, and with this check having been endorsed by him he has a cashier's check issued by the First National Bank of Atlanta pay-

able to Mrs. Partin. Now, if this is not an attempt to circumvent the meaning of this act of Congress, what is?"

The legal debate now switched away from the mystery of the Partin payments and back to the surveillance issue that shadowed the entire trial. Judge Wilson disclosed that some extensive notes had been delivered to him (these were Bernard Spindel's first intercepts of FBI radio communications), and he was going to study them. However, he said, it wouldn't be "appropriate" to halt the trial to settle this issue. "A hearing will be granted upon the motion after the submission of the case to the jury," he ruled.



Breaking and Entering

Haggerty protested. One of his younger researchers, he said, had been shadowed to the law library and back at 10:30 the previous night, Sunday, February 9. Two men were still on watch in front of the Patten Hotel. He had seen some of Schiffer's rifled files and could vouch for the fact that records were missing. "We had a door broken in a few doors from mine," he added. "I was not in town over the weekend. It was broken in by force." The door, Haggerty said, was to the room of a man associated with the defense.

"Now, how can we try a case under these Gestapo tactics?" he asked. The defense, he argued, needed help—"and we need it now, not when the case is over."

Judge Wilson was adamant. He would take up the surveillance issue, he ruled, only after the case had gone to the jury.

The testimony about the Partin money payments formed the basis for further probing by the defense. It called A. Frank Grimsley, the Justice Department attorney, to the witness stand. Grimsley testified that, beginning in July, 1963, he had channeled some $1,200 to Mrs. Partin by the devious route of cashiers' checks. Walter Sheridan, he said, "told me I would be receiving some checks." Grimsley never signed any receipts, any vouchers, any forms to show what the money represented; he simply endorsed the checks, got cashiers' checks, wrapped plain pieces of paper around them, put them in envelopes and mailed them to Mrs. Partin.

Grimsley testified the government still owed Partin $343.47 — the first odd figure that had cropped up in the months-long transactions. The arrangements resulted, Grimsley said, from a conversation he had had with Partin in July, 1963. ". . . he said inasmuch as he wouldn't be in circulation too much he had only one request and that was for the benefit and care of his children that he would like to have some money sent to them. . . ."

When Berke took over the questioning, he brought out another facet of the federal government's financial arrangements with Partin. He asked Grimsley if Grimsley didn't know that Partin "was indebted to the United States Government in close to $5,000 in taxes which were forgiven him." Grimsley said he never knew the amount; he had been aware Partin "had some tax difficulties."

The government's tactics in meeting these damaging disclosures were revealing. First, Neal brought out from Grimsley that no payments were made to Partin when he agreed to become an informer in September, 1962, *before* he went to Nashville to spy on Hoffa. No payments, no promises were made to him *then*. Secondly, he stressed that the $1,200 in checks that passed through Grimsley's hands represented only recompense for expenses.

Q. And was it your duty to apply or to pay him for his expenses?

A. Yes.

Q. And did you tell him that you would pay him for his expenses?

A. Yes.

Q. And are these payments for his expenses?

A. Yes, sir.

This desperate clinging by the government to its patently untenable "expense account" contention put Grimsley in an awkward spot when he faced the cross-examination of Schiffer.

Q. Did you receive from this man to whom you gave all of this cash itemized bills, add them up and total them before you paid him any money?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Well, tell me, wasn't the arrangement made you were going to send his wife $300 a month for support?

A. The $150 twice a month.

Q. $150 twice each month. And so it was not based upon what his expenses would be as he told you he was spending money and in expenses, but rather for the support of the children.

A. But we - - -

Q. Is that right?

A. More or less; that's correct, yes.

Q. Did you know the amounts of money and these amounts you have testified to and as reflected by these checks were in fact the alimony or support payments to his family?

A. It could have been, it's the same amount.

Q. Pardon me?

A. It could have been, it's the same amount, $300 per month.

The defense again demanded the records — all of Grimsley's accounts, any government vouchers or memoranda concerning the transactions. The government fought disclosure, but Judge Wilson in this instance ruled against it. And so the defense obtained the July 3, 1963, memorandum from Walter Sheridan to Andretta authorizing the payment of $300 a month to Partin. According to the memorandum, the amount was to be charged, not to travel expenses, but to the "confidential fund." Silets asked Grimsley what the "confidential fund" was for:

Q. Isn't it true it is used to pay informers?

A. I wouldn't think it would be used that way altogether. . . .

Q. Now, isn't it a fact, sir, that at the time this memorandum was issued that the intention was to make a payment to Mr. Partin and that that was a flat payment of $300 a month? Isn't that true?

A. It appears that way, yes, sir.

Hoffa on the Stand

Against this background of evasiveness and reluctant, forced concession on the part of the government, Hoffa took the stand in his own defense. He branded Partin's testimony "an absolute lie." He was asked point-blank about each of Partin's direct quotes accusing him of jury tampering. Did he ever make such statements? "I certainly did not," Hoffa said. He gave other emphatic answers: "that statement is ridiculous on the face of it," "I flatly deny it," "it's an absolute fabrication."

Partin, he said, had come to Nashville at Partin's own request. He wanted to plead with Hoffa not to put his Baton Rouge local under trusteeship. Hoffa said he had been working with Partin for months, trying to get him to spruce up and run a proper ship. He had not, he said, wanted to take drastic action simply because Partin had multiple indictments against him. Hoffa himself had been indicted, and took the attitude that merely because a man had been indicted he was not necessarily guilty. But the demands of the complicated Nashville trial had been so heavy that he had just had no chance to thrash things out with Partin until near the end of the ordeal, after the pressure was off. In the meantime, it was true, Partin was always hanging around his suite, and after an attempt had been made to break into the room where the defense kept its records, Partin had been employed as a guard at Hoffa's door.

Finally, near the end of the trial, Hoffa said, he and Buffalino sat down and went into Partin's problems thoroughly with him. ". . . I can say that although I have been in this international for some thirty-four years, I had never heard such a story in my life," Hoffa testified. "I just couldn't envision what this man was talking about."

Partin, he said, was "nervous, upset and almost incoherent," and he was "very perturbed" about charges his opponents in the Baton Rouge local were making about his ties to Castro. Hoffa asked him if he was engaged in smuggling arms into Cuba and told him, if he was, "I am not only going to remove you from the local union, I am going to expel you." Partin, he said, "tried to explain it in a way with the most peculiar attitude of any man I ever saw as though it was just nothing."

Hoffa said that, as he studied the finances of the Baton Rouge local, he found that Partin was squandering a lot of the union's money "by just loose trips." He told Partin again that "unless he sat down and ran the local union the way it is supposed to be run, and cleared up all the charges against him," Hoffa would have to act because he felt that Partin "was destroying our local in Baton Rouge."

"He pleaded for another chance," Hoffa said. "It blew up. He stormed out of the room and that is the way we left it." He hadn't had any other personal contact with Partin, Hoffa said. But he added: "Now I understand why he was there—to give information to the government."

Judge Wilson had to interrupt his post-trial hearing on the surveillance issues to accept the jury's verdict convicting Hoffa. The jurors dismissed the jury-tampering charges against Dorfman and Tweel, but they convicted Hoffa, Ewing King, Larry Campbell and Thomas Ewing Parks. Having heard the verdict, the court returned to the taking of testimony on the shadowing of the defendants and their attorneys.

From the start, there were Gilbert-and-Sullivan overtones to this session devoted to the assessment of the damage after the damage had been permitted. Schiffer for the defense started the ball rolling by presenting to the court a sealed twenty-nine-page transcript representing Bernard Spindel's second batch of FBI radio interceptions. Judge Wilson, who had unsealed the first batch when they were presented to him on February 10, exhibited a gingerly disinclination to perform the same function a second time. ". . . the court is just not familiar," he said, "with the practice of a stranger to a lawsuit filing a sealed document in which no attorney and no party alleges to have any knowledge whatsoever."

This precipitated an argument about the prosecution's trial-long penchant for filing sealed documents with the court. Defense attorneys had contended earlier that, in the Nashville trial, Neal had filed with Judge Miller Partin's sealed affidavit regarding jury tampering. This showed, they argued, that the prosecution had planted an eavesdropper in the defendant's midst, compromising his chance for a fair trial; but the court had seen fit to keep the information sealed and secret—it had not protected the defense in its rights, and so it had become in effect an arm of the prosecution.

Sealed Evidence

A similar issue had been raised in the current Chattanooga trial. The defense had insisted from the start that there had been wire tapping, eavesdropping, recordings of telephone conversations. The government had heatedly and repeatedly denied it. It was a denial with a fatal flaw. Too many persons knew that Partin had recorded his telephone calls to Hoffa, and as the pressure by the defense for disclosure mounted, Neal slipped the recordings to the court in a sealed packet. He had not revealed this to the defense, and the defense was still making motions demanding the recordings days after Judge Wilson had received the sealed material.

Finally, on February 20, while Grimsley was on the stand, the truth came out. The defense accused the government of "chicanery"; Neal sneered at the "impeccable Mr. Haggerty"; and Haggerty responded that a fair trial was "absolutely impossible . . . in this atmosphere of fraud created by

the government." Judge Wilson said he hadn't known that the defense hadn't known he had the taped Partin-Hoffa conversations; the prosecution certainly should have made that clear. But he couldn't see that any great harm had been done; the defense would be given access to the recordings at the "appropriate" time. The appropriate time, in the judge's estimation, came February 25, long after Partin had left the stand, when virtually all of the evidence was in and the trial all but completed. The government's maneuver, protected and upheld by the court, had had the effect, it would seem, of depriving the defense of information it should have had at the time it was grilling Partin on cross-examination.

It was the memory of this that sent Schiffer into an angry storm when the court made an issue of Spindel's sealed recordings. Schiffer charged that Neal "knew Partin when he testified was perjuring himself, he had the physical documents and hid them in a sealed envelope and then gave them to Your Honor and hid them there, kept the contents from you, kept it from the defendants when he knew that the physical evidence refuted and showed his star witness was perjuring himself and he, as government counsel, put a perjurer on the stand knowingly." The government acted as if it had never heard this particular accusation.

(The recordings showed that Partin, far from being invited by Hoffa, as he had testified, had on the contrary invited himself. The October 8 recording showed Partin first broaching the subject of their meeting in these words: ". . . Ah, what I was thinking, Jimmy, after I get this thing straightened out . . . and everything if you get an opportunity or something, I would like to get with you and talk with you and talk this thing out." Hoffa said simply: "Well, I'll be here [in Washington] all week." Partin's recorded call to Hoffa in Newark on October 18 showed that he again took the initiative in these words: "I hate to interrupt you, Jim, but I need to talk to you on . . . when I can see you — you'd said you'd be there on the 22nd in Nashville — what's the best day to come?" Hoffa said he would be in Nashville on Sunday, the 21st, and Partin wanted to know, "Will Sunday or Monday be all right? . . ." and Hoffa, to his eternal regret, simply said, "Right.")

The Wary Judge

John Hooker, the Nashville attorney who had been engaged to help the prosecution, disliked the idea of Spindel's second sealed intercept being left like a time bomb, containing God only knew what information that might be disclosed at a later date if a higher court decided to examine it. But Judge Wilson couldn't see why he should open the time bomb. Why, he wanted to know, didn't the defense do it and present the information?

"For a very obvious reason," Schiffer snapped. He emphasized that, under present laws, the FBI can spy upon a defendant to its heart's content, but the defendant places himself in jeopardy if he reveals, through radio intercepts, what the FBI is doing. The Federal Communications Act, Schiffer pointed out, does not make it a crime to intercept such communications; it makes it a crime to *divulge*. If Spindel had divulged, even to Schiffer, who hired him, what the intercepts said, it would have been a crime. Schiffer emphasized that Neal had made it perfectly clear in the argument on the first intercepts that what he wanted was to find "a violation of 605 of the Federal Communications Act." He wanted to prosecute Spindel and Schiffer, Schiffer charged, and he added: "They will never see me in that position."

Even without Neal's charge, the risk must have been nakedly obvious to Spindel. One of his first intercepts on Wednesday, February 5, had recorded FBI agents on this very issue. The control post, talking to one of the cars placed under surveillance, had said:

> *There is a darn good chance that if this fellow is listening to all you said, there is another good chance if he is, he is recording it, so you might consider that. 10-4.*
>
> *7: I presume he knows if he is that that's a violation of Federal statutes over which we have jurisdiction. I'm sure he knows that. . . .*

Such was the spot in which Spindel found himself when he took the witness stand. He testified that he had not told even Schiffer what was in the intercepts. He had sealed and filed them "as an aid to the court." Judge Wilson was not ecstatic at being so aided. He grilled Spindel on his purpose in filing the first intercepts. He had expected them to be opened and disclosed, hadn't he? Spindel argued: "It was not for me to decide." In this as with the second intercepts, it "was a decision for the court to make."

The court wasn't making it. "I'm giving you no directions, sir," Judge Wilson said. "You are the one that stated what your duty is. Proceed in accordance with your desire."

Spindel said that he would hand the sealed transcript right back to the court.

Silets wanted to know if the court wasn't going to open the packet. "This is your witness. Proceed, sir," Judge Wilson snapped.

Harry Berke interposed. It was "the active duty of the court to himself" to see "if there is anything there that caused this defendant to have his constitutional rights violated." The court, he argued, should "not idly sit by and just let it remain sealed."

"What authority does this court have that any attorney would not have, Mr. Berke?" Judge Wilson wondered.

"Well, I think that the court has more authority than an attorney, if Your Honor please. . . ." Berke responded.

He pointed out that the court had opened the first intercepts.

Judge Wilson protested he had been deceived at that time. "I had no idea that any counsel was attempting to proceed by devious means. . . . The court opened the document thinking all the time that this was a document that everyone knew about. . . . The court now understands that there was some attempt to put something over on the court in regard to delivering a sealed document in that manner."

Search for Justice

Schiffer protested hotly that "there was no devious means used"; Neal had been present, representing the government; nothing had been slipped past anybody. "If the defense attorney has no power . . . to show to the court proof and evidence of that kind of fact [the surveillance], then where does justice in the case rise?" he asked.

It seems like a good question, but Judge Wilson replied that Schiffer's argument was "wholly without merit."

Schiffer again restated the law —that it was no violation to inter-

cept, it was to divulge—and he challenged the prosecution to deny this if he was misstating their position. Neal and the other government attorneys remained silent. This means then, Schiffer argued, that in a case of "government outlawry," the defendant cannot protect himself, except through the court; and if the court is part and parcel of the prosecution, then the defendant is truly helpless. Schiffer said he had "resisted the attempts of the government to use the court against the defendants," and he charged that "the whole theory of the government here is a frame-up."

Judge Wilson still refused to open the second Spindel intercepts, and so they remained sealed, concealing no man knows what.

Neal, in savage cross-examination of Spindel, clearly demonstrated the government's vengeful intent. He harked back to the Detroit wire-tapping case the government had brought against Hoffa and Spindel. The defense protested that Spindel had been acquitted, that the prosecution had no right now, since he had been adjudged innocent, to splatter him with old charges in a headline-hunting orgy; but Judge Wilson, who had sustained at least one objection to a question about Partin's past before Neal could make it, let Neal continue.

Neal finally began to question Spindel on whether he had told reporters or others that he had intercepts. From page 9159 through 9218 of the record, he hammered at this one point with the obvious purpose of laying the groundwork for a charge based on the contention that, if Spindel had merely said to anyone that he had "intercepts" or "transcripts," he had "divulged."

"It is quite obvious what he is attempting to do, and he has told the press and he has told other people that he is determined to get me on a violation of 605," Spindel told the court. To protect himself, Spindel claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment against possible self-incrimination.

When he did, Neal strode toward him, right arm extended, shaking forefinger pointed at the witness, and said with menace: "You are going to *have* to take it, Mr. Spindel."

The defense protested this threatening of the witness under the judge's nose, and Neal apologized.

Observation by Coincidence

When testimony was taken about the actual surveillance, it quickly became apparent that the government's position was based on a subterfuge as transparent as its contention that Partin had been paid only for his expenses. The ruse here was that the FBI had never "observed" the defendants, their lawyers or witnesses; it had "observed" only a number of other persons — persons with whom of course the defendants and their attorneys were constantly associated—and any "observations" of defendants and attorneys and witnesses had been entirely accidental and counted for nothing.

Everett J. Ingram, the FBI's supervising agent in Knoxville, had had charge of the Chattanooga operation, conducted by some twenty-five agents, corralled from FBI offices in Charlotte, Memphis, Atlanta and other cities. Ingram testified that this squad, using some twelve cars, had been devoted exclusively to the task of watching strictly minor figures: William A. Test, George E. Hicks, John Cleveland, Chuck O'Brien and Spindel. "All of the written instructions, all of the oral instructions were that under no circumstances was any defendant to be placed under surveillance, and neither was any defendant's attorney to be placed under surveillance," Ingram testified.

The first trouble with this idealistic interpretation of events arose when Ingram testified about the photographic surveillance the FBI had set up from a point overlooking the Federal Courthouse in Chattanooga. He conceded that 723 pictures had been taken. He conceded that defendants and their attorneys appeared "by accident" in some of these photographs. Hoffa had been photographed some fourteen times; Silets, probably ten; Harry and Marvin Berke about four or five times each; Branstetter, about five or six times; Allen Dorfman, some fifteen times; even Judge Wilson and Neal and Hooker, of the prosecution's staff, had posed unwittingly for pictures. "I didn't know that," Neal said, surprised.

The object of this wholesale photographing, Ingram explained, was to see if persons kept turning up around the courthouse "who might be here for some ulterior motive." But the FBI had never found any proof of this. One man, it was true, kept doing repeat performances, and the FBI did not know just who he was; he might be of significance later.

Though some persons might consider such photographing of defendants and their attorneys clear evidence of surveillance, the FBI contended it was no such thing. It was just watchfulness. This was an argument that it became more difficult to maintain when testimony was taken about who directly "observed" whom. Carl N. Barrett, an FBI supervisor from Knoxville and the man in charge under Ingram, had some difficulty explaining just how innocent it all was.

Take, for example, the very day that Hoffa came to Chattanooga to stand trial. The FBI was on hand, Barrett conceded, and since it could not very well blindfold itself, it "observed" Hoffa. But this observation was unintentional. The man it was really watching like a hawk at the time was William A. Test. Here is the sequence:

Q. Now, did you ever see Mr. Test in the presence of any of these defendants?

A. At a distance.

Q. Well, which defendant did you see?

A. Mr. Hoffa.

Q. Now, where did you see Mr. Hoffa?

A. When he arrived in Chattanooga, the first trip he made here on a Friday of the first week of this surveillance.

Mr. Hoffa Butts In

Barrett testified that one FBI car followed Test to the airport, a second car picked up Test and Hoffa on the way back to Chattanooga, and his car was parked in a shopping center observing them as they drove past.

Q. So in total as far as you recall there were then three vehicles observing Mr. Test and Mr. Hoffa?

A. They were not observing Mr. Hoffa so far as I was concerned, sir.

Jay Hawkins, an FBI agent who aided in coordinating this Test-Hoffa surveillance, also had a bit of difficulty explaining that the watch was all on Test, not at all on Hoffa.

Q. In the course of observing Mr. Test, did you see any other

individuals who had been associated with this case?

A. I did.

Q. Which individuals did you see?

A. I saw Mr. Hoffa.

Hawkins admitted that he had "reason to believe" that Test might just possibly be in the presence of Hoffa when he was assigned to surveillance of Test, not Hoffa. He was on watch at the 11th Street entrance of the Patten Hotel when Test—and Hoffa—arrived between 4 and 5 P.M., January 17. "I walked past on 11th Street and saw him [Hoffa] there," Hawkins acknowledged.

Just how had he known in advance that Hoffa, beg pardon, Test, was to be there? He couldn't recall how this information came to him. He had been informed that "Test" was on his way to the hotel, and he had walked past to make certain that "Test" had arrived.

The government and the FBI may perhaps pride themselves on the cleverness of this tactic, but it remains a tactic, and one that must cast doubt on the prosecution's methods. The testimony says clearly that Hoffa and his attorneys were being watched, and the government's sensitiveness on the issue—the expedients to which it went to contend that it wasn't doing what patently it was doing—says that it knew it was trespassing on the defendants' right to a fair trial.

'Justice Itself'

Judge Wilson sentenced Hoffa on March 12, 1964. The term: eight years; the fine: $10,000. The three men convicted with Hoffa—King, Campbell and Parks—were each fined $5,000 and sentenced to three years in prison. Jacques Schiffer, the fiery New York counsel for Parks, was charged by the judge with "willful and criminal contempt," fined $1,000 and sentenced to sixty days in jail. Schiffer's persistent attacks on the administration of justice, Judge Wilson said, had constituted "an attempt to degrade and debase this court." Schiffer asked for a hearing before another judge, which Judge Wilson refused to grant; he then declared that he would appeal the contempt citation to the U. S. Supreme Court.

In passing sentence on Hoffa, Judge Wilson denounced the stocky Teamster boss in scathing terms. Then he said this:

"You stand here convicted of seeking to corrupt the administration of justice itself. You stand here convicted of having tampered, really, with the very soul of this nation. You stand here convicted of having struck at the very foundation upon which everything else in this nation depends, the basis of civilization itself, and that is the administration of justice, because without a fair, proper and lawful administration of justice, nothing else would be possible in this country, the administration of labor unions, the administration of business, the carrying on of occupations, the carrying on of recreation, the administration of health services, everything that we call civilization depends ultimately upon the proper administration of justice itself."

With this view of the role of justice in American society, every American can agree. And that is the transcendent importance of the Hoffa case.

The trial may have begun as the trial of Jimmy Hoffa. It ended as the trial of the system of justice in the United States. For this, the U. S. Department of Justice and Judge Wilson must share at least part of the blame.

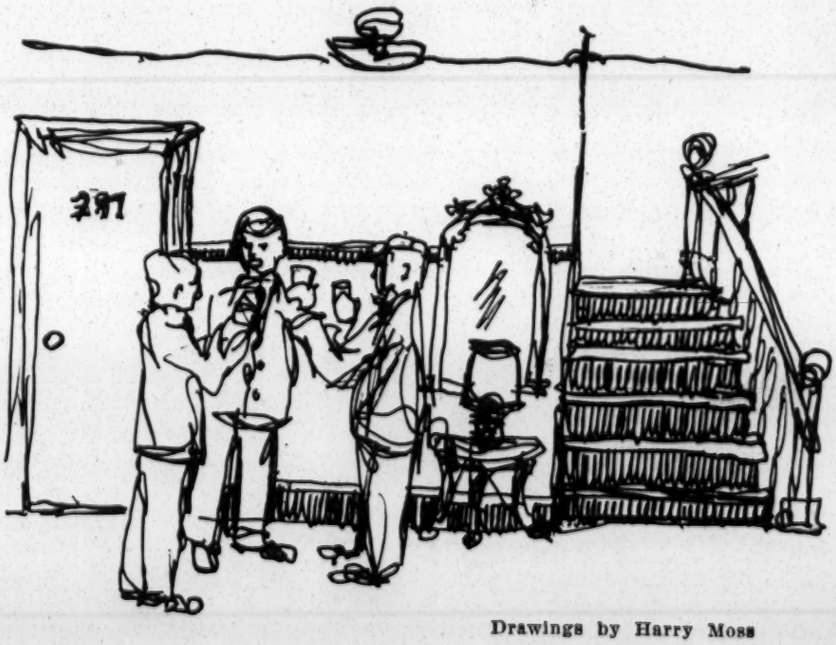
The record is poisoned by repeated and admitted distortions by witnesses called by the government.

It is a record loaded with suggestions of threat and intimidation, threats of indictment and loss of jobs—and, most significantly, this testimony comes not alone from defense witnesses, who might be discounted, but from prosecution witnesses like Mutt Pitts and Trooper Paschall, who can hardly be discounted.

This is a record scarred from beginning to end with evasiveness, deceit, unfairness on the part of the government—a case born in the impropriety of planting an informer in Hoffa's suite, founded on the quibble that this impropriety did not taint the charge it produced, rationalized by the untenable contention that the informer was not an informer when he went to inform, jeopardized by the statements of government witnesses that the informer was not being paid, and finally discredited by a system of surveillance and espionage of the defense in the act of trying to defend itself, a performance cloaked in the quibble that it was not doing what patently it was doing, a performance that vitiated basic guarantees of the American system of justice.

It does not matter that the defendant was Hoffa. What matters is that it could and did happen. For when this kind of system prevails, any man and every man accused by authority can be condemned, innocent or guilty, on the authoritative justification that he is a bad man and belongs in prison.

The Hoffa case, Hoffa has said, will be appealed to the highest court in the land. It should be—and it should be heard. In the meantime, there are indications that the legal processes of appeal



Drawings by Harry Moss

will not halt the jungle war in Chattanooga.

The latest phase of this war was touched off by the activities of Hoffa's investigators in seeking evidence to justify a new trial. On March 10, Hoffa's attorneys filed with the court a series of affidavits alleging that the government, throughout the trial, had wined and feted the sequestered jurors in an almost unending carousal. The affidavits were from bellhops, elevator operators and other employees of the hotel where the jurors were quartered; all told of liquor being delivered to the jurors and of jurors standing around in the hallway, clinking glasses in hand.

One of the affidavits was signed by Mrs. Dorothy Vaughn, of 420 Oak Street, Chattanooga. During the trial, Mrs. Vaughn deposed, one of the federal marshals in charge of the jurors rented a room from a neighbor, Mrs. Margaret Daves. On the night of February 21, Mrs. Vaughn happened to visit her neighbor and saw a number of gifts scattered on the kitchen table.

Asked who the gifts were for, the marshal replied, "For my jurors." Mrs. Vaughn counted sixteen gifts on the table, the right number if a gift were being presented to each juror and each alternate.

When the gift-wrapping was finished, another federal marshal named Jack Erwin or Ervins came into the house. He was to deliver the packages to the jurors. During the discussion, Mrs. Vaughn asserted, this second marshal said of Hoffa: "That little imped son-of-a-bitch, that cocky bastard. We're doing everything in our power to convict him. We're going to convict him one way or another. We know he's guilty, and we're going to convict him." When the marshal called Hoffa an S.O.B., he struck the table so hard he knocked a glass over, Mrs. Vaughn said.

This post-trial challenge brought a government riposte. A special grand jury in Chattanooga indicted Charles (Chuck) O'Brien, Hoffa's protégé, on a charge of having offered one of the jurors who had convicted Hoffa $25,000 for an affidavit saying that Hoffa had not had a fair trial. Clearly, the war of affidavits, of indictments, goes on and on.

What, then, at this point, are the issues that have been raised by the Hoffa trial in Chattanooga?

They fall into two categories. The first concerns the legal issues raised by the trial itself, and these, it is to be presumed, will be threshed out in the appellate courts. The second concerns the broader, the all-inclusive aspects of the very quality of justice.

The Thin Line of Justice

Justice is more than a process or a set of procedures, important as these are. In the last analysis, justice rests on a state of mind, a climate of opinion within and without the courtroom, a determination to see to it that the rules and procedures are followed and that the rights of the defendant, any defendant, are respected. A thin line always separates the kind of zeal that is justifiable from the ruthlessness which should form no part of the processes of justice. This line vanishes when jungle warfare invades the judicial process.

This, then, is the real issue of the Hoffa trial: Was justice placed in hazard by a form of jungle warfare? To ask the question is to raise the issues that devolve from the trial itself. A cardinal one involves the operation of the Communications Act under which a defendant places himself in jeopardy if he presumes to gather evidence to show that federal agents have him under constant surveillance. Federal agents may use radio communications to aid them in their surveillance, but if the defendant, having intercepted the calls, endeavors to submit what he has heard as evidence, he runs the risk of a criminal charge. Can a defendant properly make his case under such a one-sided arrangement?

The whole development and use of the technology of modern electronic eavesdropping raises other and vital issues. When electronic ears can pick up conversations on a street a block away, when telephone lines can be tapped without being physically tampered with, what becomes of a defendant's right to privacy, of his opportunity to plan and conduct his defense? Where is he to consult with his lawyer — in a soundproof vault? Granted that in the Chattanooga trial the prosecution had a right, a duty, to be vigilant, does this justify some of the methods used?

There are other broad constitutional questions. The original Jencks decision went a long way to provide defendants with safeguards against the formidable investigatory powers of the FBI. Congress itself acted to water down that decision, and the advantage which the prosecution took of the loopholes raises the inevitable question: Has the Jencks decision, in effect, been nullified?

And then there is the problem of the paid informer and the Justice Department's "confidential fund." If witnesses, by Congressional fiat, should not be paid for their testimony, other than regular per diem fees and mileage expenses, how is one to assess the circuitous Partin payments? In Chattanooga, after the government had acknowledged the Partin payments from the "confidential fund," Hoffa charged that this fund totals $600,000 and that it is used extensively to pay informers. Is this true? And how extensive is the use? These are vital questions.

Though the courts may be expected to deal in their own time with the judicial aspects of the Hoffa trial, it is obvious that many of the broader and more fundamental issues posed by that trial go far beyond the limits of judicial review—and that these issues affect justice in the most basic sense. Probably these issues could never have been perceived except through such a clash of power as developed in the Hoffa trial. The average individual defendant does not have the resources to hire experts to prove wire tapping and surveillance, to engage the high-priced legal counsel which only at long last and by maximum effort extracted the information about the Partin payments and the confidential fund. The significance of the Hoffa trial is that, at Chattanooga, two behemoths clashed—the federal government with its overwhelming investigative resources, and Hoffa, heading his own Teamster power complex and able to match power with power. In the collision, basic practices of the Justice Department were exposed; fundamental questions about the processes of justice were raised. These questions must be answered — and only Congress can probe the issues and answer them.

Regardless of the outcome of Hoffa's individual case on appeal, Congress should examine the record to determine whether federal law enforcement is becoming a law unto itself.

Rec'd file 6/11/65

PW
BP
LWD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20530

June 7, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Attorney General has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for sending him a copy of your letter to Senator Paul Douglas regarding the judicial vacancies on the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi.

Your comments have been carefully noted and the interest you have shown in this matter by writing us your views is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Friesen

Ernest C. Friesen, Jr.
Assistant Deputy Attorney General

File - U.S. Govt - Dept. of Justice

August 19, 1965

Mr. John Doar
Assistant Attorney-General
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

In mid-October I am going out to the University of Michigan, where I am to give this year's William W. Cook Lectures. I would be greatly helped, especially with one of the lectures, if I could talk out some questions with you. I know how your schedule is both crowded and uncertain, but if you could see an hour and half or two anytime during the day (or evening), I could come up on almost no notice. The only dates I could not would be between September 7 - 11 (and even then could between breakfast and dinner flights), September 15, and October 1 or 4.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

January 14, 1966

Mr. Jack Rosenthal
Attorney-General's Office
Room 5114
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Enclosed are several pieces of information about the Southern Regional Council:

(1) A brief flier on SRC
(2) An issue of New South containing the major policy statements
(3) A list of the officers and members of the Council
(4) The annual report of the director for the year 1964

In this last document note especially the reprint of an article by Les Dunbar describing SRC and a summary report on pages 1-5 of the Voter Project. With luck the Director's report for 1965 will be available in about two weeks and we will send you that updated account of program.

Since our phone conversation this morning we have begun work on the dinner and are enthusiastic about the positive results that can come from it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

January 19, 1966

Mr. Jack Rosenthal
Director of Public Information
US Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Jack:

Thank you for the copy of the Attorney-General's Mobile speech which I read carefully, as well as with interest, last night.

It is an excellent speech, and certainly the tone and thinking would be appropriate for the Atlanta address. In fact, I think statements could be lifted directly from it. This is particularly true of Sections III, IV, and V.

None of the press coverage which came to our attention covered adequately the quality or the strength of this speech. I would hope we could get better coverage at the Atlanta affair.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DIRECTOR
OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

Department of Justice

Washington 20530

Rec'd 1/17/66

14 January 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
No. 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here is the Mobile speech I promised to send. I would be grateful to you if you could read through it and advise me whether you think it is the kind of speech that would be appropriate for the Atlanta meeting we have discussed. I do not mean a reprise; much will have changed by then. I do mean with respect to tone, intensity, and so on.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Jack Rosenthal

Jack Rosenthal
Director of Public Information

Attachment

Via Air Mail

Department of Justice

FOR RELEASE: ON DELIVERY
EXPECTED ABOUT 4 P.M. CST

ADDRESS BY
ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH
at the
EMANCIPATION DAY CEREMONIES
Mobile, Alabama Municipal Auditorium
Sunday, January 2, 1966

I thank you for your welcome. It is a much warmer welcome than I experienced the last time I came to Alabama, as a visiting lecturer in constitutional law at the University of Alabama.

Then, the admission of the first two Negro students to the University brought crisis. Today, only 30 months later, in all parts of the University, 400 Negro students have passed through that schoolhouse door.

Then, I came to talk to one man about his responsibility under law. Today, you have invited me to come and join with you in talking about the responsibility of every person to American citizenship

Then, I came because I had to. Today, I have come because I want to.

I

On the afternoon of New Year's Day 103 years ago, Secretary of State William Seward and his son took a short walk on a historic errand. They walked from the old State Department Building in Washington across the street to deliver a document personally to the President of the United States.

The document lacked only the signature of the President, and as Lincoln dipped his pen, he paused, pen in air. "I never in my life," he said, "felt more certain that I was doing right, than I do in signing this paper."

The language of that document was legalistic, formal and dry. But its meaning was clear:

> "...(A)ll persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever, free..."

The Emancipation Proclamation, perhaps the most important document of freedom since the Declaration of Independence, was transmitted around the nation and around the world, to be read with exaltation then and for generations after.

And yet the goal was only partly won. The Proclamation, the great war it punctuated, and the noble ordinances added to the Constitution after the war succeeded in ending slavery. They did not succeed in ending the caste system.

The goal may have been opportunity for each man, Negro and white, to share in the American quest for dignity and development -- opportunity unimpaired by the ugly ballast of old ways.

But the goal was obscured by clouds of history. As no visitor need tell you, the Negro was made a nominal citizen, but all too often he has not been permitted to live like one. All too often, he has been denied the basic rights and obligations and opportunities on which rest both full citizenship and personal dignity. And this has been true throughout our Nation.

What has been the cost of this deprivation? It cannot be measured. We may be able to tabulate the unusual and the sensational -- the victims of the bomb, the bullet, and the burning cross. But who can calculate the price the nation has paid for the imprisonment of spirit behind walls of discrimination and degradation.

The reasons for the nation's failure after 1865 may be debated by historians; the unarguable fact is that we as a nation failed. But now, a century later, we have been given that rarest of things in the history of nations -- a second chance.

As President Johnson observed last June in his profound address at Howard University:

"It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American nation and, in so doing, to find America for ourselves, with the same immense thrill of discovery which gripped those who first began to realize that here, at last, was a home for freedom."

That huge wrong will be righted:

-- when the opportunity each man has for education, employment, for advancement and for the care of his family is the same, regardless of color;

-- when the opportunity each man has to influence the affairs of his town, his state or his country is the same, regardless of color;

-- and when the respect accorded each man by others is a reflection of his character, not of his color.

We have a second chance; this time we must succeed; and the starting point is the vote.

II

The right to vote was explicitly guaranteed to Negroes by the 15th Amendment 95 years ago. It was reaffirmed by Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1957, in the Civil Rights Act of 1960, in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But each time, the will of Congress was tarnished by evasion and delay.

Last year before Selma, only a third of the 3.3 million Negroes of voting age in the South had been able to register to vote. In Mississippi it was less than one-tenth -- in Alabama less than one-quarter. It remained necessary for President Johnson to seek and for Congress to enact the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The first command of the new Act is to local voting officials throughout the South. That command is not unusual or excessive. It is simply to register all voter applicants freely, fairly, and conveniently and permit them to vote in the same way.

To their great credit and to the credit of the people of the South, that command was not even necessary in many counties. The right of all citizens to vote was acknowledged and accepted. And even in most of the counties where there was discrimination before the Act, voting officials are obeying its command.

We are seeing the same kind of encouraging, widespread compliance with the Voting Rights Act that we saw in many cities with the public accommodations section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

There is a lesson in that fact for those in the North who too often take hooded Klansmen to be the symbol of the white Southerner. There are many white citizens in the South who have always stood for human rights and for social justice even at risk to themselves. There are many white leaders and white organizations who have worked to breathe life into Negro rights.

There are also, surely, many whites in the South, just as there are in the North, who are too often bound by old ways, who are grudging in accepting change. But even they, in great majority, respect and obey the law which binds us together as one nation, one people.

You have seen that obedience take effect here in southern Alabama. In Mobile County, 44 percent of the adult Negroes are now registered. In Choctaw County, the figure is 45 percent. In Washington County, it is 60 percent.

In other counties, the total is lower, but the gains since the Voting Rights Act have been encouraging. In Conecuh and Clarke Counties, Negro registration has increased 22 percent in four months, to about 36 percent of the voting age Negro population. In Sumter County, it has gone up from 4 percent to 25 percent.

At the same time, as many of you have good reason to know, there have been a number of counties and parishes in the South in which there has been full compliance.

In some counties, for example, registrars have treated Negro applicants relatively fairly in other respects, but have insisted that they be literate.

This is not full compliance with the law, for it expressly forbids literacy as a qualification for voting.

In other cases, local registrars have accepted illiterate applicants, but they have conducted such infrequent or inconvenient registration that applicants have had to wait long hours -- or even, when the office closed -- until the next month.

This is not full compliance with the law, and not even with their responsibility as registrars. The Voting Rights Act imposes on them a positive duty to correct the effects of decades of past discrimination. Alabama state law imposes on them the duty to register all entitled to registration "in as expeditious a manner as possible."

In the past, registrars in Alabama and elsewhere have accommodated white registration drives by staying open late and extra days. Now that there is an opportunity for large numbers of Negroes to register, registrars have a like obligation to accommodate them through extra registration days, extra registrars, evening hours, and precinct registration.

The test is simple: Registrars should keep their offices open long enough to make registration easy. Under normal conditions, normal hours suffice, for new registration normally consists largely of citizens who have come of voting age. At this time, conditions are not normal because Negroes have been unconstitutionally kept from the polls. Thus hours of registration must be increased.

But in too many cases, they have not been. Registrars have persisted in conducting only a few days of registration each week -- or each month.

I said a moment ago that the first command of the Voting Rights Act was to local officials. But it is in cases like these that the Voting Rights Act speaks with absolute clarity to the federal government. The message of the Act and the heart of our policy under the Act is simple:

If the local registrar will not register qualified Negroes fully, freely, and conveniently -- as is his responsibility -- the law calls on me to send in federal examiners who will.

Or, to put it another way, any qualified Negro citizen who wants to register to vote will be registered.

That is the will of the Congress of the United States. That is my duty as a law enforcement officer.

As the President said when he signed the Voting Rights Act: "If any county anywhere in the nation does not want federal intervention it need only open its polling places to all of its people."

The combination of voluntary compliance in most counties and federal examiners in 36 others has resulted, so far, in identifiable gains.

At the time President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act in August, there were 532,000 Negroes registered in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Since then, the 80,000 registered by federal examiners and the 160,000 registered by local officials has brought the total to more than 840,000 -- an increase of 41 percent. In Alabama, the number of Negroes registered has gone from 106,000 to 176,000, or from 22 percent to nearly 40 percent.

It is possible to look back over this progress and tell ourselves how far we have come in less than five months. And we have come far. But what these figures more surely reflect is how far there is still to go.

For there are more than 900,000 Negroes still unregistered in the seven states covered by the Act. More than half the adult Negroes of the South are still not participating in this most basic act of citizenship.

It is my responsibility, as a federal official, to see that every one of those 900,000 who wants to register and vote is free to do so. It is all our responsibility, as citizens, to see that every one of those 900,000 -- as every citizen should -- wants to vote and participate in the decisions of a free society.

The principal remaining official barrier is inadequate access to the registrar's office for Negroes seeking to register. For that reason I will be sending out letters later this week to every one of the 518 registrars covered by the Voting Rights Act explaining in considerable detail our view of their responsibilities concerning access.

III

Yet even if we strike down all the legal barriers; even if we make it possible for every qualified Negro to register, two very real barriers remain.

The first is fear.

What is the gain for democracy if a Negro is free to register but is afraid to try? What is the gain if a Negro, who has registered, is afraid then to vote?

I have a message for those noisy few who may entertain thoughts of trying to frighten or coerce a Negro citizen -- or any citizen -- from trying to register or vote: If you do, you will have the federal government to reckon with.

Not long ago, a number of landowners tried to evict Negroes who went to register with the federal examiner in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. Those landowners are now defendants in a federal case and a temporary court order already has been issued against them.

And we will not hesitate to act just as quickly on evidence of other attempts at intimidation, in any county. Investigations of possible intimidation efforts are now underway in both Lowndes and Wilcox Counties.

In addition, we are already making preparations against the chance of even more damaging intimidation -- at election time:

1. I plan, shortly, to send letters to the voting officials of every county and precinct covered by the Voting Rights Act explaining to them their duties -- and our duties -- under the Act. I expect and hope that these duties will be well and faithfully performed.

2. We already have begun to familiarize ourselves with the locations of polling places both in counties where federal examiners are serving and in counties where they are not.

I think back to the example of a Southern county some years ago. Four hundred Negroes managed, finally, to register to vote. But none of them went to the polls the next day. On the night before the election, the Klan rode.

There must and will be an end to such rides. In this city, and in many cities like Mobile, we can count on local law enforcement to deal effectively with lawlessness and intimidation. But let me make it clear now that where this is not the case, night riders will ride straight into the federal government.

IV

I spoke, a moment ago, about two remaining barriers. One is fear. The other, closely related, is will.

No white man, Southern or Northern, can preach to the American Negro about will. The nation sought, starting with the Emancipation Proclamation, to make the Negro a full and participating member of society.

But too often we have called on the Negro for patience, for hope and for courage and given little in return. For a century, these have provided thin nourishment to a people seeking factual freedom. And yet the American Negro has responded with unquestioning faith and patriotism.

How much patriotism is evident from the American casualty lists in Viet Nam. More than 30 Alabamans have been killed in action; the November list includes the names of Corporal Eddie Hill and Private First Class Sherman Otis, both from Mobile, both Negroes, who were killed during the fighting at Plei Me.

Legions of other Negroes, with similar devotion to this country, have courageously demonstrated their will.

I think, for example, of Thurgood Marshall, now my distinguished colleague in the Department of Justice as Solicitor General, whose vision, legal brilliance, and energy propelled the civil rights movement to its great victories in the courts.

I think of Vivian Malone, a daughter of Mobile, who broke the color bar at Tuscaloosa. She had to conquer repeated delay before she was finally admitted, after three years. She had to conquer loneliness after she was admitted. But she conquered both and broke a path for others seeking simply the best education their state could give them.

I think of Albert Turner, one of twelve children of a Perry County sharecropper. He became a bricklayer and by 1962 was earning $5,500, which I don't need to tell you is a lot of money for a Negro in rural Alabama. But he left his trade to begin a voter registration drive. After months of work, he succeeded in getting 40 Negroes registered. After more months, another 110 were registered. Now there are 2,500 more because the cases that grew out of Albert Turner's work served as one of the principal models for President Johnson's Voting Rights Act.

I think of the Tuskegee Civic Association, organized more than 35 years ago. Throughout the 1950s, the Association battled against odds in Alabama. The city was gerrymandered against Negroes. The registrars simply stopped functioning rather than register Negroes. But by June of 1962, the Association had won a landmark Supreme Court case. Negroes were being registered and approached a majority. And now, there are two Negroes on the five-man City Council. Negroes serve as Justices of the Peace, in the Police Department, and one has been elected to the Board of Education.

I think of the Negroes of Dallas County, where between 1954 and 1962 only 12 Negroes had been registered to vote. Yet, because of the efforts of the Dallas Voters League they kept on trying to register -- some of them 18, 19, 20 times. A major factor in the spirit of the Negro citizens of Dallas County were the young people who came to Selma in early 1963 to help in registration drives -- and who stayed. They gave encouragement and developed a momentum that has borne fruit. Within weeks after federal examiners were sent to Dallas County, Negro registration went from 1,400 to nearly 8,000.

And I think of hundreds and thousands of other individual Negroes striving not for privilege or favor but for what is rightfully theirs: the dignity and the opportunity of full, participating citizenship.

There can be no question that the Negro, schooled by generations of adversity, has the will.

The task is to apply it to the vote. When I say this, I do not mean merely the physical fact of voting; I mean the kind of responsible citizenship for which the vote is only the membership card.

This gathering today -- which so many organizations have joined to sponsor -- is evidence of your understanding of that task. And the fact that it takes place in Mobile, in a beautiful auditorium which has been desegregated since it was built, is a tribute to the enlightenment of this city.

What is remarkable about this gathering, after all, is not that a member of the President's Cabinet has come here to speak. It is that you have come, from as far away as Montgomery and Selma, to demonstrate your devotion to the importance of the responsibilities -- as well as the rights -- of citizenship.

The task ahead is not an easy one. It will require hard work, responsible leadership, heart, spirit and understanding from every minister, every teacher, every leader and every citizen.

V

As we meet here today, the winds of change are snapping at the wrinkled leaves of custom. The old ways are fading. The power and promise of America's future are radiating to every section and every state.

It is so in Alabama as elsewhere. At the end of the war, the population of the state was 64 percent rural and 36 percent urban. Today those figures are exactly reversed.

The State Chamber of Commerce has just today announced $600 million in new capital investment in 1965 -- compared with $48 million in 1947.

Per capita income has increased from less than half the national average in 1929 to two-thirds today.

This is growth and change shared by the proud and historic city of Mobile, now the seventh largest port in the nation, shipping not only cotton but, increasingly, fabricated metals, paper products, and chemicals.

The success and promise of a city, a state, or a nation cannot be measured alone, however, in industry or technology. The test of a society's vitality is not the wealth it offers to some of its citizens. The test, rather, must be the opportunity and the rights that society offers to all.

I cannot help but think that our children and grandchildren one day will look back to the United States of 1966 -- North, South, East, and West -- and, with a puzzlement similar to ours over witchtrials in Massachusetts or the denials of women's suffrage, will ask:

"Why? What took so long?" And their questions will not refer only to the vote, but to all aspects of Negro life.

They will look back and see a nation plunging into the Age of Space and wonder how we could permit the waste of so many talents, so many resources.

They will look back and see the problems of swelling cities and automation and wonder how we could allow ourselves to be distracted and shackled by fixations over race.

And they will look back and recognize how the American Negro advanced not only himself, but helped the nation overcome the waste, overcome the injustice, and break out of that bondage.

They will see a people which had suffered wrongs for generations, but which sought to correct those wrongs within the democratic system -- and with faith in that system.

They will see -- in short -- a new emancipation.

A century ago, it was Lincoln who emancipated the Negro. A generation hence, we may very well recognize that it was the Negro who helped to emancipate the Nation.

Rec'd 3/14/66

MJ

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON

JACOB ROSENTHAL

10 March 1966

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your good letter and for your thoughtfulness in enclosing the clippings from the Atlanta papers.

I also appreciate your word of encouragement, having left Atlanta with the feeling that in some quarters at least, the visit was not an unqualified success.

As I think I said before, my only real regret, however, is not to have had more of a chance to talk with you about other than mechanical details, and I very much look forward to the opportunity of doing so in the future.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Jack

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File U.S. Govt - Dept. of Justice
Nicholas Katzenbach

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
EXPECTED AT 1 P.M. EST.

ADDRESS

by

ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH

to the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Marriott Motel, Atlanta, Georgia

Monday, February 28, 1966

I.

I thank you for the honor you pay me in inviting me here. But it is, rather, for me to honor you, the Southern Regional Council, for more than two decades of careful, courageous, and consistent devotion to the afflictions and the aspirations of the South.

The increasing commitment of the nation toward both the humanity and the rightfulness of human rights is in no small part the result of your activity and I am pleased to join with you.

We are seeing that commitment accelerate almost daily. Indeed, even within the past year, we have witnessed a quiet revolution.

A year ago, our attention was fastened on what was, in some areas, perhaps the only type of democratic expression possible for Negroes -- demonstrations in the streets. Today, we join to devote still broader concern to the scope and speed with which Negroes can now exercise the basic form of democratic expression -- the vote.

The vote, indeed, is so basic that some regard it as a small, even a cheap right -- to be defaulted lightly. But that small, cheap right can change a region -- and a nation. And it is that high purpose that joins us together now.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 issued three commands.

One is to local officials. It is neither revolutionary nor difficult. It is simply: register all voter applicants freely, fairly, and conveniently, and permit them to vote in the same way.

The second command is to the federal government. It says: where local officials do not do so, it is the

government's responsibility to supply federal representatives who will.

And finally, the message of the Act to the leaders and supporters of the movement for equal rights is: you will be able to register and vote in the next election, but it is you who must do so.

We gather today at the confluence of all three streams. Individually, each can have effect. But it is only by their convergence that we can surely bring on the pent-up tide of participation, power, and responsibility that give meaning and worth to democracy.

II.

In some parts of the South, the right of all citizens to vote was acknowledged, accepted, and freely acted on long before August, 1965. The aim of the new law was already fact.

In other areas, where discrimination in voting had been practiced, the requirements of the Act are being obeyed.

Under the Voting Rights Act, local officials had, by February 1, registered more than 56,000 Negro voters in Alabama, 53,000 in Louisiana, 51,000 in Mississippi, 24,000

in South Carolina, and 17,000 in Georgia. The total Negro registration as a result of voluntary compliance hence exceeds 200,000.

But there are still other areas where the response has been grudging, token compliance, areas where even public officials have put maintaining the old ways above maintaining the law. It is they who make necessary the second command of the Voting Rights Act.

The responsibility of the federal government under the Act is to insure full compliance with the right to vote. We have acted on that command.

In some counties, for example, registrars began to treat Negro applicants fairly in other respects but continued to apply literacy tests. This is not full compliance with the law; it suspends the imposition of a literacy standard on Negroes now by counties which rarely if ever imposed it on whites in the past.

Where this has been the case, we have dispatched federal voting examiners.

In other counties, local registrars have dealt fairly with Negro applicants and have abandoned use of literacy

tests. But despite the new Act, they have continued infrequent or inconvenient registration schedules.

This is not full compliance with the law, or even with the basic responsibilities of any registrar to provide reasonable access, not merely to meet minimum requirements. Where this has been the case we have dispatched federal examiners -- and will, if necessary, send more.

As I noted in letters recently to all registrars affected by the Act, the criterion is simple. Registrars should stay open often enough to make registration easy. In normal times, normal hours suffice. But these are not normal times. Negroes, long deprived of free opportunities to register, now seek to do so.

Registration officials should take affirmative steps to meet this demand, the product of decades of past discrimination. And there is much they can do -- add registration clerks, extend hours, increas the number of registration sites, and publicize the times and the free opportunity to register.

The vote, after all, is not a privilege, to be stingily dispensed. It is a right, to be made available freely. Where local officials do not thus take steps to

make registration and voting accessible, it is my duty to do so.

A major case in point is Birmingham -- Jefferson County, Alabama. Registration officials there were not discriminating against individual applicants. They dropped the literacy test. But they responded only grudgingly to the fact that 90,000 Negroes were not registered and under the Act should have been free to do so.

After discussions with the Department of Justice beginning early in December, they took some steps to increase registration capacity, but even these fell far short. More than half the unregistered Negroes in the county still would not have had even an opportunity to apply for registration before the deadline for the May 3 Alabama primary.

Nonetheless, the local officials would take no further steps to increase access -- steps they have taken in the past to meet heavy white registration demand.

The result, five weeks ago, was the appointment of federal examiners. As many as 20 examiners have been working in Jefferson County, first in three locations and now in eight.

The result of accelerated local registration coupled now with examiners has been striking. When President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act last August 6, there were 26,255 Negroes registered in Jefferson County--22.6 percent of the voting-age Negro population.

On January 17, the day I designated Jefferson County for examiners, there were 41,930 Negroes registered--36.1 percent. Today, the figure exceeds 58,000 and the percentage exceeds 50 percent.

Overall, examiners working in Birmingham and in 36 other counties have now registered more than 100,000 Negro citizens. Added to the more than 200,000 registered voluntarily by local officials, the total number of Negroes now registered in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina exceeds 900,000, nearly 40 percent of those eligible.

I hope and expect that by the time of the next election in each of these states, more than half of the voting-age Negro population will register--and will vote.

III.

Full and fair opportunity to register need not mean that the registrar's office must be thronged at every hour of every day. At the same time, no amount of accessibility can provide more than opportunity.

Thus it was that President Johnson articulated the third command of the Voting Rights Act when he signed it last August:

"Presidents and Congresses, laws and lawsuits, can open the doors to the polling places....But only the individual Negro, and all others who have been denied the right to vote, can really walk through those doors and can use that right and can transform the vote into an instrument of justice and fulfillment."

The degree and energy with which the leaders of the movement for equal rights have recognized and acted on the truth of those words is evident.

I think, for example, of Dallas County, Alabama, where between 1954 and 1962 only 12 Negroes were registered. But the Negroes of the county kept on trying to register--some of them 18, 19, 20 times.

A major factor in their spirit was the group of young people who came to Selma in early 1963 to help in registration drives--and who stayed. The momentum they gave has borne fruit. Within weeks after federal examiners were sent to Dallas County last August, Negro registration went from 1,400 to more than 7,000. Now it is over 10,000 and nearing 70 percent.

I think of Albert Turner, one of twelve children of a Perry County, Alabama sharecropper who gave up his trade to begin a voter registration drive. After months of effort, there were still less than 500 Negroes registered. But now there are more than 3,300 registered because the cases that grew out of Albert Turner's work were among the principal models for the Voting Rights Act.

I think of the last Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, which resulted in the registration of some 700,000 Negroes in 11 states. The success of that project seems even more remarkable considering that it came entirely before the Voting Rights Act struck down so many of the barriers.

And finally, even though we have taken Wiley Branton away from you, I think of the new Voter Education Project on which you have now embarked. Its need is great and, with

the assistance of the Voting Rights Act, its potential is outstanding.

In many counties, discrimination has ended and Negroes have registered in a flood, even without examiners. But in many other counties, discrimination has ended and Negro registration has remained a trickle.

--In Calhoun County, South Carolina, for example, Negro registration has increased since the Act from 14 to 44 percent. But in Anderson County, it has increased from 27.3 percent to only 28 percent.

--In Choctaw County, Alabama, Negro registration has increased by 1,600, to 63 percent. But in Chambers County, it has increased only 200, to only 18 percent.

In these and many other counties, it is not the presence or absence of federal examiners that makes the difference. Indeed, extremes nearly as great can be shown among counties to which examiners have been sent.

For example, examiners have made a spectacular difference in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, where the percentage of Negroes registered has gone from 2 percent to 79 percent. But what of East Feliciana Parish, which also

has examiners, but which has gaone from 3 percent to only 36 percent?

Even the federal and local registration figures within a single county can be instructive. In Coahoma County, Mississippi, for example, federal examiners have registered 3,100 Negroes. But meanwhile, local officials who had enrolled only a thousand prior to the 1965 Act, have now registered 2,300 more.

To illustrate my point in still another way, only a handful of Negroes were registered in East Carroll Parish, Louisiana, before examiners were sent. Now the total is 2,696. But we did not send examiners to adjacent Madison Parish. It also had only a token number of Negroes registered -- and now there are 2,666.

The lesson of these statistics -- and of like figures in scores of other counties -- is that it is neither local compliance nor federal examiners which makes the crucial difference.

As the sustained efforts of this Council and the organizations represented here today make clear, the most important generating factor is local organization. Counties which have seen extensive Negro registration, whether by

local officials or by federal examiners, are counties in which registration campaigns have been conducted. In counties without such campaigns, even the presence of examiners has been of limited gain.

Surely part of the reason for slight registration in a number of areas is evident. Negroes may be formally, legally free to register, but fear remains, fear well-based on past experience and present threats.

One answer is federal action -- of the kind we already have taken in court and will, in all likelihood take in the future, not only regarding registration, but also regarding the still more damaging intimidation that can occur at election time.

As I observed to an Emancipation Day ceremony in Mobile last month, I have a message for those who may think of trying to frighten or coerce Negro citizens -- or any citizens -- from trying to register or vote. If you do, you will have the federal government to reckon with.

The still more effective antidote to intimidation, however, flows directly from energetic registration efforts and that is numbers. Two men or twenty men can be threatened, fired, or harassed; but not a thousand. Not only is it

impossible to intimidate large numbers, but large-scale exercise of the vote changes the attitudes that might otherwise breed intimidation.

IV.

We have, so far, seen substantial gains. The number of Negroes registered in the five states principally affected by the Voting Rights Act has increased from 588,000 to more than 900,000. It is even possible for us to look back over this gain and tell ourselves how far we have come.

But what these figures more surely reflect is how far there is still to go. For more than half the adult Negroes of the South still are not participating in this most basic act of citizenship. None of us can be satisfied until they do.

And so I come today to congratulate you -- and the foundations which have provided such necessary and responsible support -- for undertaking this new Voter Education Project.

I know you face intricate and widespread problems. Registration, after all, is only the first of many steps. Unless it is to be a hollow exercise, it must be followed

by voting.

That may be a painfully obvious relationship to someone who has voted often and freely in the past. It may not be so obvious to a Negro sharecropper who has never before entered a polling place and who has never before had to study a ballot.

Stimulating registration must be supplemented by mobilization of registered but reluctant voters. Both must be supplemented by education of those to whom the mechanics of the political process are strange. And all require local organization of the kind so successfully built by the last VEP.

At the same time, the effect of organization, education, and mobilization is not limited to potential voters. What may be quite as significant is the educational impact on the teachers -- the hundreds and even thousands of workers, paid and unpaid, who are the foundation of VEP. Their work is a signal reflection of the duties of citizenship. It is also a lesson in responsible local leadership.

This is leadership that must go beyond voting, beyond solely Negro interests and extend to strengthening the capacities of every community in the South.

The goal, after all, of our efforts under the Voting Rights Act and your efforts in undertakings like the Voter Education Project is not mere numbers. The day of equality will not come merely when Negroes can and do vote freely throughout the South, nor when they elect Negro candidates just because they are Negro. There would be little majesty in an equality that is so superficial.

The concerns of the past have been almost exclusively racial -- and understandably so. Leslie Dunbar has written, "Race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations."

But we are, even now, arriving at the time when the civil rights movement can and should turn from protest to affirmation, from a force against discrimination to a major affirmative force in the life not only of the Negroes of the South but of all the South.

We are, even now, approaching the time when Southerners can and should join, not as Negroes and whites, but as progressive men to forge progressive answers to common problems.

"Freedom is a good horse," Matthew Arnold wrote, "but a horse to ride somewhere."

MJ - file

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

"VOTING RIGHTS CONFERENCE"

MONDAY, MAY 16, 1966
CONFERENCE ROOM A, DEPARTMENTAL AUDITORIUM
13TH STREET AND CONSTITUTION AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

AGENDA

9:00 A.M. to 9:30 A.M.....REGISTRATION
MRS. REGINA BAILEY IN CHARGE

9:30 A.M.....CONFERENCE OPENING REMARKS
WILEY A. BRANTON
CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN

9:40 A.M.....GENERAL EXPLANATION OF VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965
STEPHEN J. POLLAK
FIRST ASSISTANT, CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION

10:00 A.M.....ADDRESS
HON. NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

10:30 A.M.....TEN MINUTE COFFEE BREAK

10:40 A.M.....REVIEW OF THE RECENT ALABAMA PRIMARY ELECTIONS
D. ROBERT OWEN, CHIEF
SOUTHWESTERN SECTION

11:15 A.M.....PRIVATE SUPPORT FOR VOTER REGISTRATION
VERNON E. JORDAN, JR., DIRECTOR
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT,
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

11:30 A.M.....THE FEDERAL EXAMINER PROGRAM
WILSON M. MATTHEWS, DIRECTOR
VOTER EXAMINER TASK FORCE
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

12:00 Noon to 1:00 P.M.....LUNCH--COURTYARD
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

1:00 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.....GENERAL DISCUSSION

2:30 P.M.....THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
AND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT
WILLIAM L. TAYLOR, STAFF DIRECTOR
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

3:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.....INDIVIDUAL CONFERENCES WITH
ATTORNEYS

VA., N.C., AND TENN.--
MACEO W. HUBBARD

MISS., AND LA.--D. ROBERT OWEN

S.C., ALA., AND FLA.--
FRANK M. DUNBAUGH

GA.--CARL W. GABEL

ARK., AND TEX.--GERALD W. JONES

Original Doar letter to VP 12/1/67 addressed to U.S.P. files - returned

File - Dept - U.S. Department of Justice

December 13, 1967

Mr. John Doar
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Merely a note to express personally, and on behalf of the staff and members of the Council, o ur regrets at your resignation. More importantly, however, we are sincerely grateful for the contributions you have made toward the interests of decency and we thank you.

Somewhere recently I read the opinion that you are not cutting out, but going where the action is. I agree. More power to you, and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Joe
U.S. Govt
Dept. of Justice

April 1, 1968

Mr. Jerome K. Heilbron
Regional Director
Southern Region
U. S. Department of Justice
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Jerry:

Thanks for your note and for the information about the institute at Johns Hopkins.

You are right, we get much too busy being busy. I do hope soon we will have another chance to visit, and less formally.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

March 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I want to thank you for visiting with us when the CRS southern staff met in Atlanta. It was nice being with you. It's a shame we don't get together and exchange ideas more often, preferably informally. This 20th Century pushes us around at such a clip we seem to do an awful lot of acting, but I am afraid to mention how much reflecting we do (at least if I'm any example).

Paul, I'm enclosing some materials on fellowships offered by the Institute of Southern History, Johns Hopkins University. I thought you might know someone who would be interested.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry

Jerome K. Heilbron
Regional Director
Southern Region

Enclosures

Department of Justice

See Wash. post for missing section of this statement

STATEMENT BY

THE HONORABLE ROBERT H. FINCH

SECRETARY OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

AND

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL, ATTORNEY GENERAL

EMBARGOED
NOT FOR RELEASE UNTIL
5:00 P.M. E.D.T.
JULY 3, 1969

I. INTRODUCTION

This administration is unequivocally committed to the goal of finally ending racial discrimination in schools, steadily and speedily, in accordance with the law of the land. The new procedures set forth in this statement are designed to achieve that goal in a way that will improve, rather than disrupt, the education of the children concerned.

The time has come to face the facts involved in solving this difficult problem and to strip away the confusion which has too often characterized discussion of this issue. Setting, breaking and resetting unrealistic "deadlines" may give the appearance of great federal activity, but in too many cases it has actually impeded progress.

This Administration does not intend to continue those old procedures that make satisfying headlines in some areas but often hamper progress toward equal, desegregated education.

Our aim is to educate, not to punish; to stimulate real progress, not to strike a pose; to induce compliance rather than compel submission. In the final analysis Congress has enacted the law and buttressed the Constitution, the courts have interpreted the law and the Constitution. This Administration will enforce the law and carry out the mandates of the Constitution.

A great deal of confusion surrounds the "guidelines." The essential problem centers not on the guidelines themselves but on how and when individual school districts are to be brought into compliance with the law.

The "Guidelines" are administrative regulations promulgated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, as an administrative interpretation, not a court interpretation, of the law. Frequently, the policies of the Department of Justice, which is involved in law suits, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which is involved in voluntary compliance, have been at variance.

Thus, we are jointly announcing new, coordinated procedures, not new "Guidelines."

In arriving at our decision, we have for five months analyzed the complex legacy that this Administration inherited from its predecessor and have concluded that such a coordinated approach is necessary.

II. THE LAW

Fifteen years have passed since the Supreme Court, in Brown v. Board of Education, declared that racially segregated public schools are inherently unequal, and that officially-imposed segregation is in violation of the Constitution. Fourteen years have passed since the Court, in its second Brown decision, recognized the tenacious and deep-rooted nature of the problems that would have to be overcome, but nevertheless ordered that school authorities should proceed toward full compliance "with all deliberate speed."

Progress toward compliance has been orderly and uneventful in some areas, and marked by bitterness and turmoil in others. Efforts to achieve compliance have been a process of trial and error, occasionally accompanied by unnecessary friction, and sometimes resulting in a temporary--but for those affected, irremediable--sacrifice in the quality of education.

Some friction is inevitable. Some disruption of education is inescapable. Our aim is to achieve full compliance with the law in a manner that provides the most progress with the least disruption and friction.

The implications of the Brown decisions are national in scope. The problem of racially separate schools is a national problem, and

we intend to approach enforcement by coordinated administrative action and court litigation.

III. SEGREGATION BY OFFICIAL POLICY

The most immediate compliance problems are concentrated in those states which, in the past, have maintained racial segregation as official policy. These districts comprise 4477 school districts located primarily in the 17 southern and border states. 2994 have desegregated voluntarily and completely; 333 are in the process of completing desegregation plans; 234 have made an agreement with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to desegregate at the opening of the 1969-70 school year; under exemption policies established by the previous Administration, 96 have made such an agreement for the opening of the 1970-71 school year.

As a result of action by the Department of Justice or private litigants, 369 districts are under court orders to desegregate. In many of these cases the courts have ordered the districts to seek the assistance of professional educators in HEW's Office of Education pursuant to Title IV.

A total of 121 school districts have been completely cut off from all federal funds because they have refused to desegregate or even negotiate. There are 263 school districts which face the

prospect, during the coming year, of a fund cutoff by HEW or a lawsuit by the Department of Justice.

These remaining districts represent a steadily shrinking core of resistance. In most Southern and border school districts, our citizens have conscientiously confronted the problems of desegregation, and have come into voluntary compliance through the efforts of those who recognize their responsibilities under the law.

IV. SEGREGATION IN FACT

Almost 50 percent of all of our public elementary and secondary students attend schools which are concentrated in the industrial metropolitan areas of the 3 Middle-Atlantic states, the 5 northern midwestern states and the 3 Pacific coast states.

Racial discrimination is prevalent in our industrial metropolitan areas. In terms of national impact, the educational situation in the north, the midwest and the west require immediate and massive attention.

Segregation and discrimination in areas outside the south are generally de facto problems stemming from housing patterns and denial of adequate funds and attention to ghetto schools. But the

result is just as unsatisfactory as the results of the de jure segregation.

We will start a substantial program in those districts where school discrimination exists because of racial patterns in housing. This Administration will insist on non-discrimination, the desegregation of faculties and school activities, and the equalization of expenditures to insure equal educational opportunity.

V. NEW PROCEDURES

In last year's landmark Green case, the Supreme Court noted: "There is no universal answer to the complex problems of desegregation; there is obviously no one plan that will do the job in every case. The matter must be assessed in light of the circumstances present and the options available in each instance." As recently as this past May, in Montgomery v. Carr, the Court also noted that "in this field the way must always be left open for experimentation."

Accordingly, it is not our purpose here to lay down a single arbitrary date by which the desegregation process should be completed in all districts, or to lay down a single, arbitrary system by which it should be achieved.

For local and federal authorities alike, school desegregation poses both educational and law enforcement problems. To the extent practicable, on the federal level the law enforcement aspects will be handled by the Department of Justice in judicial proceedings affording due process of law, and the educational aspects will be administered by HEW. Because they are so closely interwoven, these aspects cannot be entirely separated. We intend to use the administrative machinery of HEW in tandem with the stepped-up enforcement activities of Justice, and to draw on HEW for more assistance by professional educators as provided for under Title IV of the 1964 Act. This procedure has these principal aims:

--To minimize the number of cases in which it becomes necessary to employ the particular remedy of a cutoff of federal funds, recognizing that the burden of this cutoff falls nearly always on those the Act was intended to help; the children of the poor and the black.

--To ensure, to the greatest extent possible, that educational quality is maintained while desegregation is achieved and bureaucratic disruption of the educational process is avoided.

The Division of Equal Educational Opportunities in the Office of Education has already shown that its program of advice and

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assistance to local school districts can be most helpful in solving the educational problems of the desegregation process. We intend to expand our cooperation with local districts to make certain that the desegregation plans devised are educationally sound, as well as legally adequate.

We are convinced that desegregation will best be achieved in some cases through a selective infusion of federal funds for such needs as school construction, teacher subsidies and remedial education. HEW is launching a study of the needs, the costs, and the ways the federal government can most appropriately share the burden of a system of financial aids and incentives designed to help secure full and prompt compliance. When this study is completed, we intend to recommend the necessary legislation.

We are committed to ending racial discrimination in the nation's schools, carrying out the mandate of the Constitution and the Congress.

We are committed to providing increased assistance by professional educators, and to encouraging greater involvement by local leaders in each community.

We are committed to maintaining quality public education, recognizing that if desegregated schools fail to educate, they fail in their primary purpose.

We are determined that the law of the land will be upheld; and that the federal role in upholding that law, and in providing equal and constantly improving educational opportunities for all, will be firmly exercised with an even hand.

ver, Colo.).—
Col. John G.
R. Ostrander.

file

U. S. Govt.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Constitution Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets, 20530
Phone, REpublic 7-8200

NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH, Attorney General of the United States; born Philadelphia, Pa., January 17, 1922; graduated Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H.; B.A. cum laude, Princeton University, 1945; LL.B. cum laude, Yale University Law School, 1947; Rhodes Scholar, Oxford University (1947–1949); admitted to New Jersey State Bar, 1950 and Connecticut State Bar, 1955; associate in law firm of Katzenbach, Gildea and Rudner (1950); attorney adviser, Office of General Counsel to the Secretary of the Air Force (1950–1952); associate professor of law, Yale University (1952–1956); professor of law, University of Chicago (1956–1961); Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, Department of Justice (1961–1962); Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice (1962–1965); Democrat; married to Lydia Phelps Stokes; children: Christopher, John, Maria, Anne; served in the United States Air Force (1942–1945).

Personal Secretary to the Attorney General—Carolyn M. MacMullan, 5415 Lincoln Street, Bethesda, Md.
Executive Assistant to the Attorney General.—Harold F. Reis (acting), 3330 Stephenson Place.
Director of Public Information.—Jacob Rosenthal, 103 G Street SW.
Assistant Director of Public Information.—Edward W. Edstrom, 4201 Cathedral Avenue.

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL

Deputy Attorney General.—Ramsey Clark, 714 Lakeview Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Assistant Deputy Attorney General.—Harold Barefoot Sanders, Jr., 7706 Aqua Terrace, Falls Church, Va.
Assistant Deputy Attorney General.—William A. Geoghegan, 9612 Accord Drive, Potomac, Md.
Executive Assistant.—John T. Duffner, 3802 Ridge Road, Annandale, Va.
Head of Executive Office for United States Attorneys.—William J. Brady, Jr., 2331 49th Street.
Head of Executive Office for United States Marshals.—James J. P. McShane, 1325 North VanDorn Street, Alexandria, Va.
Chief, Legal and Legislative Section.—Herbert E. Hoffman, 4424 N. 25th Street, Arlington, Va.

OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR GENERAL

Solicitor General.—Archibald Cox, Meadow House, South Down, Great Falls, Va.
First Assistant.—Ralph S. Spritzer, 4823 Alton Place.
Second Assistant.—Daniel M. Friedman, 325 Constitution Avenue NE.

ANTITRUST DIVISION

Assistant Attorney General.—William H. Orrick, Jr., 4856 Rockwood Parkway.
First Assistant.—Robert L. Wright, 7937 Deepwell Drive, Bethesda, Md.
Second Assistant.—Larry L. Williams, 1624 Vagabond Drive, Falls Church, Va.
Chief of Field Operations.—Gordon B. Spivak, 1650 Mt. Eagle Place, Alexandria, Va.
Director of Policy Planning.—Murray H. Bring, 507 South Lee Street, Alexandria, Va.

Encls: Consultants' fact-finding reports for Georgia & Kentucky on Negro Suffrage.
County-by-County figures on Negro registration
The Negro Voter...

November 27, 1957

Mr. St. John Barrett
Chief, Civil Rights Section
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barrett:

We are happy to make the remainder of our state reports on Negro suffrage available to you. Enclosed are copies of the reports sent us by the consultants in Georgia and Kentucky, as well as a list of estimated county-by-county figures on Negro registration and the printed summary report entitled, The Negro Voter in the South. I regret to say that our survey encountered personnel difficulties in Tennessee and that, therefore, we do not have a comparable report for that state.

The county-by-county figures, now slightly revised, were circulated last summer in mimeographed form and were placed in the Congressional Record. Otherwise, the printed booklet represents the only published material on the survey.

As you have probably noted, the state reports are "raw" material, in that they were not prepared for publication and have not been edited by us. Their main purpose was to convey information to this office on which a region-wide report could be based.

Please call on me any time the Southern Regional Council can be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures.

RECEIVED NOV 26 1957

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

RDM:DLN:cp
72-0

November 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to inquire whether you can make available to us detailed information concerning the registration and voting of Negroes in the states of Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

We have copies of some of the reports which were made in connection with your survey of Negro sufferage in twelve southern states. However, the material which we have does not include reports from the states of Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. It would be appreciated, therefore, if you could make these latter reports available to us.

We would also appreciate knowing whether the entire survey (including all of the statistical data) has been printed for publication.

Sincerely,

RUFUS D. McLEAN
Acting Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division

St. John Barrett

By:
ST. JOHN BARRETT
Chief, Civil Rights Section

M7-files

File
Community Relations Service
Sandra: If we haven't done so
please make folder

NATIONAL

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

FOR COMMUNITY

RELATIONS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
August 19, 1964

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Mayor Joseph N. Langan, Mobile
George LeMaistre, Tuscaloosa
Frank Newton, Birmingham
Thirwell Nolen, Gadsden
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Nat Welch, Auburn

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William Gordon, Tuscon
Lester Oliver, San Carlos
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Rev. Robert Brown, Little Rock
Fred Darragh, Littler Rock
A. L. Fletcher, Little Rock
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Paul McCain, Batesville
C. H Murphy, El Dorado
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Pratt Remmel, Little Rock
Wayne Stone, Pine Bluff
Carl R. Stout, Little Rock
H. E. William, Walnut Ridge

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Donald Douglas, Santa Monica
Augustine Flores, Riverside
D. J. Haughton, Burbank
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Edgar Kaiser, Oakland

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James Patton, Denver
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Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta
Carling Dinkler, Atlanta
Ben S. Gilmer, Atlanta
William B. Hartsfield, Atlanta
Leroy Johnson, Atlanta
Ralph J. McGill, Atlanta
Sylvan Meyer, ~~Marietta~~ Gainesville
Jack M. Passailaigue, Columbus
Otto Pope, Augusta
W. A. Pulver, Marietta
Jack H. Rothchild, Columbus
Mrs. Lillian Smith, Clayton
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta
Msgr. John D. Toomey, Savannah
Mrs. Edward Vinson, Atlanta
C. R. Yates, Atlanta

HAWAII

Mayor Neal Blaisdell, Honolulu
George Chaplin, Honolulu
Masato Doi, Honolulu

ILLINOIS

Judge T. Adesko, Chicago
John A. Barr, Chicago
Leo Crowley, Chicago
Austin Cushman, Chicago
Ben Heineman, Chicago
Raymond Hilliard, Chicago
Conrad Hilton, Chicago
John H. Johnson, Chicago
T. K. Lawless, Chicago
Leo Lerner, Chicago
William R. Ming, Chicago
Frank Niffenegger, Marengo
Mrs. Robert J. Philips, St. Charles
Albert Pick, Jr., Chicago
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Bishop Julian Smith, Chicago
Frank J. Vodraska, Chicago
Jerry Voorhis, Chicago
Charles R. Walgreen, Jr., Chicago
Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, Chicago
Bishop Aloyesius Wycislo, D. D., Chicago

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Harold J. Bitzegaio, Terre Haute
William Erwin, Bourbon
Most. Rev. Andrew Grutka, Gary
Harold S. Hatcher, Indianapolis
James S. Hunter, East Chicago
Mrs. Luther Johnson, Indianapolis
Rabbi Carl I. Miller, Gary
J. Erwin Miller, Columbus
Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell, Bloomington
Joseph O'Mera, South Bend
Mrs. Jessie White, East Chicago

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Sutherland Cook, Cedar Rapids
Luther T. Glanton, Des Moines
Rabbi Albert Gordon, Des Moines
Mrs. David Kruindenier, Des Moines
Msgr. Edward O'Rourke, Des Moines
John Randall, Cedar Rapids
Mrs. Golda Sands, Des Moines

KANSAS

Emmet A. Blaes, Wichita
Michael Barbara, Topeka
Rev. Wm. F. Keesecker, Wichita
James A. McCain, Manhattan
Larry Ramirez, Wichita

KENTUCKY

Robert Begley, Richmond
Barry Bingham, Louisville
Bert Combs, Lexington
Frank L. Stanley, Sr., Louisville
Hal H. Thurmond, Hopkinsville
William Wood, Harlan
Wilson Wyatt, Louisville
Whitney M. Young, Sr., Lincoln Ridge

LOUISIANA

C. J. Dejoie, New Orleans
Dr. Albert W. Dent, New Orleans
Camille Gravele, Jr., Alexandria
Dr. John A. Hunter, Baton Rouge
Harry B. Kelleher, New Orleans
Charles Keller, Jr., New Orleans
John G. Lewis, Jr., Baton Rouge
Henry L. Mason, New Orleans
Leon Sarpy, New Orleans
Edgar Stern, New Orleans
Bascom Talley, Jr., Bogalusa
B. B. Taylor, Baton Rouge
Rev. Louis Twomey, S.J., New Orleans

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F. D. Fenhagen, Baltimore
William L. Marbury, Baltimore
Col. Clarence W. Miles, Baltimore
Henry G. Parks, Baltimore
Mrs. Verda Welcome, Baltimore

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Ralph Lowell, Boston
Dr. Nathan Pusey, Cambridge
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Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, Detroit
Mrs. Robert Claytor, Grand Rapids
Edward Cushman, Detroit
Frederic G. Donner, Detroit
Henry Ford II, Detroit
Mrs. Mildred Jeffrey, Detroit
Ralph T. McElvenny, Detroit
L. M. Quinn, Detroit
Walter Reuther, Detroit
Joseph Ross, Detroit
Mrs. Mary Ross, Detroit
Lynn A. Townsend, Detroit
Bishop Alexander H. Zaleski, Dearborn

MINNESOTA

Rev. Millard Ahlstrom, St. Peter
Judson Bemis, Minneapolis
Donald C. Dayton, Minneapolis
Msgr. Francis Gilligan, St. Paul
Mrs. Geri Joseph, Minneapolis
John Nason, Northfield
Cecil Newman, Minneapolis
Don Wozniak, St. Paul
Lawrence Yetka, Cloquet

MISSISSIPPI

Dr. A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo
Duncan Gray, Oxford
Father Bernard Law, Jackson

MISSOURI

William C. Berger, Springfield
James A. Burkhart, Columbia
Dr. Blanche Dow, Nevada
John Lyons, St. Louis
H. Bryon Masterson, Kennett
Oren Staley, Rea
Mayor Ray Tucker, St. Louis
Howard B. Woods, St. Louis
Robert M. White, Mexico

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Dr. John Dickey, New Hampshire

NEW JERSEY

Raymond A. Brown, Jersey City
David L. Cole, Paterson
John T. Conner, Rahway
Charles Engelhard, Newark
Brooks Hays, New Brunswick
Dean Willard Heckel, New Brunswick
Joseph Lesawyer, Jersey City
Miss Jean Merritt, Boonton
Joseph Muscarelle, Hackensack
Edward A. Ring, Trenton
Carmine Savino, Lyndhurst
Robert Van de Velde, Princeton

NEW MEXICO

Dr. Dorothy Cline, Albuquerque
Erwin Santiago, Pueblo
Antonio J. Taylor, Sante Fe
Luis P. Tellez, Albuquerque

NEW YORK

Morris Abram, N. Y.
Henry Alexander, N. Y.
Luigi Antonini, N. Y.
Herman Badillo, N. Y.
Msgr. Balkunas, N. Y.
Roger M. Blough, N. Y.
F. J. Borch, Schenectady
J. J. Bricker, N. Y.
Rabbi Balfour Brickner, N. Y.
Dr. Ralph Bunche, N. Y
Lucius D. Clay, N. Y.
Stephen Currier, N. Y.
Joseph Davis, N. Y.
Dan Dodson, N. Y.
David Dubinsky, N. Y.
Miss Jo Eleanor Elliott, N. Y.
Irving Engel, N. Y.
Everett Erlick, N. Y.
Aloysius Fallusy, N. Y.
Dr. Franklin Fry, N. Y.
Leonard Goldenson, N. Y.
W. P. Gullander, N. Y.
Henry Heald, N. Y.
Paul G. Hoffman, N. Y.
Mrs. Sophia Jacobs, N. Y.
L. P. Johnson, N. Y
Harold J. Kalikow, Forest Hills
Frederick R. Kappel, N. Y.
Lable Katz, N. Y.
Theodore H. Kheel, N. Y.
R. C. Kirkwood, N. Y.
Robert H. Knight, N. Y.
Rabbi Benjamin Z. Kreitman, N. Y.
Arthur B. Krim, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary Lasker, N. Y.
Robert A. Leflar, N. Y.
August C. Long, N. Y.
L. C. Lustenberger, N. Y.
Julius Manager, N. Y.
Judge Jevenel Marchisio, N. Y.
Don McGannon, N. Y.
John J. McGrath, N. Y.
Rabbi Israel Miller, N. Y.
Joseph Monserrat, N. Y.
Bishop Reuben Mueller, N. Y.
Henry Osinki, Buffalo
Samuel Pierce, N. Y.
Dr. Joachim Prinz, New York
A. Philip Randolph, N. Y.
Elmo Roper, N. Y.
Rabbi Max Routenberg, Rockville Center
Howard J. Samuels, Macedon

NEW YORK (continued)

David Sarnoff, N. Y.
Dore Schary, N. Y.
David Schulte, N. Y.
Morgan Shattuck, N. Y.
Tom Shepard, N. Y.
Frank Stanton, N. Y.
George Stone, N. Y.
August Stouer, Jackson Heights
Harrison Tweed, N. Y.
Harry Van Arsdale, N. Y.
Mrs. Theodore F. Wallace, N. Y.
Mrs. D. A. Watson, N. Y.
Mrs. Joseph Willen, N. Y.
Bishop Lloyd Wicks, N. Y.

NORTH CAROLINA

Mayor R. Brookshire, Charlotte
Dr. John Caldwell, Raleigh
Dr. John Cunningham, Charlotte
Rev. William Finlator, Raleigh
William C. Friday, Chapel Hill
Abel Girault, Charlotte
✓Dr. Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill
Dr. Billy Graham, Montreat
Dr. George Heaton, Charlotte
Watts Hill, Jr., Durham
Charles B. Wade, Winston-Salem
Capus M. Waynick, High Point
✓John H. Wheeler, Durham
Dr. Kenneth R. Williams, Winston-Salem

NORTH DAKOTA

Coleman Taube, Minot
Mrs. Norman Tenneson, Fargo

OHIO

Ralph Besse, Cleveland
Father Hugh E. Dunn, Cleveland
Keith Glennan, Cleveland
James Griffin, Youngstown
Richard Guggenheim, Cincinnati
Mrs. Stephen S. Jakubowski, Cleveland
Ralph Lazarus, Cincinnati
Murray Lincoln, Columbus
Howard M. Metzenbaum, Cleveland
Carl Stokes, Cleveland
Vernon Stouffer, Cleveland
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
William O. Walker, Cleveland

OKLAHOMA

Amos T. Hall, Tulsa
Mrs. David C. Ramsey, Ada
John Rogers, Tulsa
William Rose, Oklahoma City
Ralph Leon Smith, Bartlesville
Maynard I. Ungerman, Tulsa

OREGON

John Beatty, Portland
Dr. Harold Glen Brown, Portland
Dr. Arthur Flemming, Eugene
Harold Hirsch, Portland
Ellen T. Law, Portland
Robert Short, Portland

PENNSYLVANIA

Keeton Arnett, Phila.
Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, Phila.
Homer Brown, Pittsburgh
Albert Greenfield, Phila.
Leland Hazard, Pittsburgh
Archbishop John J. Krol, Phila.
Gregory Lagakos, Phila.
David Lawrence, Pittsburgh
Ed J. Lynett, Scranton
David MacDonald, Pittsburgh
Judge Michael Musmanno
Bishop Austin Pardue
E. Washington Rhodes, Phila.
Bernard G. Segal, Phila.
George Taylor, Phila.

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Charles E. Daniel, Greensville
H. D. Monteith, Columbia
Mayor David McCleod, Florence
Dr. T. C. McFall, Charleston

TENNESSEE

Carl Carson, Memphis
✓Paul Christopher, Knoxville
Rev. Wayne DeHoney, Jackson
Buford Ellington, Nashville
Amon C. Evans, Nashville
Dr. Alexander Heard, Nashville
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Martin Ochs, Chattanooga
Edmund Orgill, Memphis
Greenfield Pitts, Nashville
John Wade, Nashville
A. Maceo Walker, Memphis
William C. Weaver, Nashville
Kemmons Wilson, Memphis
✓Stephen Wright, Nashville

TEXAS

Harry Akin, Austin
M. J. Anderson, Austin
Sam Bloom, Dallas
Hank Brown, Austin
Cecil Burney, Corpus Christi
Ernest Estelle, Dallas
Hector Garcia, Corpus Christi
Joaquim B. Gonzales, San Antonio
P. E. Haggerty, Dallas
Mack Hannah, Houston
Rev. Luther Holcomb, Dallas
Leon Jaworski, Houston
✓✓Charles Kelly, Houston
Stanley Marcus, Dallas
Carl E. Reistle, Houston
George I. Sanchez
George H. Starke, Dallas
William Steven, Houston
C. A. Tatum, Jr., Dallas
William Thomas, Jr., Houston

UTAH

Harold H. Bennett, Salt Lake City
Mark S. Johnson, Holden
David O. McKay, Salt Lake City
Harry Snow, Moab

VIRGINIA

George Barnes, Lexington
Fred Cole, Lexington
Dr. Edward Haddock, Richmond
Edwin Hyde, Richmond
Robert Mason, Norfolk
J. J. Nickins, Richmond
Lewis Powell, Richmond
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk

WASHINGTON

G. M. Brunzell, Spokane
Goodwin Chase, Tacoma
Saul Haas, Seattle
Charles E. Odegaard, Seattle
A. E. Saunders, Tacoma
Walter W. Straley, Seattle
Alfred J. Westberg, Seattle

WEST VIRGINIA

Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison, Huntington
Mrs. Thomas Harris, Parkersburg
Mr. Robert E. Humphries, Charleston
Miles C. Stanley, Charleston

WISCONSIN

David Carley, Madison
Richard Cudahy, Cudahy
William Thomas Doar, New Richmond
Fred Erchul, Milwaukee
Rev. Alvin R. Kutchera, Madison
Howard M. Packard, Racine

WISCONSIN (continued)

Mrs. W. Dale Phillips, Milwaukee
Francis Wilcox, Eau Claire
Elmer L. Winter, Milwaukee

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

October 8, 1964

Rec 10/12/64

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

I've just received your notice of the annual meeting of the Council on November 19 and 20. I certainly hope to be able to attend at least a part of this meeting. Certainly, I am delighted that the Governor has accepted your invitation to speak at the dinner on Friday night. He is not only a magnificent speaker, but he is playing a most important role in giving a tremendous forward thrust to the goals which this agency and your agency share. Incidentally, from time to time, this office looks like a convention of old SRC board members and officials.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John

John A. Griffin
Associate Director for Conciliation

Rec'd 11/9/64

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

File

November 5, 1964

responded to per phone 11/30/64

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Things were so hectic in the few minutes we had together that I did not have a chance to talk to you about a conversation I had with Paul Anthony. I don't want to be in a position of pirating your staff; nonetheless, I have talked to Paul about a job which he could do superbly as our National Citizens' Committee liaison man. I don't know at this point how seriously he is thinking about it.

Sent (15) 12-2-64 mA shall I bill them?

I just learned about the excellent report that Pat did on Brunswick. It seems to be the kind of document that we ought to have our staff people read and also some of our conciliators. Could we have 15 or 20 copies?

Again, I regret our visit was so short the other night.

Sincerely yours,

John

John A. Griffin
Associate Director for Conciliation

Recd 12/4/64

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

DEC 2 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

This is just a brief note to thank you for your gracious letter of November 24th, and to tell you once again how much I appreciated your hospitality and the warm response to my visit with you last week.

We here look to the Southern Regional Council for a very special kind of cooperation and support -- as I told the group assembled we have such close ties through John Griffin and Harold Fleming and others that it would be difficult not to count on you for a very meaningful exchange of ideas at every stage of our program development.

Thank you, too, for passing along Miss Smith's remarks; I am writing to her directly, and appreciate your sharing her letter with me.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LeRoy Collins

LeRoy Collins

PA ✓
SW-file

December 28, 1964

Mr. John A. Griffin
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Are you thinking about Coles as a staff member or as an occasional conciliator? I have not talked with Bob for some months but I doubt that he is available for any full-time staff position. He has a pretty good arrangement at Harvard, and as far as I know he is satisfied with it. As to his use on an occasional assignment, I hardly know what to say. I think you should talk to Bob personally and directly; he is not a person who can be well summarized by any third party. I will say, however, that he has talents and ideas to contribute which I do not believe are duplicated in anyone else. The only question is whether CRS can make use of them. Why don't you drop Bob a note and set up some time to talk.

All best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 12/28/64

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

December 21, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you so much for sending me the collection of materials by Pat Waters. They will prove very valuable to us.

As you know, we did invite Al Ulmer here for the meeting on December 16, and he made a good contribution. I have been influenced by what you and Paul Anthony said that Al Ulmer ought to be left with you until he finishes his intermship, and I have told the Governor this is your best advice. This is confidential, I suppose, because we said nothing to Al on the 16th about working for us further, except in connection with taking an occasional assignment as a field conciliator.

Dave Freeman mentioned to me the other day that the psychiatrist, Dr. Coles, might be available. This seems hardly believable to me, but I wish to inquire as to whether or not he is, indeed, and what recommendation, if any, you would have about the possible utilization of him on this staff.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin
Associate Director
for Conciliation

File
Community Relations
Services

January 26, 1965

Mr. Seymour Samet
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Seymour:

You may wish to include the enclosed in the profile we sent up Friday. It is a dreary editorial; unfortunately, it will probably prove correct in most particulars.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure

bcc: Mr. Chuck Morgan (Alabama Projections)
A copy of Alabama Projections -- Barbara Patterson

ALABAMA PROJECTIONS

Political: Wallace will continue a sound, hardhitting administration. Tradition calls for gubernatorial corruption. Flowers' future lies in exposure of scandal. Wallace's counterattack will be race. In a special, or in the next regular legislative session (May, '65) a proposed self-succession amendment will be offered and probably defeated by pro-Patterson-de Graffenried forces. May be compromised to allow Wallace to oppose Sparkman (Dem. primary May '66). Flowers will rule Wallace eligible in any event, basing ruling on Salinger and Kennedy races and U. S. Constitution. Today, Wallace would overwhelmingly defeat Sparkman. Republicans will be hard pressed to retain Congressional seats if Democrats can re-obtain white supremacy issue. If not, some Republicans will be re-elected, Martin probably defeating Sparkman if Sparkman survives primary.

The Basics of Power: Voting: In Northern and Southern United States District Court jurisdictions Negro voter registration will probably be minimal. Middle District jurisdiction can have substantial increases.

Administration of Justice: Continued exclusion of Negroes from federal administration of justice (jury rolls, and commissioners, clerks and deputies, office employees, marshals, FBI, etc.) invites acts of violence against Negro and white integrationists. No possibility of state court improvement until federal court improvement occurs and new legal remedies are devised.

Federal and National Influence: No indication that federal appointments are to include persons with determination to see federal law and Constitution enforced. No change apparent in U. S. Steel and Defense Department policies. Birmingham News (Newhouse) seems to be becoming more conservative. No change in isolation of people effected by television, radio, and newspaper self-censorship.

The Far Right: Birmingham and Mobile, particularly, strong John Birch centers. Effectiveness and membership continue to grow.

ALABAMA PROJECTIONS - 2.
January 26, 1965

Integration Programs: Education will continue at token snail's pace. Certificates of compliance under Title VI will be signed probably in most places; and ignored? Tokenism will be the rule in every program.

Summary: Wallace controls as of now only effective power in state. Moderates' usefulness hampered by need to rationalize continued life in state and efforts thus engendering false hopes. Federal reliance on moderate advice and subsequent compromise or avoidance of use of power results in Alabama leaders knowledge that no immediate or effective federal changes can or will be made. /The above presumes a continued refusal by Federal Judicial and Executive agencies (only in part related to Congressional courtesy) to deal with Alabama in a non-appeasement-weakness manner./

File
Community
Relations Service

February 8, 1965

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Deputy Director
Community Relations Service
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Calvin:

This is just a note to say to you now that it is past, I hope you have no regrets. Seems to us to have been a great occasion.

All best wishes. We hope you come down this way sometime.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Rec'd 2/15/65

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

PAV
VI
AVD
LD

February 11, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Indeed I do feel good about our decision. From all accounts, the Governor's Birmingham appearance was a pure triumph. Moreover, from here it looks as if all the to-do that preceded it made it more of a triumph than it would have been otherwise.

The important thing, of course, is that we may have made some breakthroughs in getting the Alabama Council accepted as an influential agent in the shaping of public policy down there. In this connection, good follow-through strikes me as being vital. If you have any suggestions as to how we can be of specific help, I do hope you'll let Jay Janis of our staff have them.

I look forward to seeing you soon. Meanwhile, many many thanks for your counsel and support.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle
Deputy Director

File

May 18, 1965

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Deputy Director
Community Relations Service
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Calvin:

I am sorry, on your account, that Reese decided to stay here. Believe me, I did not try to influence him away from you, though I guess we are all glad he made the decision he did.

I am enclosing a vita on Louis B. McCagg. I was told in New York last week he is interested in leaving the University of Pittsburgh. I have known McCagg for a year or more, and though he apparently has had no public information experience, he strikes me as being a natural in that field. I got to know him during his several trips to the South recruiting students, and in connection with a couple meetings we have jointly attended with reference to higher education. He is a good man. If you would be interested in looking into him further, I believe you could get a reference from Andrew Norman, who is a member of Harold's board.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file - U.S. Govt

May 25, 1965

Mr. James H. Laue
Assistant Director
Community Analysis
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

Thank you for the reprint of the article by you and McCorkle. I'm not sure that I can be objective about it, though, to the extent I can, I believe it would be a very good piece. Needless to say, I read it with keen pleasure, and I am sure that Mrs. Tilly, Margaret, and Paul will do that also.

Best wishes, and a special regards to Mariann.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

May 17, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Many thanks for taking the time for our lengthy phone conversation last night. Your comments and information were just what I needed for a summary note on Atlanta and Georgia for Governor Collins' taping. It probably will be shown about Wednesday on WAGA-TV.

I am enclosing an article which you, Maggie Long and Mrs. Tilly may find interesting. As you see, it is a stepped-up version of the paper my student, Lee McCorkle, did at Harvard several years ago. Our debt to you is recorded in the first footnote.

Mariann was delighted to receive your warm greetings. You will be hearing from us soon with a birth announcement, God willing. Good wishes to Peggy and Tony.

Faithfully,

Jim

James H. Laue
Assistant Director
Community Analysis

Enclosure

May 26, 1965

Mr. James H. Laue
Assistant Director
Community Analysis
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

Thank you for the reprint of the article by you and McCorkle. I'm not sure that I can be objective about it, though, to the extent I can, I believe it is a very good piece. Needless to say, I read it with keen pleasure, and I am sure that Mrs. Tilly, Margaret, and Paul will do that also.

Best wishes, and a special regards to Mariann.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

file

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

FPW
PWC
MI-file

June 1, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks very much for alerting us to Louis McCagg. It turns out, however, that the information job is filled. Ben Holman, formerly with the Chicago Daily News and most recently from CBS News in New York, joins us today as head of our Office of Media Relations. I hope it won't be too long before you and the SRC staff have a chance to get acquainted with him.

McCagg does indeed sound interesting and it may be that before too long we will have an opening here for him. Meanwhile, I am giving his resume to Dick Adams, our administrative officer, with the request that he keep it in the live file.

Sincerely,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle
Deputy Director

cc: Mr. Louis B. McCagg
1160 Murray Hill Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

June 23, 19 65

To The Hon. Leroy Collins

Street and No. Community Relations Service, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* Washington, D. C.

Benjamin Muse will represent the Southern Regional Council at the meeting of the Urban Task Force. Thank you for inviting us.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

cc: Mr. Benjamimn Muse
PO Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

Rec'd 6/21/65

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

Date:

To:

From:

Subject: Les: Talked with Wiley this am. He feels the Collins invitation is not important enough for you to be present. "Would be good for SRC to be respresented - like at all such meeting, etc" but only for purposes of representation, no other value. Doubt if we should beother at all.

Trine 522-8764

Paul H

WWAS 21 CSEC

WASHINGTON DC 6-16-65 1205R

AS CHAIRMAN URBAN TASK FORCE OF PRESIDENTS COUNCIL ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, INVITE YOU MEET WITH ME AND HEADS OF SELECTED NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MOST EXPERIENCED AND CONCERNED WITH IMPROVING QUALITY OF LIVES OR URBAN GHETTO RESIDENTS. TO DATE TASK FORCE HAS CONCENTRATED ON COORDINATING AND EXPEDITING FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS TO CITIES. NOW NEED YOUR COUNSEL ON HOW PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS MAY RELATE TO THIS EFFORT THROUGH COMPLEMENTARY PROGRAMS AND ENCOURAGING BROADEST COMMUNITY-WIDE UNDERSTANDING, CONCERN AND ACTION.

MEETING SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, JUNE 28, 10 A.M. TO 4 P.M., INTER-DEPARTMENTAL AUDITORIUM, CONSTITUTION AVE. BETWEEN 12 & 14 ST., WASHINGTON D.C. WILL CONCENTRATE ON URBAN PROBLEMS, SO FEEL FREE TO BRING DEPUTY FOR COMMUNITY PROGRAMS. PLEASE WIRE REPLY INDICATING WHO WILL ATTEND.

LEROY COLLINES DIR COMMUNIT RELATIONS SVC DEPT OF COMMERCE

28 10 AM 4 PM 12 14

AVB 1220R

CONFIRMATION COPY

THIS IS CONFIRMATION OF A MESSAGE TELEPH

TO JS

NUMBER 522-8764 AT 210P M

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION - REGION IV

TR 6-3311 EXT 5651

File - U.S. Govt - Community Rels. Ser.

September 7, 1965

Mr. Calvin Kytle
430 "M" Street, S. W.
Apartment 605
Washington, D. C.

Dear Calvin:

Many thanks for your long unanswered letter of July 21. I trust by now we have got the mailing list straightened out.

I have been to Washington only once since, and that just for a day. I don't know when I'll be in town again, maybe not until you have been to New York and had a chance to let me take you to lunch.

Best wishes, and thank you again for your note.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 7/23/65

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 21, 1965

PA
LD

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Returning last night from a week's trip to Canada, I found a copy of the latest SRC report by Pat Watters. I hope to read it tonight because at first glance it seems to be especially timely.

I would be very grateful if you would have the appropriate person in your office change my address on your mailing list. Your material is still reaching me via Columbus, Ohio. My correct address is 430 M Street, S. W., Apartment 605, Washington, D. C., 20024. I would much prefer that you send your reports to my home address, otherwise they're likely to get buried under the avalanche of literature that seems to descend upon my desk in the office.

I was delighted to learn that Paul Anthony has been named to succeed you and mean to write to tell him so. Meanwhile, congratulations to you on your own new position. Someday soon, perhaps, I hope there'll be a chance for you to tell me about it. How much longer do you plan to stay in Atlanta? Is there a chance that you'll be in Washington this month?

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle
Acting Director

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

Rec'd 10/13/65 file

October 11, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of August 16, 1965, to Mr. Calvin Kytle regarding possible employment for Mrs. Winifred Falls with the Community Relations Service has been referred to this office for reply.

We are requesting Mrs. Falls to complete and return the Standard Form 57, Application for Federal Employment, so that we may evaluate her qualifications.

We will be very happy to consider Mrs. Falls for any positions that may be available for which she qualifies.

Sincerely yours,

Frances M. Duttkin

Frances M. Duttkin
Administrative Assistant

March 7, 1966

Mr. Roger Wilkins, Director
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Roger:

As I have today written Mrs. Strode, it will be impossible for me to attend the meeting on the 9th and I may have to miss the 10th as well. This is merely to let you know that I regret this conflict and to assure you that all of us at the Council would like to be of any possible assistance.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

March 7, 1966

Mrs. Velma M. Strode
State and Municipal Liaison Officer
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Mrs. Strode:

When we talked by phone I mentioned the possibility of a conflict with your meeting on the 9th and 10th. This conflict has now become a certainty and I will be unable to attend on the 9th. It is possible, but by no means certain, that I can be with you on the 10th. If so, I shall turn up at the meeting.

Enclosed you will find the various forms pertaining to travel. If I am able to attend it will not be at government expense.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

Rec'd 3/2/66

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

February 25, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You are hereby invited to proceed from your home in Atlanta, Georgia to Washington, D. C. for the purpose of conferring on Government business for the Community Relations Service as discussed in our telephone conversation.

Please plan to meet with members of the staff of the Community Relations Service at 9:00 a.m., Wednesday and Thursday, March 9 and 10, 1966 in the first floor conference room, 512 - 9th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Upon completion of your conference you are to return to the point at which your travel originated. The travel you are to perform is necessary in the public service. Enclosed is a TR for the purchase of your ticket and your Travel Order, authorizing you to travel. Per diem will be paid as specified on the back of the attached Travel Expense Record.

Please notify us if you would like to have our office make a hotel reservation for you.

Sincerely yours,

Velma M. Strode

(Mrs.) Velma M. Strode
State and Municipal Liaison
Officer

Enclosures

File Community Rels. Service
(Put file in Justice Section)

May 5, 1966

Mr. Harold T. Hunter
Community Relations Service
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Hal:

Thanks for your good words. It was a pleasure having you with us. I only regret you had such a heavy schedule, and such a brief time to be in town.

I think the state councils on human relations, and others, could be of considerable help to you in reaching local newspapers and other outlets. We should discuss the possibility of sending to each of these councils a number of the brochures and other appropriate materials, such as copies of the ad and perhaps even maps.

I look forward with great anticipation to my autographed copy of the Ad Campaign Jingle, and will hang it prominantly on the wall. In the meantime, you may be interested in the enclosed memorandum from Emory Via, our Labor Education Project Director. He's a better labor educator than he is a jingle writer. But you can't have everything.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

(2)

April 28, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The Southern Regional Council is a most generous host. Vel and I appreciate the many courtesies extended during our recent visit. It would be helpful if Ed Stanfield were to forward a list of the participants at the Southern Interagency April 19 meeting to guide us on follow up activity about the Advertising Council Campaign.

It occurred to us that SRC's human relations councils and other related projects might be of special assistance in making the Ad Campaign more fruitful. Upon my return, I noticed a letter from your Florida council requesting 100 copies of the brochure. We can provide copies of both the ad and brochure in substantial number.

In June, the Advertising Council will be sending out literature explaining the program together with sample ads to local newspapers. In certain cases, visits to newspaper publishers and editors might play a significant role to encourage local participation. We are ordering a limited number of the mats for the newspaper ads. No doubt, there are weekly newspapers, agency newsletters, and other means of communication that might further publicize the concept of the program. I will telephone you in a few days to explore this in more detail.

In recognition of your leadership efforts on our behalf, we are going to send you an autographed copy of the Ad Campaign jingle as soon as it becomes available. Perhaps Will Campbell might be interested in translating it into the Nashville idiom.

Sincerely,

Hal

Harold T. Hunton
Private Organization
Liaison Officer

August 23, 1966

Mr. Arnold Harris
Executive Director
National Citizens' Committee for
Community Relations
c/o Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Harris:

Thanks for your interest in our plans for a meeting of businessmen which I originally discussed with Bert.

Most of the questions you asked cannot be answered at this time. Actually we are thinking on a long range basis toward the possibility of establishing at some later date a southern regional economic development council. This might well be an arm of SRC or it might well be completely independent from it. At this point we really have another purpose. That is namely to bring no more than a dozen of the top liberal business and financial leaders of the region together for a meeting with perhaps a half dozen of their Negro counterparts. Our object in such a meeting would be to expose them to SRC, to our kind of thinking, and to interpret to them the possibilities and advantages of a private agency contributing to the needed regional development. We would hope too, to secure their interest and commitment toward further exploration of the idea.

One of the things that might come from such a meeting would be the plans for a considerably larger meeting

with perhaps as many as a hundred with those attending the initial meeting agreeing to help do the recruiting of their colleagues. All of this, however, is quite premature but based on the premise that it is conceivable that a foundation would put a substantial amount of money into this effort if the best of the region's business leadership would endorse it and perhaps eventually support it financially.

It was really at the suggestion of Calvin Kytle that I got in touch with Bert because he felt that Bert, and now, of course, you, would be in a good position to guide us to some of the individuals we might want, i.e. Milton Cummings of Huntsville or Abe Marcus of Dallas and that perhaps you might also be willing to assist us in encouraging these people to attend such a meeting.

In summary we are really at the pre-planning stage at best, dealing with many questions but being careful to have few answers and hoping for an off-the-record meeting of fifteen to twenty persons.

I hope this sufficiently answers your questions or at least sufficiently describes our plans at this point.

And, I would be grateful for your reaction to them. We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS
%COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Rec'd 8/17/66

August 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Bert Levine has discussed with me your recent telephone conversation with him about the projected formation of the Southern Regional Economic Development Institute. As I understand it, it is the purpose of the Institute to attract to, and help develop industry in, the region in a way that would elevate the economic status of Southern Negroes. It is certainly one which virtually every agency, both public and private, would approve. I think that we can anticipate that members of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations would wish to assist this purpose in every way.

If we are to be helpful in bringing the best resources of NCC membership to this task I think it would be good if we had a little amplification of the basic purposes in the form of a short document that would spell out some of the ways the objective could be achieved. I think this would be best put together by yourself. It would guide us in the selection of individuals to be approached as well as help arouse their participation.

Have you given any further thought to the type of involvement you believe the Southern Regional Council should best have? Would the Council's involvement be public, or would it be better if it served, unpublicized, as a catalytic agent? Should there be a group of sponsors? Should they be exclusively from the private sector?

Once we have a short statement of purpose I believe we would be ready to sound out three or four people upon whom we feel we can fully depend as to an invitation list. These certainly could also interpret the Institute's purposes and encourage attendance.

Naturally we would be happy to review all invitation lists together. We are also ready, of course, to discuss with you other organizational problems including the matter of sponsorship.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Harris
Executive Director

P.S. I imagine that I may assume that you were able to be of some assistance to Mr. Carling Dinkler relative to our recent discussion about his management problem.

File

NATIONAL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS
%COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

September 26, 1966

File
Community Rels. Ser.
(See: Dept. of Justice)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I hope you are making some progress in your efforts to bring together a group of businessmen on the development of new employment resources.

Enclosed is a listing of members of the National Citizens Committee who may be of special help in your plans. I am sure that many of them are already known to you.

Please let me know how I may be of assistance.

With kindest regards,

Arnold

Arnold Harris
Executive Director

Enclosure

BARRY BINGHAM

Editor and Publisher
The Courier-Journal
The Louisville Times
525 Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Chm., Int'l. Press Institute
Chm., American Press Institute
Dir., ASNE
Tr., Rockefeller Foundation

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER

Director, Region #8
AFL-CIO
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville, Tenn. 37917

MILTON K. CUMMINGS

Chm.,of the Board & Pres.
Brown Engineering Co.
300 Sparkman Dr. N.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Pres., Assoc. of Huntsville
Area Contractors

He told me in Washington on
9/8/6 of his conversations
with you.

WATTS HILL, JR.

Pres.Home Security Life Ins.Co.
P.O. Box 61
Durham, N. C. 27702

He is effectively active in local
welfare, housing and anti-poverty
programs, and exceedingly imaginative
and self-starting on a wide variety
of matters affecting our concern.

HARRY B. KELLEHER

Lemle & Kelleher
Nat'l. Bank of Commerce Bldg. #1836
New Orleans, Louisiana 70112

Member, Bd. Administrators,Tulane Univ.

CHARLES KELLER, JR.

Pres.,Keller Construction Corp.
P. O. Box 50039
New Orleans, La. 70150

Past Pres., Assoc. Gen.Contractors of Amer.
" " Public Affairs Research Council
in Louisiana
" " United Fund in New Orleans
Former Member, Commission on Race and
Housing, Fund for the Republic
Member, President's Committee on Equal
Opportunity in Housing

GEORGE A. LeMAISTRE

President, City National Bank
2301 Broad Street
Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35403

Lawyer

STANLEY MARCUS

President, Neiman-Marcus
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dir., Republic Nat'l. Bank, Dallas, Tex.
Dir., New York Life Ins. Co.

Numerous national affiliations

HUGH B. PATTERSON, JR.

Publisher, Arkansas Gazette
P. O. Box 1821
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

Former Pres. & Chm. Southern
Newspaper Publishers Assoc.

W. A. PULVER

President
Lockheed-Georgia Company
South Cobb Drive
Marietta, Georgia 30061

Dir., Ga. State Chamber of Commerce

Lockheed-Ga. in 1964 employed 18,000

EDGAR B. STERN, JR.

Pres. Royal Street Corp.
520 Royal Street
New Orleans, La. 70130

Dir., Royal St. Corp. (Formerly
WDSU Broadcasting Corp.)

Pres.& Dir.Royal St. Investment Corp.
Member, Bd. of Dir. Sears, Roebuck & Co.
" , Bd. of Dir. Whitney National
Bank of New Orleans
Numerous other corporations and
civic organizations

NATHANIEL N. WELCH

2112 Castleway Drive NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30329

Noted industrialist and Presidential
appointee to Southern Interstate
Nuclear Board

File
U.S. Gov't Justice - Rels Service
Dept. " Community

September 8, 1967

Mr. Bob Greenwald
U. S. Department of Justice
Community Relations Service
811 Thomas Building
1314 Wood Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Bob:

Thank you so much for sharing with us the situation in Dallas and for your concern about it. I trust the material sent was satisfactory. If you need anything else, needless to say, we will send it promptly.

Again, my most sincere appreciation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-103

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Paul Anthony

DATE: 8-31-67

FROM : Bob Greenwald

SUBJECT: attached

Per my telephone conversation with Ed Stanfield today. If you want any further details or info on intended developments which may yet occur, you can call me here (collect)

Paul Courtesy

GOALS FOR DALLAS STUDY GROUP
Box 31264
Dallas, Texas

August 1967

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The attached report has been carefully prepared for your information regarding human relations commissions.

Permission is hereby given for duplication of the contents.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
811 THOMAS BUILDING
1314 WOOD STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION--A PANDORA'S BOX?

Of the twelve goals in GOALS FOR DALLAS[1], particular interest has been shown in the section entitled "The Government of the City". Under that goal, one of the specific points is "Form a Human Resources Council to identify and recommend solutions to community problems involved in the individual's adjustments to urban living." Frank Langston, the essayist on this section said a Human Resources Council basically was intended to meet the problems that an individual has in relating to his local government. There is a strong tendency to lose one's identity in a city of almost a million population. Newcomers moving in, for example, might not be acquainted with Dallas' Council-Manager form of government. The whole intent of the Human Resources Council was to produce an informed citizenry.

When the revised GOALS FOR DALLAS[2] were published, however, the goal was changed to read, "Form a Human Relations Commission established by city ordinance and advisory in nature, to insure fair treatment to all people." When the name was changed from Human Resources Council to Human Relations Commission, the purpose and intent were also changed. There was an organized effort to bring this change about. When the Goals for Dallas conferees met at Arlington back in February, they changed this goal because requests had been made frequently at the public meetings. It seems obvious they bowed to pressure. Some of the groups applying pressure include the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, the Dallas Pastor's Association, the Dallas-Fort Worth Catholic Diocese, The Unitarian Universalist Fellowship, National Council of Jewish Women, and the League of Women Voters.[3] In fact, the League of Women Voters issued an extremely biased report on a human relations commission.[4]

The noisiest group voicing support is Citizens for a Human Relations Commission for Dallas, led by Sidney Stahl. In one newspaper interview[5] he pointed out the strong endorsement by the Goals for Dallas program and said that "through a series of town-hall-type meetings, the people of Dallas have expressed a desire to establish a human relations commission." Poppycock! Roughly 1% of the total population of metropolitan Dallas, or 6,400 persons, attended these meetings, which hardly represents the people of Dallas. Many of the neighborhood meetings voted to retain the goal in its original form. Votes of surrounding townships on this question should have been disregarded. "Of even greater importance is the moral climate itself," said Stahl, "so that all Dallasites may live in peace with the right to get an education, raise a family with secu-

rity, free of fear, in total harmony with their neighbors." This last statement, typical of liberal idealism, is the substance of the U. N.'s Declaration of Human Rights.

Certainly, all of us would agree that these noble goals should be the legacy of all Americans. But men are not entitled to these things simply as a matter of right. Our Founding Fathers, when they conceived this nation, recognized that man's rights were not given to him by government, but by God. A decent home, just pay, and social security are not God-given. God gives man the capacity to get these things for himself. One interesting thing about the Declaration of Human Rights is that it doesn't mention who's going to pay for all the benefits it enumerates, nor does it mention that anyone should WORK in order to secure these advantages for himself. God gives capacity and freedom to work and create- no more. Our government or our Constitution cannot guarantee our rights and freedoms. Our rights are secured to us by limitations put upon our government. The nature of government is to trespass and to intrude upon the freedoms of its citizens.

The United Nations has designated the year 1968 as International Year for Human Rights.[6] The Commission on Human Rights proposed that all members in the period prior to the beginning of 1968 make arrangements, if they do not already exist, "which will enable individual persons or groups of persons to bring before independent national tribunals or authorities any complaints they may have concerning the violation of their human rights and obtain effective remedies. In one set of circumstances what may be needed is the establishment of a special court; in another the appointment of an Ombudsman or Procurator General or similar official; in another simply setting up of offices to which individual citizens may bring their complaints."The setting up of a Human Relations Commission in Dallas would meet this cherished goal of the United Nations.

The President's National Crime Commission[7] pointed out that deteriorating relations presently exist between minority groups and the police. Widespread oral abuse and harassment of citizens as well as brutality has contributed to this anti-police feeling, the report said. The study also showed that "few police departments are creating community relations units to try to ease friction, and even high-ranking police officers frequently resist the efforts of the community relations units that do exist." Sure enough, local Negro leaders used the Crime Commission's report to point out police abuse in Dallas and to call for the establishment of a human relations commission.

In May, 1967, a Dallas Chapter of the National Urban League was established.[8] Financed from private sources for the first two years, Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the national group, feels "confident that the United Fund will absorb the League when its value has been demonstrated."

Mayor Jonsson said the Urban League might lessen the need for a human relations commission.[9] Appearing on the scene again, the indominatable Sidney Stahl said how thrilled he was about the Urban League, but that Dallas just simply must have a human relations commission too because both are needed.

What shape or form would a human relations commission take on in Dallas? Until specific concrete proposals are made, we wouldn't know. If a new brand of automobile were about to reach the market, we could reasonably be assured that it would have four wheels, an accelerator, clutch, ignition, and a steering column along with other essentials. We can forecast approximately how a Human Relations Commission would function in Dallas by observing the mechanisms of similar organizations in other cities. The two primers which should be read are, "How to Turn Talk into Action" which is published by the U. S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service, and "A Memorandum to Municipalities: Guidelines for Municipal Human Relations Committees," which is published by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, better known as NAIRO.. The Justice Department pamphlet suggests a commission established by ordinance with the power to initiate investigations into potential areas of trouble and tension. It contends that the commission should also have the power when necessary to hold public hearings and to request and summon the presence of citizens. Oh, shades of a kangaroo court! Also proposed is the granting to such commissions the powers in the area of public accommodations, housing, and employment as broad as the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Is the term, "Human Relations Commission" really a misnomer? Is this a minority group commission designed to cultivate real or imagined grievances against police, business, and the community at large? Would such a commission reduce the orderly processes of community life to petty bickering, suspicion, and hatred? In "Memo to Municipalities" we read that, " a city human relations committee provides a forum where persons can take their grievances to be dealt with. A person with a grievance who has no place to take it tends to build up resentment and this increases the probability that if it cannot be resolved through the established channels, other methods may be utilized." As W. Cleon Skousen points out in his book, The Communist Attack on U. S. Police,[10] "elaborate legal machinery already exists for the channeling of complaints against the

police. These include the police chief (who has more reason than anyone to ferret out any irregularities in his department), the civilian police commissioner (whose job was originally created to receive complaints from the public), the members of the city council, the mayor, the city attorney, the district attorney, the U. S. Attorney, the FBI, the grand jury, and the Federal Grand Jury. All of these have remedial jurisdiction over charges of civil rights violations by police. Long ago it was claimed that local officials would cover up these violations by police, but no such excuse can be used today because for several years charges of police brutality have been within the jurisdiction of the FBI and subject to Federal prosecution." Although Skousen is referring primarily to civilian review boards, many human relations commissions have these corresponding powers. Skousen went on to say that "these boards are conducive to the intimidation of police personnel."

A recent Dallas Morning News[11] editorial said it would be a mistake to give a human relations commission, should one be established in Dallas, police review-board authority because other cities have found that these boards accomplish nothing except to demoralize police and serve as a detriment to effective law enforcement.

Stahl says that a human relations commission devotes itself more toward the total climate of the community, insofar as easing racial tensions and creating a positive social climate.[12] And also, he said that such a commission would foster mutual understanding and respect among economic, social, religious, ethnic and racial groups. Would it? On p.9 of "Memo to Municipalities" we read that "experience suggests that demonstrations may be less likely where an effective human relations group is at work." Newark is a city that has a Commission on Human Rights. In fact, the U. S. Community Relations Service has pointed with pride to Newark as a city of real racial progress because both races have been willing to work together. In six months, Newark opened 376 white-collar jobs to Negroes, which was seven times the number of the year before. Faced now by tragic irony, reasonable members of both races are surely asking, "Why?" The efforts of the Commission on Human Rights are now strewn amidst the burned buildings, the looted merchandise, and the dead and wounded. Other solutions besides coercive governmental agencies must be sought to solve the problems of race relations. These is a message to Dallas from Newark. The Chief of Police in Newark contacted Sargent Shriver on May 25 of this year asking that the local Office of Economic Opportunity desist immediately from using anti-poverty funds to finance groups agitating against the established city

government.[13] Newark has 125 federal anti-poverty workers who spent $2 million on community action projects last year. Also, $277 per capita has been spent for repairing urban blight in Newark which is the highest figure for the nation's 50 biggest cities.[14]

Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. of the Central Intelligence Agency said in sworn testimony before a Senate Judiciary Committee[15] that "many of us know what is back of the mob violence.. ..It is probable, however, that few of the demonstrators realize that they are victims of a war that is being waged in the free world today. It is a life-and-death struggle between Communism....and free world democracy..." He went on to say that the history of the Communist war against the police shows the technique of discrediting the police in the eyes of the people. On the local level, Communist troublemakers start fights in public places in order to involve the local police. Kirkpatrick continued in his description of how a few well-trained Communist agitators can utilize crowds for their purposes.

Newark is presently overflowing with charges of police brutality. One Negro leader blames lousy housing, jobs, education, and poverty as the cause of the rioting. At what percentage does unemployment have to rise that justifies looting and stealing the property of others? At what point does housing become so unattractive that burning is warranted? When does a free education become of such a quality as to render it inferior enough to offer an alibi for murder? There are no answers to the foregoing questions, for no amount of social ills can offer any individual, white or black, cause for anarchic, criminal insurrection.

On June 26, a metropolitan Human Relations Council of Dallas, privately financed and organized was formed. Their objectives are: "To serve as a rallying point for 'intelligence, tolerance, and fair play in race relations.' To encourage and support individuals, organizations and governmental agencies seeking orderly carrying out of laws and court decisions. And, to work for an environment in which 'citizens may live together in decency and dignity, free from discrimination.'" This group supports efforts to have the city create an official Human Relations Commission and to seek affiliation and support from the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. The Rev. Charles Peters of the Methodist Church is the president of the group.[16]

The intricate web of the push for Human Relations Commissions in our country is a long, tangled strand. In our search for beginnings, let us look briefly at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The latest issue of the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (1961) points out that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. Also, this organization was formed "to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South." However, its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Paul Crouch, one of the founders of this group and admitted Communist until 1942, said under oath that this organization "was intended to lead to class hatred, to race hatred, dividing class against class and race against race...." The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee exposed this organization and said it was "conceived, financed and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern States." Following this disclosure, the CPUSA let it die and formed in its place in 1946, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

This strategy is quite common with the communists. If you are exposed, you just change names. The same officers practically, the same address, and the same publication were all retained. Carl and Anne Braden, members of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., have a long history of pro-communist agitation in the South through the SCEF. The Bradens have been identified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as communists. Further information on the Southern Conference Educational Fund can be found in a 1955 document of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee.

The Southern Regional Council is not listed as a communist front in the Guide although it has been called a "transmission belt" and a "front" in the Louisana Legislative Report of 1957. Dr. J. B. Matthews, who co-operated with the socialist-communist forces during the 1930's and played an important part in the whole united front movement, later denounced communism. Testifying before the Georgia Commission on Education in February, 1958 on "Communism and the NAACP," Dr. Matthews showed how the top leadership of the NAACP serves the communist front apparatus. He also pointed out how the top officers of the Southern

Regional Council are also associated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and/or the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Founded in 1944, one of the Southern Regional Council's incorporators was Dr. Rufus Clement who presently serves as one of its Vice Presidents. Rufus Clement is also shown as a national officer of the NAACP who has a record of 27 front affiliations. Some of these fronts to which he belongs are: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress. In fact, three of the five incorporators of the Southern Regional Council had affiliations with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and/or the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Aubrey Williams, President of Southern Conference Educational Fund, is a former Southern Regional Council director and has been named a communist by the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee. Williams also participated in the notorius Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee.

A brochure that is distributed by the Southern Regional Council says that this organization is supported by foundations, church denominations, trade unions, and other friends. A heavy contributor which it does not mention is the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic. Southern Regional Council received the largest single grant that the Ford Foundation has ever awarded...$497,000.[17] In April, 1967, Drew Pearson revealed that $6,000 of CIA taxpayers' money was funneled through the Aaron E. Norman Fund to the Southern Regional Council, while one of the SRC's offspring, the Georgia Council on Human Relations received $2,600. In 1954, SRC organized 11 such councils in southern states, all of which "draw strength... from the resources and support of the Southern Regional Council." Our own Baxton Bryant is head of the Tennessee Commission on Human Rights. In several instances, one of the goals of the councils has been the setting up of civilian review boards. The Alabama Council on Human Relations has been charged with the smearing of local police and bringing charges of police brutality.

Southern Regional Council serves both local and private intergroup relations agencies in the southern area of the United States by giving information, offering program suggestions and conducting studies and surveys. In some cases, local voluntary human relations groups are affiliates of these state councils. Southern Regional Council calls itself a "linkage of people and ideas" where "continuous use of SRC resources

and offices" serve "as a meeting place through which all strands of the human relations movement weave their way". The Georgia Commission on Education says, "the leadership of few units of the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of the Southern Regional Council."

One of the three basic documents involved in the founding of the Southern Regional Council was "The Durham Conference Statement" of 1942.[18] Those in attendance included Clarence A. Laws who was then the Executive Secretary of the New Orleans Urban League. The League of Women Voters, one of the more vocal supporters of the establishment of a local human relations commission quotes Clarence Laws, who presently is Program Co-ordination Officer for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, as a community leader who feels there is an imperative need for a Human Relations Commission in Dallas. "Such a Commission", says Mr. Laws, "would prove beneficial to minority groups in obtaining equality of opportunity in education, job training, and employment. Certainly the areas of housing and police-community relations need attention."

Others who participated in "The Durham Conference Statement" were Edgar P. Holt, then Vice President of the Southern Negro Youth Congress which is listed in the Guide as an affiliate to the Communist Party, USA which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United Stated by unconstitutional means" and as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League. Also, we cannot fail to mention the presence at that meeting of James E. Jackson who was then the Executive Secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. In addition to playing an important role in the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Jackson is presently publisher of the Communist newspaper, The Worker. Now, remember, the new, privately organized Human Relations Council here in Dallas is seeking affiliation with the Southern Regional Council.

In Newark, the most constructive thing that religious, civil rights, and educational leaders could come up with was to charge that Newark Negroes were "shot, beaten, and brutalized" by police and National Guardsmen "without regard to wrongdoing". They proposed that those arrested in the riots should be released with bail and prosecutions should be dropped "when it is evident there is no substantial basis for criminal charges".[19]

Also they proposed that the federal government provide food, medicine, and shelter and that city government should hire young people to clean up the debris. Reasonable people are getting fed up with the term "civil rights." The word "civil" implies law. Disobedience of the law is criminal. We ought to recognize this mob violence for what it is--criminal insurrection-- and start calling it such. Rights must always carry corresponding responsibilities. Instead of hiring young people to clear the wreckage, the people who did it ought to clean it up for nothing as part of their responsibility for their rotten actions. Everybody that was arrested ought to be sentenced to clean up part of the mess. Why don't we start pointing the finger at those forces who are inciting our people to violence and stop blaming society. As Governor Hughes said, "the violence is due to the work of an organization of people who hate America."

Robert F. Greenwald is the Dallas Field Representative for the U. S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service. He has been called the federal government's one-man operation for racial peace in Texas and Louisiana. In an interview with the Dallas Times Herald,[20] Greenwald said: "Most of the riot-torn cities did not have commissions until after the trouble hit. If we are not careful, the minority group member may be developing a belief that the only way he can get anything done is by demonstration or riot. The cities with no history of racial trouble are the very ones that should be establishing the formal lines of official communication. Call it preventive medicine, call it anything you want-- I call it common sense." Mr. Greenwald's memory must be slipping because according to "Memo to Municipalities" dated March 11, 1964 and published by NAIRO, of which group Mr. Greenwald is the North Texas Chapter Chairman, the four most destructive riots have occurred in Watts, Hough, Newark and Detroit. These cities all had established human relations commissions prior to the riots. In fact, Los Angeles is the second oldest commission in the nation, having been formed in 1944. Detroit has had an official commission since 1953. Several letters were written to established human relations commissions throughout the United States asking if there is some type of agency which serves as a source of ideas, research and/or co-ordination in the human relations field. As Miss Eleanor Dungan of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations said, "Definitely there is. This overall national organization is NAIRO"(National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials). Her answer is similar to many other replies. Frederick B. Routh is the Executive Director of NAIRO, and is a former headquarters official of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Routh served as a workshop leader at

the Highlander Folk School, a training ground for Communists, in Monteagle, Tennessee, in 1957.

Dallas has been ridiculed as the only city of its size in the United States which does not have a human relations commission. It is similar to the argument that our teenagers put forth, "But, Mom, everybody's doing it!" In spite of 45% of America's cities that have populations over 30,000 having established human relations commissions with all their programs and professionals, we must sadly admit that race relations have declined and deteriorated to an all time low. We are fast approaching the jungle.

Some will undoubtedly condemn us for not offering a positive alternative solution since we are not in favor of a human relations commission. We do not have a governmental solution to propose. Collective action is not the answer. We all believe in adequate pay, jobs, and housing for all men. There are some situations, however, and here we include race relations that must be solved by individual and voluntary. actions. Violation of law as distinguished from race relations is a governmental and collective problem, and the only cure for this is enforcement of the law. Government should be limited so as to free the creativity of its citizens to solve these problems as their imagination and foresight dictates.

Writing in the Dallas Morning News,[21] Richard Wilson says the major cause of the rioting and killing is the underlying instability of Negro life and the shocking disintegration of the family as the essential basic unit of an orderly society. Wilson continued that anti-riot legislation, anti-poverty programs equal legal rights, even equality in housing have very little to do with reversing the critical breakdown of stable family life within Negro areas. He also referred to the suppressed Moynihan report of a couple of years ago which cited the stupendous rate of illegitimacy among Negroes, the degradation of the male as the head of the family, the disordered and hopeless existence of the dispersed family units as corollaries of unemployment, poor education, malnutrition and illness. Following this line of reasoning, nothing will help the Negro until constancy and stability are reflected in his family life.

Government has no business, or authority for that matter, using coercion in the field of race relations. In the past ten years, there has been a tremendous amount of desegregation but very little integration. Let us call upon the energy, the civil conscience, and the love and benevolence of free men to solve this critical problem. If there is one great enemy of human

progress, it is the arbitrary use of government power. Abuse of power is an all-too-common characteristic of independent commissions. Have we reached the point in Dallas where we have come to believe that only government can handle the problems of minority groups? Have we lost the last vestige of faith in a sense of responsibility to our fellow citizens? Are we afraid that the job will go undone if we do not have a human relations commission established by law and empowered with the writ of subpoena? Surely not. Certainly a human relations commission could muster some high-sounding reasons for existence, but in the process the people of Dallas would have surrendered part of their moral responsibility to their fellow man to a dubious commission. The very substance of good human relations is mutual understanding, a meeting of minds, and co-operative action. This type of relationship cannot be established if the element of coercion is present.

Ray Zauber, writing in the Oak Cliff Tribune[22] fears that a human rights commission in Dallas would be an invitation to extremists and bigots, zealots, and idealists to use an official forum to foment trouble. Also, he said, that although the idea of a commission is well intentioned, the opportunities for abuse make the risk much greater than the potential good.

In the April, 1967 issue of The Freeman, John A. Howard says "there are some fundamental problems that may arise when force becomes the instrument of social interaction..I shall indicate only two. One is that however lofty the original motives of any power-wielding group, human nature is such that that power eventually seems to fall into the hands either of self-serving or self-righteous officers. On the one hand, the original slogans become hypocritical justifications for plundering the community and for gathering more power. On the other, the officers seek additional power in order to force their 'enlightened' views on more and more people." Whenever a minority group commission gains legal authority for subpoena and pressures for legislation, it opens a Pandora's Box of infinite trouble for a city with heretofore harmonious relations between its citizens.

Even though we have pointed out to you the pitfalls of a publicly authorized human relations commission, we also must mention the potential mischief and danger of private groups in this field. Some of the more militant private groups include the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. In fact, Lincoln Lynch, Associate National Chairman of CORE recently told Louisiana Negroes that many would "be asked to kill for freedom."[23]

It has been said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. But, as Frank S. Meyer so aptly said, "If eternal vigilance be the price of liberty, an eternal "no" to encroaching government is its watchword." Let the people of Dallas say "No" to a Human Relations Commission.

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U. S. Department of Justice
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
Washington, D.C. 20530

file

148 Cain Street, Rm. 845
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

August 19, 1968

Mr. Joel Rosenthal
Graduate School Research
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Rosenthal:

Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council, to whom you had written regarding the Orangeburg situation, has shared your letter with me.

The Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice was involved directly in the events at Orangeburg. Mr. Fred Miller of this office and Mrs. Marjorie Curet of the Biloxi, Miss. office were present in Orangeburg at that time. (Mrs. Curet's address is as follows: Cerinich Building, 1104 W. Howard Avenue, Biloxi, Mississippi 39530). I assume that either of these representatives - certainly Mr. Miller - would be able to assist you in your research if you were to approach them directly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Hughes
Field Representative

REH/gl

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council

Sent by Ken Dean - Miss

File Calvin Kytle

U.S. Dept. Community Relations Service

An Unhealthy Sign

By ARCHY FAIRLY
The Hattiesburg American

A couple of hundred editors and publishers at the United Press International sixth annual convention recently had the honor of being addressed by a representative of the U.S. government.

The speaker was Calvin Kytel, acting director of the Community Relations Service, whose presumed purpose is to smooth out racial friction in local areas. To accomplish this successfully, it would seem that a relationship of integrity and cooperation between the agency and all news media should be developed.

Kytle, apparently seeing the situation in a different light, began his performance by telling his audience they were doing a job only half as well as it could be done. He likened himself to the role of a county agent trying to teach stupid farmers how to cultivate their fields. For good measure, he listed ten dos-and-don'ts for the working press, more or less trying to tell them how to run their own business to the government's benefit.

One of Kytle's proposals was that newspapers withhold their stories of civic disorder until passed on by "a member of the police department and a professional staff member of the city human relations commission." Along this line, he suggested that ordinary cityside reporters not be assigned to cover civil rights news, but that this delicate subject be handled by "a man or woman grounded in the social sciences."

Holmes Alexander, a long-time syndicated observer of the national scene, gave this impression of the speech, with which we heartily agree:

"There never was a government in power, whether by usurpation or by election, which didn't think its programs were for the country's best interest, whether the country thought so or not. But it's always a bad sign when any government, by sweet talk or by tough talk, asks the press to get in tune and to sing nothing but hallelujahs."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

533 - 805 Peachtree Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia

July 29, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the pamphlet forwarded to this office with your letter dated July 12, 1954.

Your attention and interest in this matter is cordially appreciated.

Sincerely,

H. O. Hawkins

H. O. Hawkins
Special Agent in Charge

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Enclosed pamphlet "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Democracy." received from 46-14 Queens Boulevard, Long Island, New York.

July 12, 1954

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
805 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The enclosed was received in the mail today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

March 13, 1956

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I sent you yesterday an item received at my home. Today one received at the office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

March 14, 1956

Federal Bureau of Investigation
805 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed fictitiously signed postcard, while not amounting to a threat, is pretty obviously from a disaffected source.

I assume that statistical volume in your files of such items will aid you should you ever need to know who puts out such stuff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Room 533
805 Peachtree Building
Atlanta 8, Georgia

March 21, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 23 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge receipt of material forwarded by you for attention, which items were received by you at your home and office.

Any other matters coming to your attention in which you feel we have interest, your calling them to our attention will be appreciated.

Very truly yours

J. K. Mumford

J. K. MUMFORD
Special Agent in Charge

RECEIVED MAR 23 1956

March 26, 1956

Mr. J. K. Mumford,
Special Agent in Charge
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Room 533
805 Peachtree
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mumford:

Here is an additional item of nastiness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

533 805 Peachtree Street Building
Atlanta 1, Georgia
April 2, 1956

RECEIVED APR 3 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 26, 1956 and the enclosures contained therein.

Your interest in forwarding this material to me is greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

J. K. Mumford

J. K. MUMFORD
Special Agent in Charge

See U.S. Govt - " Dept. of Justice "

VIA AIR MAIL

January 20, 1964

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Morris Abram is bringing his United Nations commission on race relations down to Atlanta this weekend, and I shall be involved with it Friday night. This means that I shall not be down in Tampa to hear your address to the Florida Council on Human Relations. Almost as bad as missing you, I will have to take a night coach down in order to meet my engagement on Saturday noon. I am very sorry that I will not get to hear you.

I notice also that you are speaking Thursday in Nashville for the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Here at SRC we are very grateful to you for the numerous occasions in which you have addressed state Councils. It is very good of you to do so.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Telegram sent 12/18/64

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

If possible, could we advance Tuesday's appointment to 1:30? No reply necessary. Can phone your secretary Tuesday morning.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

See U.S. Govt in Dept. of Justice

MEMORANDUM December 10, 1965

To: JS & NM and anyone else concerned
From: MMJ

Wiley Branton has moved into his office at Justice. He's in ROOM 1618, Main Justice Building. Telephone: 737-8200, ext. 3866.

Wiley says, however, that he would prefer to receive SRC materials at his home address -- 825 - 6th Street, N. W., Washington.

For those who may need it, his home telephone number is: 347-7192

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON 25

RECEIVED
SEP 29
RECEIVED

SEP 28 1953

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the Kentucky Labor School during July of this year, one of our field representatives, Miss Dorothy Frost, had an opportunity to meet you and to enjoy your course on the social and economic problems of the South. From Miss Frost's description of the interesting and challenging presentation which you made to that group on this subject, it occurs to me that you would be an ideal person to participate in a panel discussion which the Women's Bureau is now in process of organizing.

For several years now the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor has been cooperating with various States in holding regional conferences on labor statistics and research problems of mutual interest to Federal and State Labor Departments. The third such conference among the Southern States, sponsored jointly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Department of Labor of the State of Georgia, is to be held this year, October 14-16, at Atlanta, Georgia. The States which have been invited are as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

This year the Women's Bureau has been asked to plan a session of the conference on the significance of statistical data in relation to the problems of women's employment in the South; and I have been requested to chair a panel discussion on this topic. I am enclosing a tentative outline of the session as we now hope it can be organized. As can be seen from the outline, we are hopeful that you will be able to make a brief presentation (about 15 minutes) to the group on the general subject of data in relation to the changing economic and social condition of the South. From what Miss Frost has told me, it seems that you are eminently qualified to describe for this group the significance of these changes and of the need for factual data as a tool for measuring and interpreting the changes. We would hope, of course, that you will touch upon the role of women, both as workers and homemakers, in relation to these social and economic changes, and of the growing urgency for knowing the facts about these women. However, the topic may be dealt with in as broad a fashion as you think appropriate for the occasion. Following the presentations of the panel members, I

think that we can expect some thought-provoking questions and discussion between the conferees and the panel members; and the program allows about an hour for this kind of discussion.

The schedule for printing of the conference program requires us to know as soon as possible the names and titles of panel members. I hope very much that you will be able to lend us your assistance in this matter; and that you will let us know, by telegraph (collect), that you will participate in the program. (If you wish any changes made in your title as we have shown it in the tentative agenda, please let us have this information as the same time.)

As soon as we have heard from you concerning your acceptance, we shall write you more fully concerning the arrangements for the conference. If you have any questions concerning the program, please do not hesitate to ask.

I am looking forward to hearing from you, and I trust I shall have the pleasure of working with you for a successful conference.

Sincerely yours,

Frieda S. Miller

Frieda S. Miller
Director

Enclosure

Tentative Agenda for Session of Third Southern States Conference on Labor Statistics, Atlanta, Georgia

Thursday, October 15

MORNING SESSION

9:45 A.M. PANEL DISCUSSION: SIGNIFICANCE OF STATISTICAL DATA IN RELATION TO PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Discussion Leader: Frieda S. Miller, Director
Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor

A. Introductory Statement

Jean Campbell, Women's Bureau
U. S. Department of Labor

B. Data in Relation to the Changing Economic and Social Conditions of the South

Proposed panel member: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

C. Benefits of Labor Legislation for Women

Proposed panel member: Daisy Donovan, Division of Child Labor, Alabama Department of Industrial Relations

D. Georgia's Need for Employment Data by Sex

Proposed panel member: Ben T. Huiet, Commissioner, Georgia State Department of Labor

E. Data in Relation to Effective Utilization of Women in Industry

Proposed panel member: Florence Harris, Regional Secretary, Y.W.C.A., Atlanta, Georgia

September 22, 1953
Women's Bureau
U. S. Department of Labor

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON 25

RECEIVED
OCT 8
Southern Regional Council

OCT 6 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am very pleased to hear that you will be able to participate in the panel discussion on the significance of statistical data in relation to the problems of women's employment, in Atlanta, on October 15. I am certainly looking forward to the contribution I am sure you will make in your discussion of the social and economic changes in the South.

This session of the conference is scheduled to begin at 9:00 a.m. and will be held in Room 655, Peachtree Seventh Building, 50 Seventh Street, NE. You are, of course, most welcome to attend any other sessions of the conference which opens on Wednesday, with registration at 9:30 a.m. in Room 664 of the same building. Mr. Bagdon, Regional Director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, will be glad to give you additional information about the program scheduled for other sessions of the conference. If you have not already heard from him, he can be reached at Elgin 3311, extension 5416.

I am planning to arrive in Atlanta on Tuesday, October 13, and shall call you at your office sometime during the afternoon to arrange a time when we can meet with other members of the panel for a brief discussion of the details of our session of the conference. Perhaps the hour immediately following the close of the Wednesday afternoon session would be the most appropriate time, if your schedule will permit it.

I am certainly looking forward to meeting you in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Frieda S. Miller

Frieda S. Miller
Director

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
ROOM 664, 50 SEVENTH STREET NE.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

November 3, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation, on behalf of the Georgia Department of Labor and the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, for your attendance and active interest in the Third Southern States Conference on Labor Statistics, held recently in Atlanta. Your participation contributed materially toward making this meeting an extremely successful one.

I am certain all of us benefited from this exchange of knowledge and experience and that we shall look forward to our next meeting. As you probably know, we have had firm invitations to hold our 1954 meeting in the State of North Carolina, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. These invitations will be considered very carefully and early in 1954, we will consult with you concerning the time and location of our next conference.

In the meantime, we will secure for you copies of the charts and materials used by Commissioner Clague in his presentation on the economic situation and other selected publications which state agencies have available for distribution.

If you should have any comments or suggestions concerning our conferences, please feel free to let me know. I am looking forward to seeing you again sometime in the near future.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially,

BA Bagdon

Brunswick A. Bagdon
Regional Director

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED JAN 3 1956

December 29, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, N. E.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

During this holiday season we in the Trade Union Programs Division of the U. S. Department of Labor, Office of International Labor Affairs are thinking of our good friends who have so generously cooperated with us during the year. Please accept our sincere thanks and grateful appreciation for your assistance in support of our program, and for the many courtesies extended to our foreign trade union visitors.

Looking forward to our continuing pleasant association in this mutual endeavor, we wish you a very Prosperous New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas M. Holleran

Thomas M. Holleran, Chief
Trade Union Programs Division

January 22, 1957

United States Department of Labor
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Peachtree-7th Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please forward two (2) copies of the 1955 Directory of Labor Unions in the United States, Bulletin No. 1185 to me in care of the above address. Also, please send two (2) copies of the August, 1956, supplement, Structure of AFL-CIO. I am enclosing $1.00 in cash to cover this order.

Yours truly,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosure

Dr. Fleming

MEMORANDUM

April 14, 1958

TO: MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: ELIZABETH B. HERRING

At my request Mr. Frank E. Johnson, Assistant Director in charge of Farm Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, has sent me enough copies of the attached release to send to member organizations. In his letter Mr. Johnson says "I will be glad to have any comments you may care to make concerning the proposed program actions."

In my reply to Mr. Johnson, I said: "I am glad to see that you have new policies and programs in mind to achieve maximum use of domestic labor. A transportation plan already considered a necessity for use of foreign labor will, I assume, be a part of your domestic labor strategy."

Mr. Johnson is making a sincere effort to improve the administration of the Farm Labor program. It is important, therefore, for our members to write to him assuring him of support and making constructive suggestions. Will you write directly if you feel you can and, if not, will you send me your suggestions and I will compile them without use of your name.

Mr. Johnson should be addressed at the Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C.

NEWS from the U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
James P. Mitchell, Secretary

USDL-2360

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions
April 6, 1958

EXecutive 3-2420
Extension 2823

STEPPED UP RECRUITMENT OF DOMESTIC FARM WORKERS URGED BY MITCHELL

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell today announced farm labor recruitment will be intensified and expanded this year in a major effort to effect the fullest use of the Nation's domestic farm labor supply, provide jobs for unemployed workers, and curtail the use of foreign workers in agriculture.

"I have directed Assistant Secretary Newell Brown and Bureau of Employment Security Director Robert C. Goodwin not to approve employer requests for foreign workers where, through additional recruitment efforts of employers and the State employment services, domestic workers can be obtained to meet farm labor needs," Secretary Mitchell said. "Because of the current labor supply situation, employers will find workers available in areas which have not been sources of labor supply in recent years.

"I anticipate that in some areas the need for foreign workers can be eliminated. There will be areas, however, which will continue to need foreign workers to meet seasonal demands, and requests for such workers will be filled in accordance with approved procedures. Even in these areas it should be possible to effect some reduction in the number of foreign workers because of the increased number of available domestic workers. In all cases where foreign workers are brought into an area, the Department's policy of giving priority to qualified domestic farm workers for available farm jobs will be rigidly enforced."

(More)

The Secretary also stated that the Bureau of Employment Security had, at his request, been making a complete review of its procedures governing the employment of foreign workers in agriculture. The purpose of this review is to determine what new policies and programs are necessary to achieve the greatest use of domestic labor.

Secretary Mitchell said that the Bureau of Employment Security is asking the full cooperation of agricultural employers in holding down the number of imported farm workers. The Bureau has written its agricultural advisory committee requesting its assistance. The Bureau has also asked all State employment security agencies to intensify their farm labor recruitment activities and to publicize existing farm job opportunities in urban areas in an effort to recruit unemployed workers with previous experience in farm work, the Secretary said.

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Labor - D.C. (BES 58-842)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

DEC 17 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At this holiday season, may I tell you how much your cooperation in our foreign visitor program has meant to me during the past year.

The Department of Labor cooperates in carrying out the technical program for the International Cooperation Administration as well as the Department of State's International Exchange Service program. In so doing we are striving to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and increasing mutual understanding between the people of the United States and people of other countries. The success of this work has been made possible by the active sponsorship and support of people like yourself who have given unselfishly of their time and assistance in meeting with the foreign visitors.

I sincerely hope that Christmas will be a joyful one for you and your family, and that the New Year will bring continued accomplishment.

Sincerely yours,

James P. Mitchell

Secretary of Labor

VIA AIR MAIL

April 15, 1959

Miss Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Employment Security
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Church:

There is indeed a South Carolina Council on Human Relations, headquartered in Columbia. The name of the director is Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, and the chairman currently is Mr. Courtney Siceloff of the Penn Community Services, Inc., St. Helena's Island, Frogmore, South Carolina.

The South Carolina Council is not formally affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, but it is one of the state groups created by SRC and we have a close and cooperative relationship. Although I don't know what has brought the South Carolina Council to your attention, I can assure you of the organization's constructive purposes and integrity.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

IN REPLY REFER TO EMC

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

Rec'd 4/15/59

April 14, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Would you be good enough to let us know, by return mail, if there is a Human Relations Council in Columbia, South Carolina? If so, is it affiliated with the Southern Regional Council? If there is to your knowledge a Human Relations Council in Columbia, even though it may not be affiliated with your organization, will you please send to us the name and address of its Director if you have such information.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta Church

(Miss) Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant

IN REPLY REFER
TO

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

November 1, 1962

Barbara, might want to keep this guy's name for future ref.

TO: Community Leaders

FROM: Arthur A. Chapin, Special Assistant
U. S. Department of Labor A.A.C.

SUBJECT: Informational Material of the Department of Labor

The Secretary of Labor is vitally concerned with the continued advancement of our Nation's economy, and has stated that the skills of all our workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, is our continued objective.

We in the Department of Labor are striving to hasten the attainment of full employment and the extension of equal opportunity to all citizens on an equal basis. Enclosed, therefore, is a series of recent publications which we believe you will find of interest. This series include the following:

1. The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, Revised 1962.

2. The American Dream...Equal Opportunity, May 19, 1962.

3. The Manpower Development and Training Act.

4. Employment Security Review (April 1962 Issue) - The NEW United States Employment Service, 1962.

I hope that this informational material will be of assistance to you.

Enclosures

March 25, 1963

The Honorable Luther T. Hodges
Secretary of Labor
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

My dear Secretary Hodges:

A copy of your February 25th speech which you presented to the Memphis Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews has been made available to us. We here at the Southern Regional Council felt this to be a very significant address and, therefore, have included excerpts from it in one of our Leadership Reports. As you will see, excerpts from a speech by Governor Bert T. Combs of Kentucky are also included in this report.

The enclosed copy is being sent to you for your information and files.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file
U.S. Dept. of Labor

July 20, 1963

Mr. King Carr
Office of the
Administrative Assistant Secretary
U.S Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear King:

I was very pleased to hear from you the other day. I didn't quite get clear whether you are making budget for the President's Committee as it is, or the statutory Committee that it is hoping to be, but perhpas that makes little difference. At any rate, I am glad it is you who is doing it.

I am sending enclosed one report we did on the President's Committee titled, Plans for Progress. It created something of a fuss, and I suspect you may run across its tracks. We don't have anything else specifically on the Committee, though in the two other publications enclosed you might be interested particularly in pages 12 to 15 and pages 32 to 36 of the Federal Executive and Civil Rights; and pages 27 to 39 of Executive Support of Civil Rights.

I shall plan to look in on you when next in Washington, and I hope you will call or write if we can be of any help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosures

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

October 1, 1963

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Thank you for sending a copy of the Economic Status of Negroes, and also for the list of Southern Regional Council publications.

I have reviewed the list, and shall be glad if we may take advantage of your offer of help by requesting one copy each of several publications. They are as follows:

THE CITY AND THE NEGRO, Silberman (Fortune reprint)
THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: Houston, Atlanta, Chattanooga
THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, Dunbar (Virginia Quarterly Review)
THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS (Washington Post reprint)
PLANS FOR PROGRESS
FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES, Mizell
BUSINESS--NEXT TARGET FOR INTEGRATION? Harvard Business Review reprint
LEADERSHIP REPORTS -- Nos. L-24, L-37, L-38, L-43.

We shall be most grateful for this material, if you can send it.

Three more copies of the list of publications would be welcome also. We should be glad to be on the mailing list for your publications.

Yours sincerely,

Marion Hayes

Marion Hayes

10-11-63

November 1, 1963

Mr. Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chapin:

We are hereby requesting 10 copies of the revised labor standards intended to eliminate racial discrimination in apprenticeship programs. It is our understanding that the proposed standards, accompanied by compliance procedures, replace the original regulation issued last July 26.

We would like very much to have, for our information and research purposes, the regulation issued last July 26, as well as the revised standards, issued October 20.

Receipt of these copies at your earliest possible convenience would be highly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm

for: U.S. Govt.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

DEC 12 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As you may be aware, the International Labor Organization has established a special Committee on Discrimination, of which I am Chairman, to consider the most effective manner in which to strengthen the action of the ILO in the field of discrimination in employment. The enclosed "Report of the Committee on Discrimination" provides more detailed information concerning the work of the Committee and its objectives. You will note that paragraph 4 of this report suggests certain measures for the implementation of a special program.

I am also enclosing for your information a copy of the Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations concerning Discrimination in Employment and Occupation. This report is based on information concerning 138 countries (90 Member States of the ILO and 48 Non-Metropolitan Territories) and also contains the basic text of ILO Convention No. 111 concerning Discrimination in Employment and Occupation.

I am having a meeting in my office on January 6th, at 10 a.m., to draw upon the resources of non-governmental organizations having an interest in this field for the purpose of developing the broad outlines of a program suitable for coping with the problems of discrimination in employment within the terms of the committee report. Ideas developed at this meeting will then be presented in appropriate form to the Committee on Discrimination for consideration at its session in Geneva next February.

I would appreciate it very much, if you could attend this meeting and give us the benefit of your experience. The meeting will be in my office, Room 3104, U. S. Department of Labor, 14th and Constitution Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Pamphlet in Research Files

Sincerely yours,

Ex. 3-
ex. 2071

George L-P Weaver
Assistant Secretary
International Affairs

Enclosures

Chapin letter
& enclosures (news releases)
file in Research
file: U.S. Govt. Dept. of Labor

March 23, 1964

Mr. Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the Secretary
of Labor
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chapin:

From time to time you have had sent to us collections of recent news releases. I have just now got through the batch which you forwarded on February 25, and I am prompted to do what has occurred to me before, and that is to tell you how helpful I find these and how useful they are to our research staff. It seems to me that they are prepared in the best tradition of governmental information; i. e., to pinpoint problems with information the public needs.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
U.S. Dept. of Labor

Revised Copy

via air mail

March 24, 1964

Mr. Daniel P. Moynihan
Assistant Secretary of Labor
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moynihan:

I was in attendance last week at the Civil Liberties Clearing House conference when you spoke, and was much instructed by your talk. I wonder if you have a copy available, or if not, whether you could send to me the statistics that you used? I noticed in the newspapers last Friday that Secretary Wirtz was using some of the same illustrations in committee hearings of the Senate I believe. Perhaps a copy of his testimony would serve us as well, if that is available.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

Rcvd 3/30/64 File: U.S. Govt Dept. of Labor

March 25, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Moynihan is taking a much deserved ten-day leave, and will not be in the office until April 6. I am sending you a copy of his speech to the Civil Liberties Clearing House conference. Unfortunately, I do not have a copy of Secretary Wirtz' testimony before the House Subcommittee.

Filed Research

Sincerely yours,

Wilmeth Evitts

(Mrs.) Wilmeth P. Evitts
Secretary to Mr. Moynihan

Enclosure

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rec'd 10/14/64

IN REPLY REFER TO

ROIV-25.1 Gen (ES)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

Room 632, 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
October 15, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We appreciate the courtesy extended to representatives of this office and the opportunity to meet with members of your staff on October 12, 1964.

Representatives in attendance from this office have reviewed with me the discussions which transpired. We now have a much better understanding of the organizational structure, operations and objectives of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. We trust that you and members of your staff also found the meeting to be helpful.

It was a most gracious gesture on the part of your organization to offer to serve as host and coordinator for a like meeting on a monthly basis. In view of the most encouraging results of this meeting, we feel confident that much can be accomplished by the continuity of this type of effort.

We shall look forward to working with you with regard to any matters in which we may be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest L. Marbury
Regional Administrator

File
U. S. Govt
Dept. of Labor.

April 7, 1966

Mr. James W. Lundberg
Personnel Staffing Specialist
U. S. Department of Labor
Office of the Assistant Secretary
for Administration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lundberg:

We are happy to be of any possible assistance in your recruitment program. However, and I am sure you have already discovered, there is a serious limit in the persons available for positions in this field and the competition for those who are available is great.

I doubt frankly that you will ever be so fortunate as to develop a ppol of qualified candidates to draw from as your needs arise.

We will forward to you any applicants who seem to us appropriate for your interests.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1966

VJL
AR
DB

3

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Harry Fleishman of the American Jewish Committee suggested I get in touch with you. I am recruiting minority group members to be considered for the jobs discussed in the enclosed prospectuses. For the Manpower Analyst GS-14, a Ph.D is needed with considerable involvement in professional organizations and the other job, I think, is adequately described.

If you are successful in locating any candidates I would be very pleased to receive a resume' or standard Form 57 from them. Even if I am unsuccessful in placing minority group member in these jobs as time goes on there will be additional similar vacancies for which they would qualify. Eventually, I hope to develop a pool of qualified candidates for Department of Labor jobs from which we will make a number of placements.

Thank you for any assistance you can give men.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Lundberg

James W. Lundberg
Personnel Staffing Specialist

File Govt. U.S. Dept. of Labor

September 11th, 1967

MEMORANDUM

Miss McRary
U. S. Department of Labor
Atlanta
526-5564

called

Didn't show up

Mr. Joe McClure
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

will be in Atlanta during the week of September 18th and would like an appointment to see you sometime during that week. I told Miss McRary we would call back and set a definite time.

Kathy

Have Mr. McClure call next week

make it Wed. Morning if def time needed

Mon Tues or Fri

she will talk to Mr McClure today probably & call us back again

Fire
U.S. Govt
Dept. of Labor

November 28, 1967

Mr. Brunswick A. Bagdon
Regional Director
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Suite 540, 1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Bagdon:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sharing the two reports. Both of them are quite good and will be helpful to us. If it is convenient, I would appreciate two additional copies of the report "Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States."

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
SUITE 540, 1371 PEACHTREE STREET NE.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

November 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed are copies of two new reports I think will be of interest to you.

We can provide a limited number of additional complimentary copies of the report relating to the social and economic conditions of Negroes should you wish them.

Sincerely,

B. A. Bagdon

Brunswick A. Bagdon
Regional Director

Enclosures

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

14 JAN 1969

Enclosed is a booklet just released by the U.S. Department of Labor-Manpower Administration entitled "Hope for Tomorrow." Because of your interest and concern in human dignity, I am forwarding to you complimentary copies. It is a very exciting publication, and I trust that you will find it interesting and rewarding.

It may offer also a better understanding of how far we have still to travel in developing a human society for a better tomorrow.

Arthur A. Chapin
Director, Office of Equal
Opportunity in Manpower Programs

Enclosures

"...hope for tomorrow..."

"In every child who is born,
under no matter what circumstances,
and of no matter what parents,
the potentiality of the human race
is born again:
and in him, too, once more,
and of each of us,
our terrific responsibility
towards human life...."

JAMES AGEE

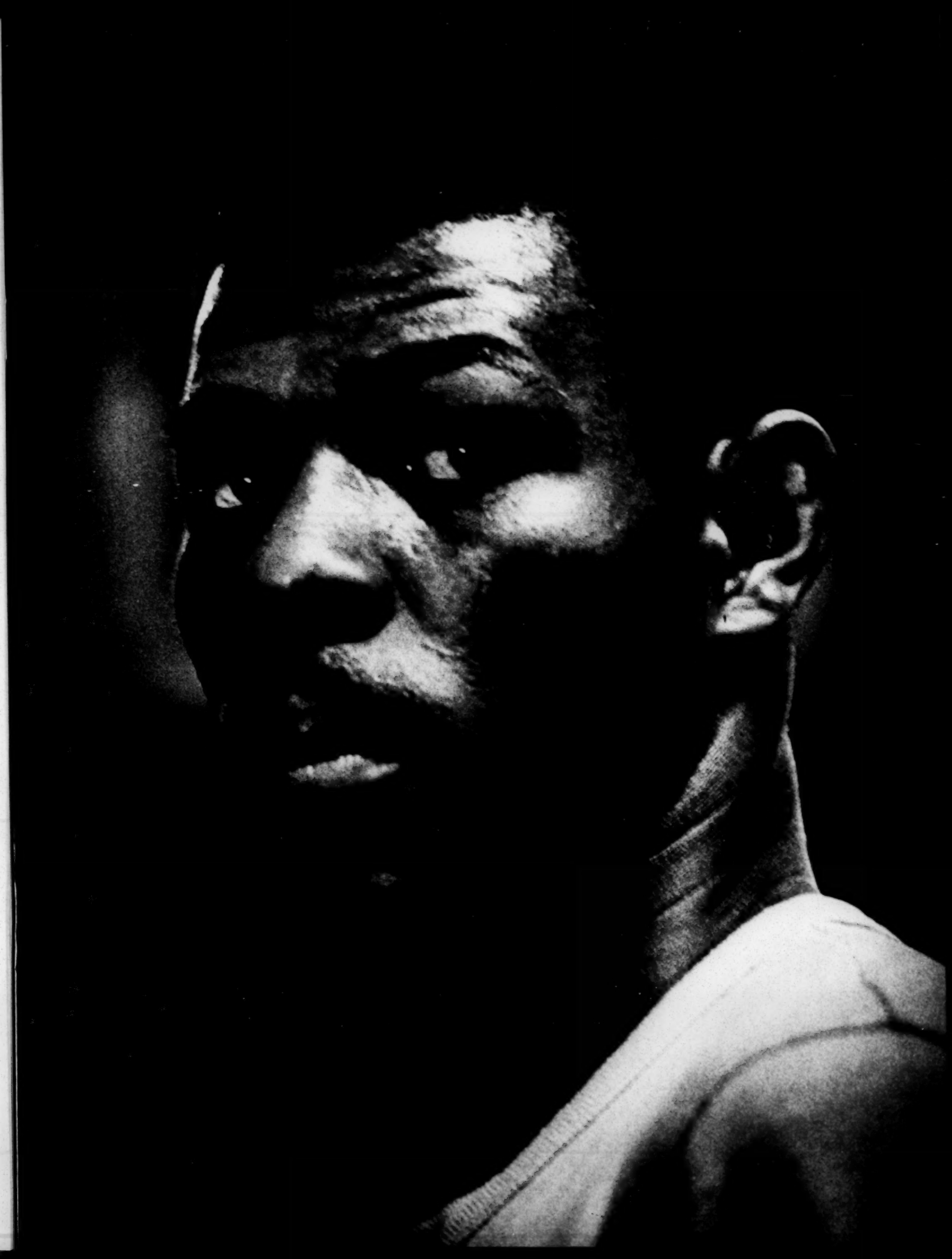
in *LET US NOW PRAISE FAMOUS MEN*

The terms "hard-core," "sub-employment," and "disadvantaged" have become as familiar to the 1960's as the terms "astronaut," "transistor," and "multimedia."

For the early 1960's brought America to a startling realization that many of its well-intentioned manpower and welfare programs were failing.

There were the hard-core unemployed, the under-employed, the poverty stricken, of the inner cities, of rural America -- the hard-core, who knew nothing but poverty, who often were never even touched by those programs.

In a Nation as rich in materials and resources as America, the unemployment of millions of her people, the starvation of many, presented a strange paradox.



The Concentrated Employment Program, announced in June 1967, was an answer to this. In a refocusing of existing programs, in an intensive, comprehensive attack on hard-core unemployment, CEP would find the hard-core, offer them everything they needed, from basic education to health services, to make them employable, productive individuals.

It would train them, place them in jobs. Then it would do everything possible to help them remain in those jobs.

In the beginning, there would be 21 programs, in 19 cities and 2 rural areas. One of these two would be in Michigan. The other, in a little-known section of America called the Mississippi Delta.

The Mississippi Delta -- a cotton-producing alluvial plain lying between the Yazoo River and the Mississippi.

A tract of land, 18 counties, one-quarter of Mississippi's territory, where 25 percent of the State's population lives. About two-thirds are Negro. Almost all are, or were, tenant farmers.

The Delta contains an alarming magnification of the problems afflicting Mississippi--

- where almost half the population is either illiterate or stunted by inadequate education.
- where 48 percent of the 1 million people over 25 have no more than an eighth-grade education.
- where 54 percent of the young men flunked the Armed Forces qualification test in 1964.

Mississippi has no compulsory school attendance laws. No one is sure just how many youths are not in school.

More than one-third of the State's families live in poverty. Nearly 10 percent of its work force is unemployed or underemployed. One-fourth of the population lives on welfare.

The Delta is this. And more. Where cotton is king, the industrial revolution has replaced people with machines on a massive scale. In a few weeks, the age-old share-cropping system was virtually annihilated.

And what do you do if you can't farm the land? And you have, say, a third-grade education? And you can't write? And all you know is farming? And you have six kids...?

Existence here in the backlands of the Delta is far removed from the complexities of urban America. Life is basic: What do we do for food? What do we do for money? What do we do if the kids are sick?

What little security the people once felt has been destroyed by cheaper, more efficient machines. There is resignation. There is apathy. There is even despair, a silent despair born shortly after hope for the future died.

And the children. They will be undereducated, if educated at all. They will be unskilled. As their awareness grows, their hope will begin to die.

They can migrate north, to the larger industrialized cities. But they have little to offer. And many are unwilling to trade what little they do have for the terrifying jungle of an inner city.

The Delta is agricultural America. There are farms. But not those most urban Americans are seeing today in their museums, parks, or from passing trains or automobiles. There is poverty equal to, often exceeding, that of the inner city.

In the 30-odd years since Agee immortalized the southern sharecropper, little of the condition of these people has changed.

If there is the potentiality of the human race here, the question is, how does one reach it before it dies? Or possibly, revive it once it is dead?

Or where do you begin cultivating the hope that died years ago in a man or woman who might today be 30 or 40 years of age?

And where do you begin with the children, so they might have a chance their parents missed?

The Delta Concentrated Employment Program operates in an area larger than Connecticut. Where there are literally tens of thousands of poverty-stricken unemployed and underemployed, it seeks out first the thousands most severely disadvantaged, those who are heads of households.

The program is flexible, unstructured, geared to the individual. No one is kept in a program for any set period of time. If interest, aptitude, and capability permit, the enrollee is moved at his own pace into employment.

The Delta CEP operates from two centrally located facilities -- in Greenwood and in Greenville. Into these two centers some 100 persons are channeled each week.

As do its counterparts across the Nation, the Delta CEP draws upon all existing welfare and manpower agencies for operative support.

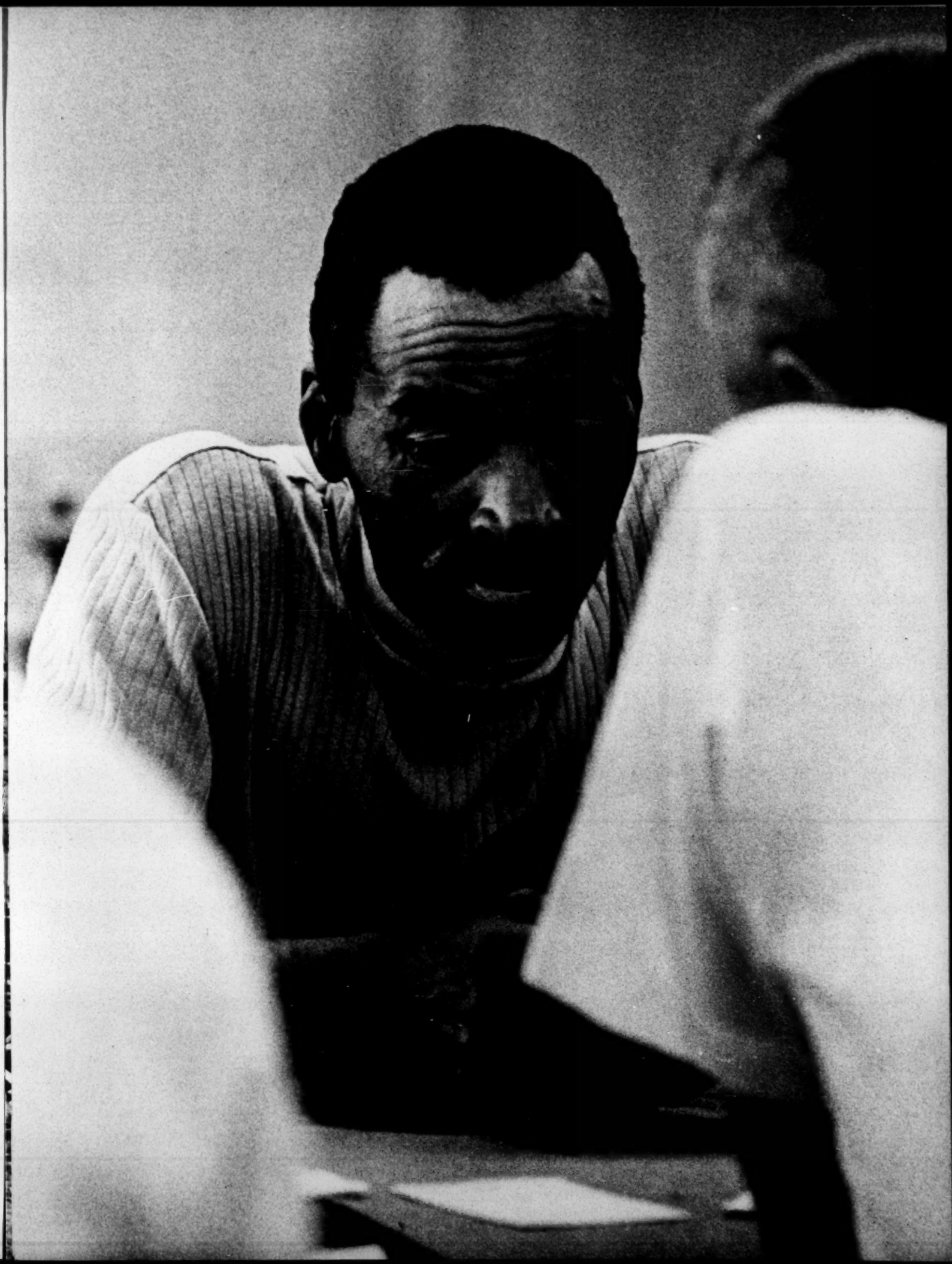
Recruiting, counseling, testing, and job placement are handled primarily by workers from eight local Mississippi State Employment Service offices. The Service also operates the centers in Greenwood and Greenville.

Instructors and facilities for basic education and skill training are provided by the State's Vocational Education Department.

Basic education for illiterates is handled by the Adult Education Division, State Education Department. Comprehensive health services are offered by the Department of Public Health.

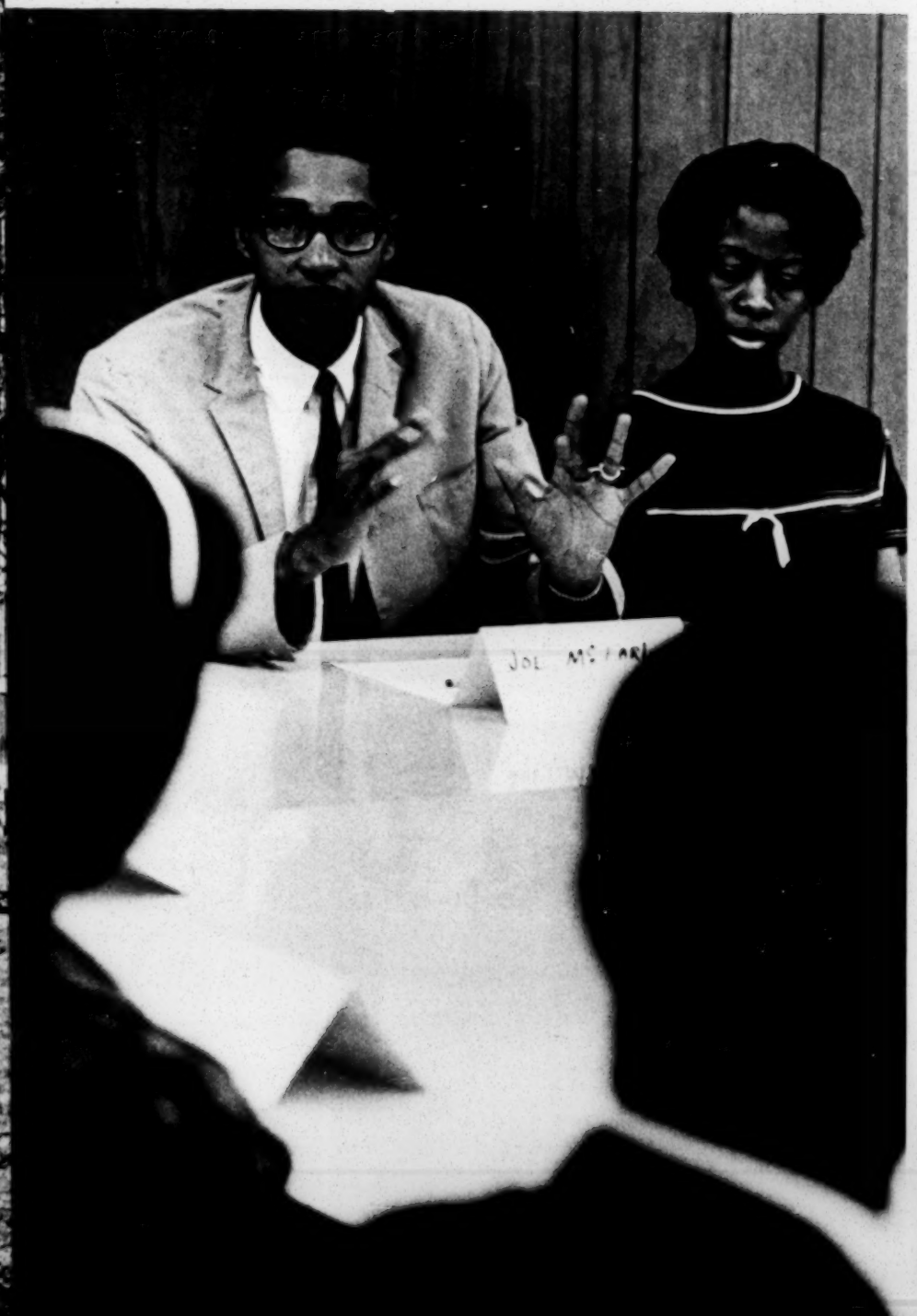
If psychiatric or psychological services are required, they come from the Vocational Rehabilitation Division, Education Department. Social services for the trainees and his or her family come from the Department of Public Welfare.

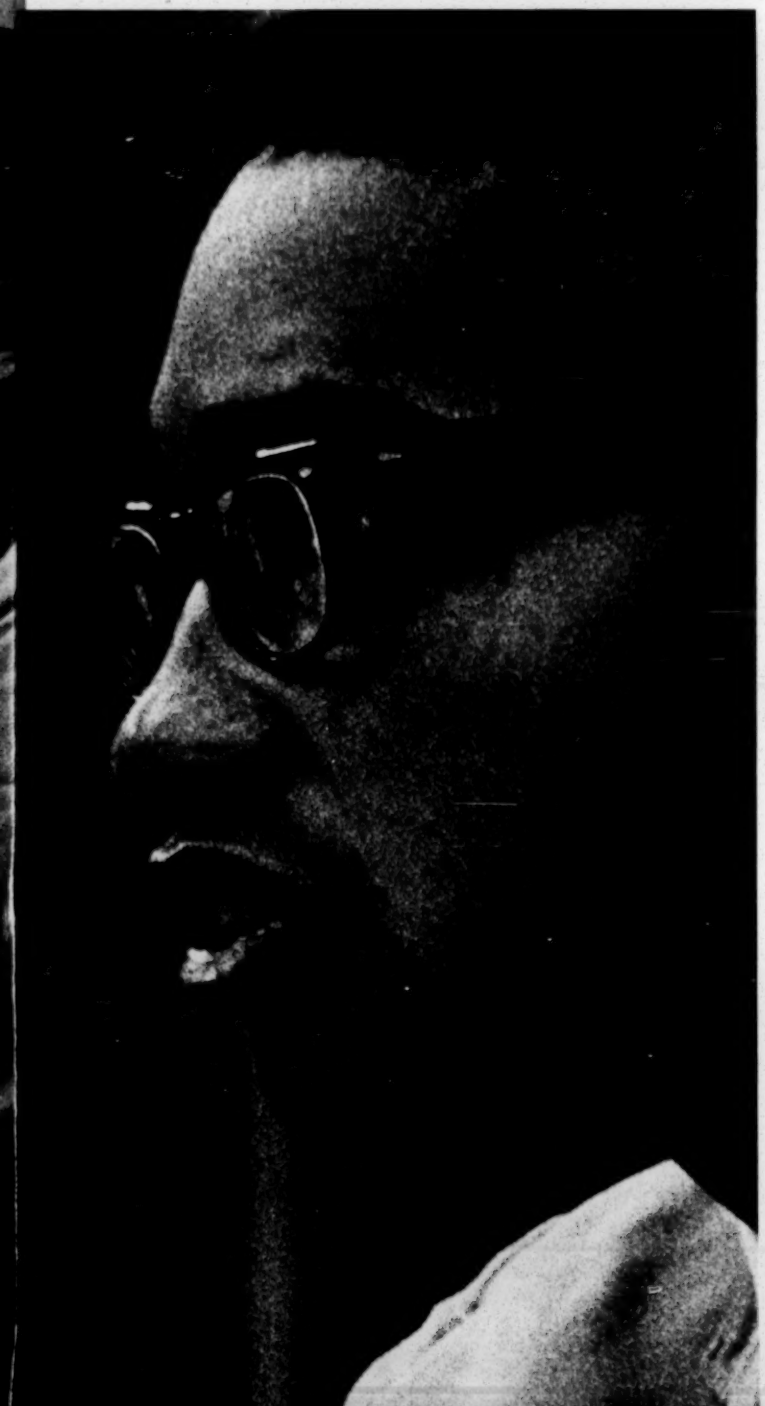
There are also seven Community Action Programs, a Youth Opportunity Center, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Operation Mainstream, five Star Centers, and a Project Mark program to provide the CEP with concentrated help in recruiting and manpower training.



Recruiters, canvassing an area 200 miles long and 75 miles wide, talk with residents, encourage or convince them to join. Their major obstacle: overcoming apathy and distrust.

Various welfare agencies of the Delta refer others to the program. Some walk in off the streets.





Orientation is extensive. In group discussions, the trainees cover simple matters which many adults long ago committed to habit. For example, converting checks into cash. Their training allowance will be paid by check. Many had never seen a check before.

They discuss personal hygiene, venereal disease, family planning. The rewards of work. Why people work. The use of money. Self-respect. Prestige. Security. Being a good citizen.

They talk about reading newspapers. The job market. The job interview. The use of good English. How to use a telephone. Behavior at work. Arrest records.

They consider the problems they have had in getting and holding jobs in the past. What problems they see in the future. A private employer speaks to the group, discussing the mechanics of employment, encouraging them to select a goal, to work toward that goal. They discuss the job application form, the information necessary when filling one out.

"The counselor will sum up what the group has said, and bring out the fact that they should think positively and not negatively," the orientation manual states. "They should be able to recognize their problems and overcome them, but not let their thoughts of problems outweigh their thoughts of assets.

"The counselor should point out that they should think of themselves as an individual who has something to offer an employer, and not think of themselves as being of a particular race or sex.

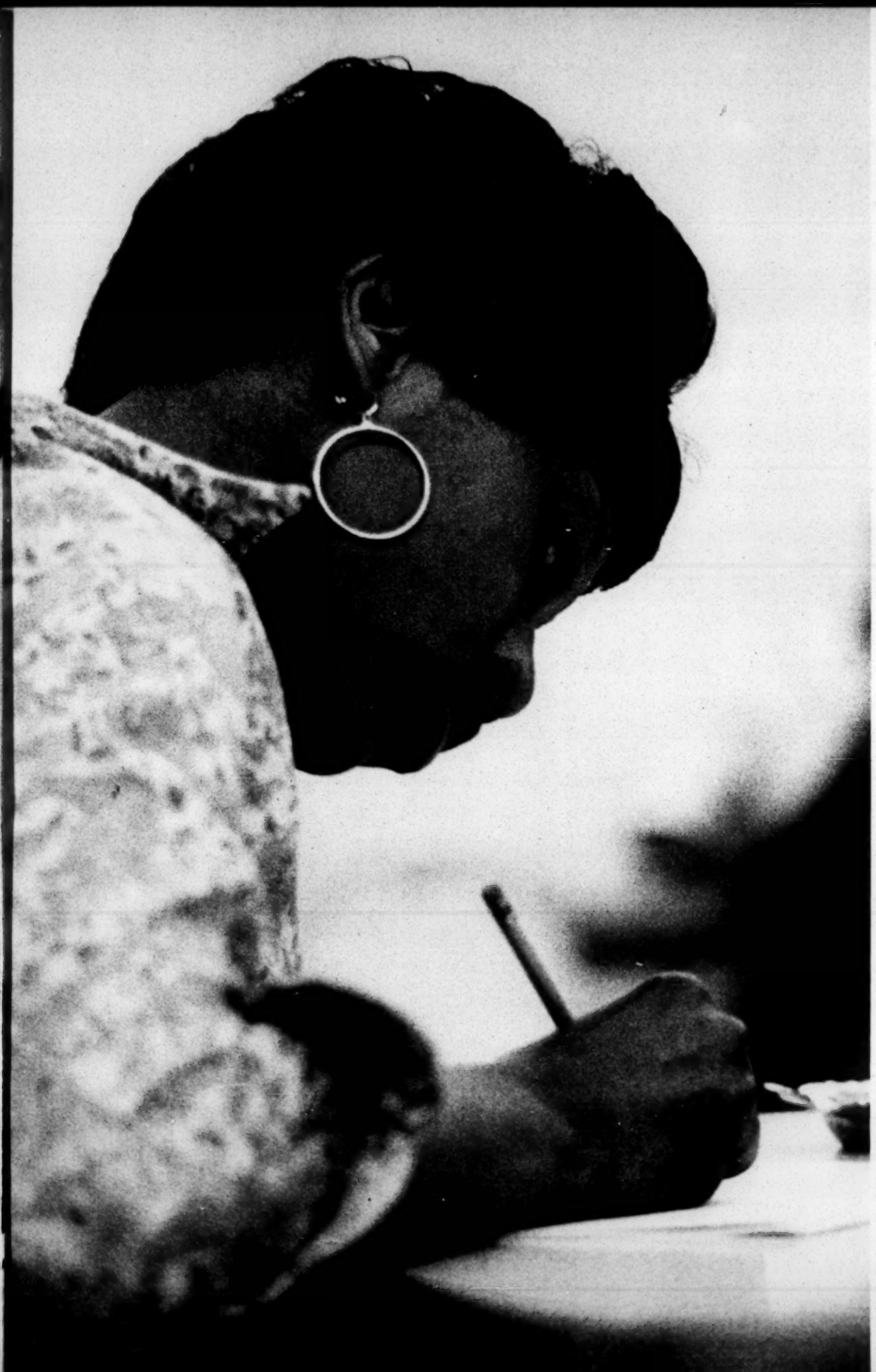
"The counselor is really saying 'have *pride* in yourself,' but is saying it in such a way that the group can understand it better."

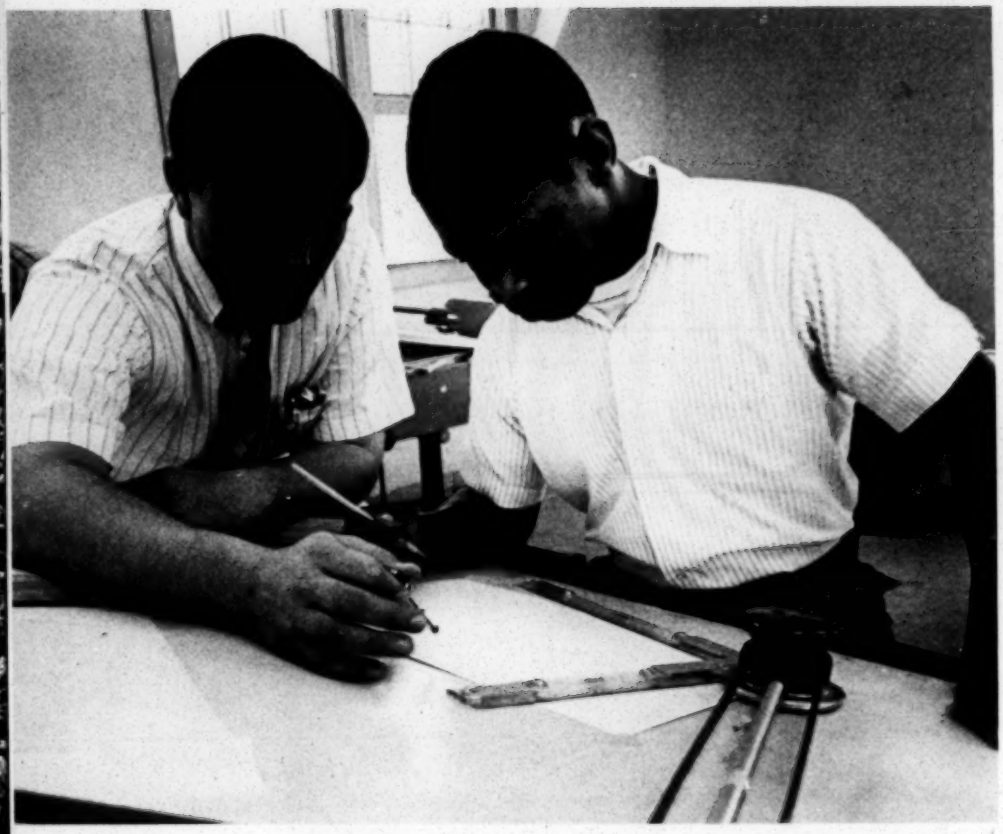
Because this possibly is a way in which they have never thought before.

Enrollees are tested, their job potential evaluated, determined. Counselors assist the trainees in compiling a resume. Those ready for employment are placed. The majority are phased into whatever program they require -- basic education, work experience, vocational training.

They might be channeled to a Job Corps program, for job training and development; to a State sheltered workshop, for vocational rehabilitation; to a Star Center, for basic education or work conditioning; to a Community Action Program, for basic and vocational education; to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Operation Mainstream, Project Mark or other manpower program for pre-vocational work experience; to an MDTA training program, for skill training; or to a supportive service, for health or personal care.

When ready, they will be referred for placement in jobs. Many will remain within the Delta itself. For those able to relocate, jobs outside the Delta will be found.



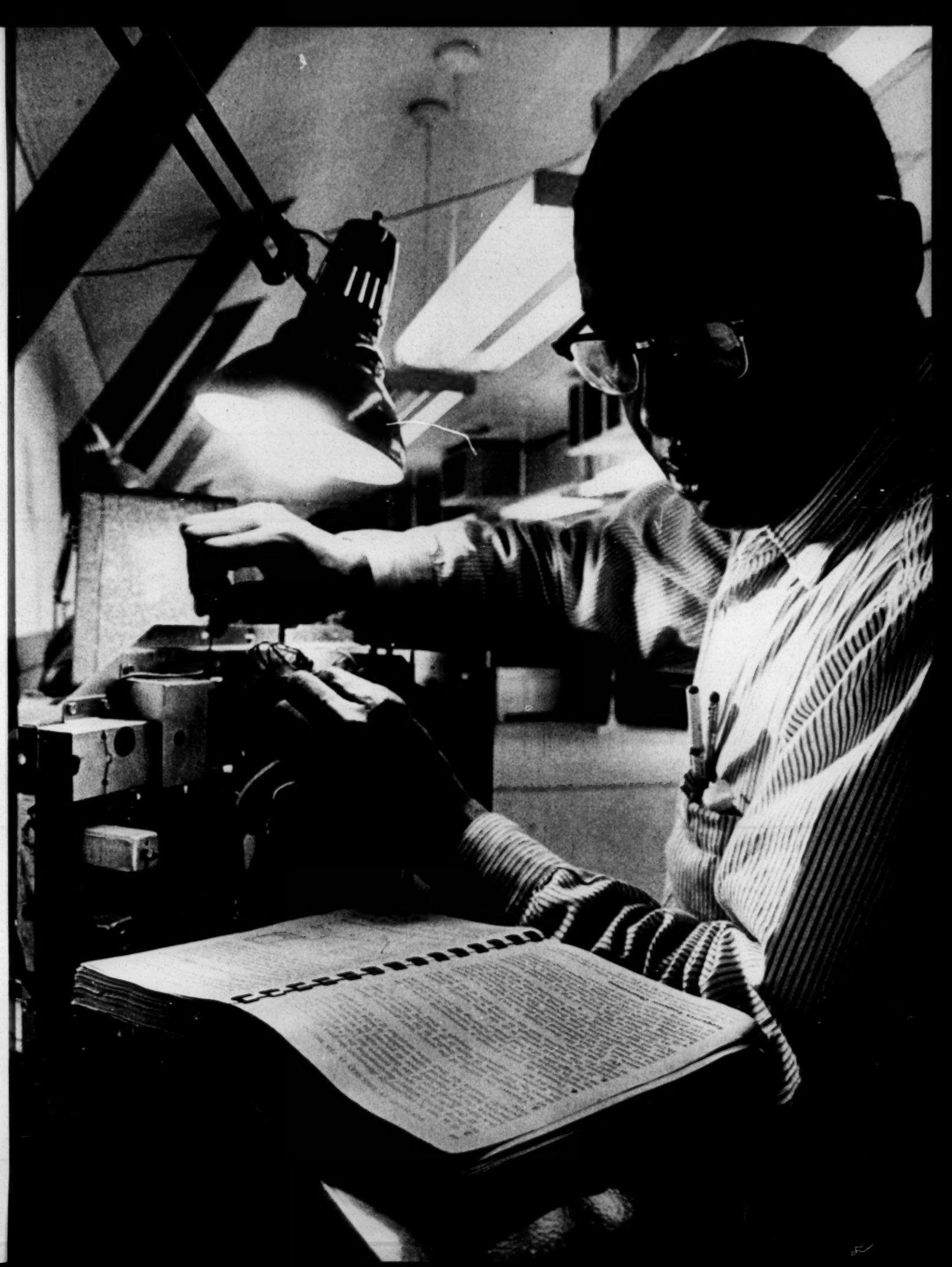


Coaches maintain a constant follow-up service with both employer and employee, to assure the success of the job placement, to remedy problems leading to discharge or resignation.

There are attempts to lure industry and jobs into the Delta. But because they are slow in coming, training must be geared to jobs already there, or to some that hopefully will be available in the future.

Men are trained in appliance repair, automobile reconstruction, metalwork, building trades, welding, photolithography, drafting, general tool work.

Women are trained in office and secretarial procedures, cooking and upholstering. Some are trained in the use of light tools for smaller industrial jobs.

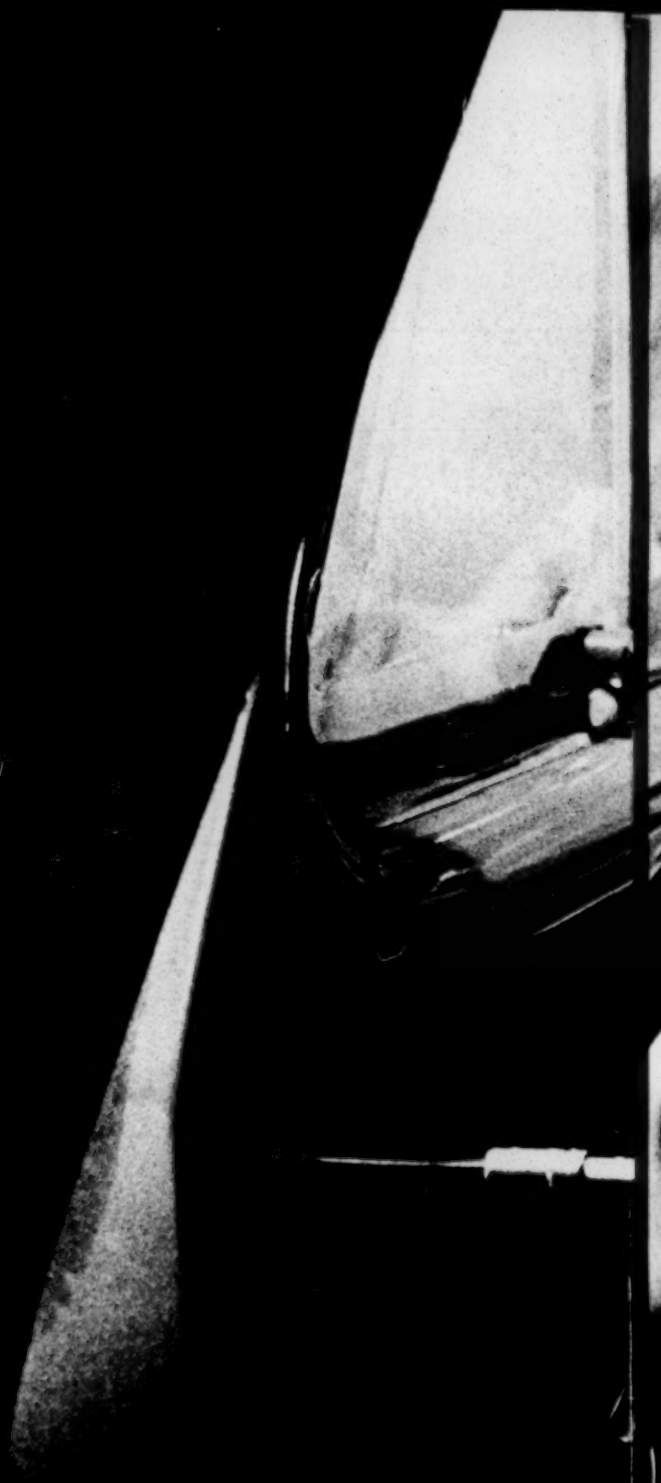


Of the majority participating in the Delta CEP, most are, or were, farmers. Many are in their late 20's, early 30's. Some are in their 40's.

Their job training is in terms of potential--training leading to something better, to advanced training, to opening their own businesses.

Training that teaches a skill.

For if they migrate to the larger cities to the north, arrival with some skill is better than arrival with none at all.



Success of the program, of any Concentrated Employment Program, is measured in numbers -- people into jobs. After a year of operation, the Delta CEP is proving its worth.

Of the more than 1,200 enrolled, 1,184 completed the program's orientation phase and moved toward employment. Some 116 moved directly into full-time jobs.

Another 748 entered various MDTA institutional training programs. Fifty-two entered OJT projects. Others moved into NYC, Operation Mainstream, or Star programs. After their training, they will move into employment.

For the Delta's young and old alike, the CEP provides a "last chance" for building a future. Farming as they know it is dead. Now they must start again.

For those not able to break the bindings of tenant farming, the CEP offers their children a chance at hope.

Our responsibility towards human life is providing their chance. If the number of Concentrated Employment Programs seems small compared with the numbers needing help, tomorrow there will be more such programs.

Hopefully, the future will see as many as needed, until their existence in our society is no longer a must.

GPO : 1968 O - 323-568

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

February 26, 1957
Refer to: LRS/Librn.

Public Relations Officer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

The staff of our Legislative Reference Service has asked me to request the following publication to be used in replying to inquiries from Members of Congress.

Two copies of any material that you may have available on the 1956 election statistics with particular reference to Negro registration figures in the Southern states.

This publication is in addition to any which you may have already sent the Library. For your convenience, I am enclosing a self-addressed mailing label which will bring to the Library a package weighing up to four pounds without additional postage. We are hoping that the publication may be received either as a gift or on an exchange basis. In the event that it is not available, or available only by purchase, please notify the Service Librarian, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

We shall be most grateful for any assistance you can give us with our request.

Sincerely yours,

Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

Enclosure

~~Pl. Commendation Staff~~

file

voting rights

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WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

March 19, 1957

FBI - what days

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have received the material which you so generously sent us and we are finding it most useful. It was precisely what was needed. Thank you for your prompt and courteous reply to our request.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Goodrum

Charles A. Goodrum
Librarian
Legislative Reference Service

March 12, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: Legislative Reference Service, The Library of Congress

From: Research Office, Southern Regional Council

RE: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States

The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county. The registration figures are for 1956 except in Arkansas and Mississippi. For Arkansas, only 1955 figures were available, and for Mississippi; the data are for 1954. There have been newspaper estimates that Negro registration has decreased in Mississippi, but the Southern Regional Council cannot supply accurate figures on Negro registration in Mississippi in 1956.

We do not have registration data for Tennessee. Because of Texas' extensive geographical area, the Consultant did not travel throughout the state's 254 counties. It is estimated that 90% of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in this report. The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean that there were no Negroes registered; we could not secure the number of registrants or a racial breakdown of registrants in these North Carolina counties. In all other states, a zero, blank space or dash means that there were not Negro registrants known to our sources of information. If a county has no Negroes registered, the column, "Potential Negro Voters," should be checked to determine if there are potential Negro registrants. This column includes the number of Negroes 18 and over in Georgia and Kentucky; those 21 and over in all other states.

The Southern Regional Council is aware of the excess of registrants over potentially eligible persons in some counties. However, these are the figures furnished from official records or other reliable sources. Where there is an excess, it may be due, in part, to the failure to purge registration lists and/or population growth since 1950.

ALABAMA

County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No. of Neg. Registered
Autauga	4,042	73
Baldwin	4,493	625
Barbour	7,158	220
Bibb	2,801	235
Blount	429	
Bullock	5,425	6
Butler	6,024	805
Calhoun	8,304	1,800
Chambers	7,175	649
Cherokee	736	250
Chilten	2,027	350
Chectaw	4,822	112
Clarke	6,434	700
Clay	1,010	
Cleburne	380	60
Coffee	3,114	600
Colbert	4,519	921
Conecuh	4,435	960
Coosa	1,828	450
Covington	3,157	175
Crenshaw	2,801	600
Cullman	249	81
Dale	2,454	380
Dallas	18,145	275
DeKalb	443	
Elmore	5,543	226
Escambia	5,425	1,606
Etowah	7,672	2,000
Fayette	1,497	326
Franklin	700	200
Geneva	1,686	300
Green	6,628	157
Hale	7,041	130
Henry	3,929	600
Houston	7,211	1,700
Jackson	1,242	
Jefferson	121,667	7,000
Lamar	1,204	100
Lauderdale	4,022	495
Lawrence	3,010	408
Lee	8,954	500
Limestone	4,013	800
Lowndes	6,512	00
Macon	14,539	1,100
Madison	10,333	1,500
Marengo	10,226	170
Marion	384	200
Marshall	604	
Mobile	45,493	6,400
Monroe	5,914	140
Montgomery	34,079	2,176
Morgan	4,641	
Perry	6,351	300
Pickens	5,547	600
Pike	6,866	720
Randolph	2,728	1,171
Russell	10,135	560
Shelby	3,356	375
St. Clair	2,363	750
Sumter	8,700	295
Talladega	9,318	1,134
Tallapoosa	5,083	
Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500
Walker	3,850	2,800
Washington	2,835	600
Wilcox	8,218	
Winston	63	

*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

ARKANSAS

County	1950 Negro Pop. Over 21	1955 Negro Regis-trants	County	1950 Negro Pop. Over 21	1955 Negro Regis-trants
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	--	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	--	--
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	6944	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prairie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Spring	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			

FLORIDA

County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No of Neg. Registered	County	(1950) Potential Negro Voters	(1956) No. of Neg. Registered
Alachua	9,430	3,153	Pasco	1,713	624
Baker	818	361	Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Bay	4,028	2,012	Polk	15,492	4,989
Bradford	1,408	859	Putnam	5,199	1,770
Brevard	3,544	2,160	St. Johns	5,053	2,051
Broward	12,234	6,958	St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Calhoun	594	231	Santa Rosa	928	730
Charlotte	469	268	Sarasota	2,896	783
Citrus	879	580	Seminole	6,881	2,242
Clay	1,230	1,193	Sumter	1,703	790
Collier	1,402	741	Swannee	2,606	565
Columbia	3,357	1,645	Taylor	1,945	91
Dade	42,682	19,048	Union	2,453	6
DeSoto	1,229	807	Volusia	10,415	5,761
Dixie	387	181	Wakulla	833	345
Duval	55,832	27,368	Walton	1,051	954
Escambia	14,521	6,733	Washington	1,056	743
Flayler	872	64			
Franklin	904	521			
Gadsden	10,930	5			
Gilchrist	203	29			
Glades	584	262			
Gulf	1,129	481			
Hamilton	1,983	507			
Hardee	404	375			
Hendry	1,034	135			
Hernando	869	622			
Highlands	2,054	1,243			
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856			
Holmes	326	130			
Indian River	1,764	427			
Jackson	5,843	3,430			
Jefferson	3,272	183			
Lafayette	176	-0-			
Lake	5,110	1,363			
Lee	3,017	1,818			
Leon	11,213	4,046			
Levy	2,107	603			
Liberty	333	1			
Madison	3,153	1,010			
Manatee	4,425	1,686			
Marion	8,387	4,324			
Martin	1,374	706			
Monroe	2,043	1,652			
Nassau	2,123	1,223			
Okaloosa	1,177	606			
Okeechobee	406	348			
Orange	14,321	3,137			
Osceola	958	358			
Palm Beach	22,253	6,520			

*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

GEORGIA

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No of Neg. Registered	County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No of Neg. Registered
Appling	1356	1068	Elbert	3371	986
Atkinson	897	408	Emanuel	3597	1657
Bacon	558	8	Evans	1340	494
Baker	1819	0	Fannin	47	63
Baldwin	8461	2487	Fayette	1261	11
Banks	229	32	Floyd	6046	2730
Barrow	1235	413	Forsyth	25	20
Bartow	2404	702	Franklin	970	300
Ben Hill	2659	918	Fulton	99347	24441
Berrien	1107	738	Gilmer	14	6
Bibb	25993	5140	Glascock	470	21
Bleckley	1588	39	Glynn	6069	2185
Brantley	451	175	Gordon	641	348
Brooks	4693	707	Grady	3442	527
Bryan	1269	885	Greene	3548	2586
Bulloch	4755	1795	Gwinnett	1751	1000
Burke	8797	399	Habersham	381	300
Butts	2168	1414	Hall	2357	1421
Calhoun	3232	126	Hancock	4094	1850
Camden	2062	1556	Haralson	721	319
Candler	1494	1174	Harris	3380	275
Carroll	3578	939	Hart	1803	327
Catoosa	183	129	Heard	867	388
Charlton	772	12	Henry	3657	1529
Chatham	38272	9720	Houston	3835	443
Chattahoochee	1510	8	Irwin	2171	800
Chattooga	1030	1020	Jackson	1571	436
Cherokee	473	320	Jasper	2327	570
Clarke	6249	2866	Jeff Davis	1034	42
Clay	2148	97	Jefferson	5588	237
Clayton	2070	275	Jenkins	2899	891
Clinch	1222	422	Johnson	1717	416
Cobb	3935	1948	Jones L	2223	536
Coffee	3133	980	Lamar	2230	673
Colquitt	4409	1047	Lanier	926	473
Columbia	2451	487	Laurens	7298	3537
Cook	1861	750	Lee	2456	29
Coweta	5788	1348	Liberty	2825	2453
Crawford	1806	125	Lincoln	1617	3
Crisp	4390	835	Long	695	1061
Dade	72	45	Lowndes	8350	2767
Dawson	0	0	Lumpkin	82	73
Decatur	6231	895	Macon	2914	141
Dekalb	8694	2650	Madison	2056	126
Dodge	2863	2068	Marion	4821	54
Dooly	3887	1008	McDuffie	1158	356
Dougherty	11773	2130	McIntosh	1879	1197
Douglas	1020	730	Meriwether	5727	1207
Early	4790	226	Miller	1372	6
Echols	379	15	Mitchell	5955	345
Effingham	1838	211	Monroe	2885	737
		986			

GEORGIA cont.

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Neg. Registered	County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. Of Neg. Registered
Montgomery	1613	887	White	192	189
Morgan	3264	738	Whitfield	859	951
Murray	96	28	Wilcox	1841	258
Muscogee	20031	9987	Wilkes	3748	263
Newton	3860	1539	Wilkinson	2621	327
Oconee	932	446	Worth	4837	322
Oglethorpe	2201	229			
Paulding	602	418			
Peach	4270	640			
Pickens	225	80			
Pierce	1295	425			
Pike	1915	372			
Polk	2795				
Pulaski	2371	248			
Putnam	2295	531			
Quitman	1005	45			
Rabun	71	17			
Randolph	4971	473			
Richmond	23694	5372			
Rockdale	1322	563			
Schley	1184	134			
Screven	5146	729			
Seminole	1631	22			
Spalding	5075	1151			
Stephens	1268	514			
Stewart	4363	68			
Sumter	7441	485			
Talbot	2757	210			
Taliaferro	1575	888			
Tattnall	2384	1681			
Taylor	2233	325			
Telfair	2375	101			
Terrell	5054	105			
Thomas	8246	1700			
Tift	3576	913			
Toombs	2631	155			
Towns	3	0			
Treutlen	1041	18			
Troup	9423	2036			
Turner	2009	418			
Twiggs	2593	354			
Union	0	0			
Upson	3822	542			
Walker	1389	1136			
Walton	3236	598			
Ware	4979	1298			
Warren	2836	200			
Washington	6387	1363			
Wayne	1644	1448			
Webster	1313	0			
Wheeler	1101	476			
	192				

**NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

KENTUCKY

County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negroes Registered	County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negroes Reg
Adair	657	550	Hopkins	2654	1800
Allen	187	125	Jackson	2	---
Anderson	313	250	Jefferson	49000	25000
Ballard	398	380	Jessamine	818	450
Barren	1505	867	Johnson	2	---
Bath		300	Kenton	3238	2100
Bell	1173	845	Knott	110	225
Boone	135	69	Knox	383	200
Bourbon	1976	1000	Larue	366	400
Boyd	720	300	Laurel	189	220
Boyle	1920	705	Lawrence	57	30
Bracken	98	363	Lee	24	15
Breathitt	56	13	Leslie	9	5
Breckinridge	463	451	Letcher	772	805
Bullitt	202	72	Lewis	25	15
Butler	111	41	Lincoln	777	515
Caldwell	763	250	Livingston	82	41
Calloway	575	350	Logan	1769	1200
Campbell	1043	829	Lyon	624	150
Carlisle	82	50	Madison	2048	1650
Carroll	187	160	Marion	1021	700
Carter	29	10	Marshall	14	4
Casey	42	15	Martin	---	---
Christian	7072	3759	Mason	1350	1000
Clark	1343	851	McCracken	4450	2036
Clay	306	87	McCreary	24	15
Clinton	40	20	McLean	78	28
Crittendon	98	81	Meade	212	159
Cumberland	408	304	Menifee	12	5
Daviess	2141	1125	Mercer	731	590
Edmonson	84	45	Metcalf	304	302
Elliot	---	---	Monroe	271	310
Estill	64	45	Montgomery	937	540
Fayette	12719	5622	Morgan	2	---
Fleming	255	260	Mohlenberg	1140	900
Floyd	427	350	Nelson	1095	700
Franklin	2022	851	Nickolas	210	168
Fulton	1578	1100	Ohio	284	180
Gallatin	64	40	Oldham	967	500
Garrard	759	525	Owen	284	100
Grant	64	40	Owsley	45	15
Graves	1293	1006	Pendelton	71	50
Grayson	62	42	Perry	990	700
Green	509	275	Pike	837	500
Greenup	115	262	Powell	93	140
Hancock	114	27	Pulaski	565	500
Hardin	2441	450	Robertson	24	15
Harlan	3620	3500	Rockcastle	13	10
Harrison	478	150	Rowan	11	4
Hart	923	500	Russell	99	40
Henderson	2562	1478	Scott	1283	900
Henry	608	400	Shelby	1573	1000
Hickman	602	450	Simpson	1042	350

KENTUCKY

County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negroes Registered
Spencer	261	125
Taylor	726	550
Todd	1568	1500
Trigg	1002	800
Trimble	12	6
Union	936	700
Warren	3469	2500
Washington	826	296
Wayne	279	326
Webster	1140	400
Whitley	140	90
Wolfe	6	5
Woodford	1325	850

LOUISIANNA

County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Neg. Registered	County	1956 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. Of Neg. Registered
Acadia	4500	3448	Saint Tammany	4450	1997
Allen	2470	1811	Tangipahoa	9550	3749
Ascension	4180	1926	Tensas	4500	0
Assumption	3380	1992	Terrebonne	5880	980
Avoyelles	4810	1960	Union	3160	1600
Beauregard	1940	1120	Vermillion	2390	1916
Bienville	3980	587	Vernon	1470	891
Bossier	8020	495	Washington	6520	1806
Caddo	43770	5500	Webster	6940	1769
Calcasieu	14990	6244	West Baton Rouge	3530	1017
Caldwell	2430	450	West Carroll	1420	292
Cameron	250	236	West Feliciana	4000	0
Catahoula	2070	330	Winn	2480	1430
Claiborne	5980	17			
Concordia	4560	587			
De Soto	6480	762			
East Baton Rouge	40700	8629			
East Carroll	5150	0			
East Feliciana	6390	1361			
Evangeline	3290	3262			
Franklin	5070	650			
Grant	1680	864			
Iberia	7130	4225			
Iberville	7110	2411			
Jackson	2240	1113			
Jeffe son	13690	6097			
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690			
Lafayette	8980	4549			
La Fourche	2950	1572			
La Salle	860	742			
Lincoln	5420	1166			
Livingston	1630	1162			
Madison	6100	0			
Morehouse	8590	935			
Natchitoches	8350	2954			
Orleans	124600	31880			
Ouachita	16400	5782			
Plaquemines	2840	49			
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319			
Rapides	20500	3160			
Red River	2600	1512			
Richland	5230	740			
Sabine	2190	1385			
Saint Bernard	1140	802			
Saint Charles	2350	1949			
Saint Helena	2170	1694			
Saint James	3740	2117			
Saint John The Baptist	3730)	2426)			
Saint Landry	16500	13050			
Saint Martin	7820	2668			
Saint Mary	4400	2583			

** NOT FOR PUBLICATION

MISSISSIPPI

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1954 No. of Neg. Registered	County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1954 No. of Neg. Registered
Adams	9338	641	Panola	8628	1
Alcorn	2225	78	Pearl River	2454	0
Amite	4598	3	Perry	1136	58
Attala	5179	34	Pike	7608	137
Benton	1749	35	Pontotoc	1847	6
Bolivar	21805	511	Prentiss	1170	18
Calhoun	1893	6	Quitman	7844	234
Carroll	3958	0	Rankin	7295	33
Chickasaw	4016	0	Scott	4329	15
Choctaw	1412	19	Sharkey	4533	1
Claiborne	4728	111	Simpson	3351	61
Clark	3849	0	Smith	1400	6
Clay	4922	12	Stone	746	25
Coahoma	19136	1070	Sunflower	18949	114
Copiah	7841	16	Tallahatchie	9235	0
Covington	2354	419	Tate	2989	0
De Soto	8013	1	Tippah	1603	144
Forrest	7406	16	Tishomingo	463	17
Franklin	2294	70	Tunica	9123	27
George	618	0	Union	1904	67
Greene	758	38	Walthall	3017	0
Grenada	4980	39	Warren	12312	1099
Hancock	1131	449	Washington	27823	1464
Harrison	7858	1569	Wayne	2857	0
Hinds	35021	4089	Webster	1243	3
Holmes	11468	45	Wilkinson	4558	40
Humphreys	7712	37	Winston	4162	30
Issaquena	1790	0	Yalobusha	3142	9
Itawamba	470	42	Yazoo	11126	81
Jackson	3752	900			
Jasper	4313	9			
Jefferson	4304	0			
Jefferson Davis	3923	1038			
Jones	8046	872			
Kemper	4023	20			
Lafayette	3844	105			
Lamar	1118	0			
Lauderdale	12965	1039			
Lawrence	2229	268			
Leake	3835	66			
Lee	5331	97			
Leflore	17893	297			
Lincoln	4507	516			
Lowndes	9177	117			
Madison	11586	431			
Marion	4103	331			
Marshall	8210	15			
Monroe	6734	18			
Montgomery	2978	0			
Neshoba	2984	8			
Newton	3687	52			
Noxubee	6764	0			
Oktibbeha	5409	128			

** NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

NORTH CAROLINA

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negs. Registered	County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Negs
Alamance	6897	3300	Iredell	5387	1100
Alexander	516		Jackson	732	
Alleghany	147		Johnston	6686	1200
Anson	6143	1560	Jones	2238	165
Ashe	154		Lee	3214	585
Avery	151		Lenoir	10266	2050
Beaufort	7066	200	Lincoln	1593	500
Bertie	7016	400	McDowell	796	400
Bladen	5496	600	Macon	198	
Brunswick	3322	550	Madison	105	50
Buncombe	9950	4200	Martin	6117	1500
Burke	1824		Meckenburg	29472	8075
Cabarrus	5169		Mitchell	35	
Caldwell	1574		Montgomery	1960	945
Camden	991		Moore	8900	1002
Carteret	1599		Nash	11712	2400
Caswell	4383	950	New Hanover	11675	5445
Catawba	2878	100	Northampton	8206	500
Chatham	3963		Onslow	3316	500
Cherokee	172	50	Orange	4385	
Chowan	2681		Pamlico	1549	100
Clay	44		Pasquotank	4961	
Cleveland	6652		Pender	4180	
Columbus	7897	350	Perquimans	2290	
Craven	8446		Person	4118	1400
Cumberland	14275	1200	Pitt	14057	500
Currituck	1102		Polk	799	400
Dare	241		Randolph	2273	600
Davidson	3563	2000	Richmond	6065	1252
Davie	1143	325	Robeson	22062	4000
Duplin	7336		Rockingham	6966	1700
Durham	20101	9050	Rowan	7000	2500
Edgecombe	12845	600	Rutherford	2828	
Forsyth	25027	13000	Sampson	8660	
Franklin	6643		Scotland	5791	488
Gaston	8163		Stanly	2329	
Gates	2344		Stokes	932	
Graham	113		Surry	1372	
Granville	7179		Swain	706	
Green	3690		Transylvania	385	
Guilford	22309	8000	Tyrell	939	
Halifax	14350	950	Union	4666	1095
Harnett	5924	900	Vance	7179	1000
Haywood	488	125	Wake	21902	5000
Henderson	1319		Warren	6908	800
Hertford	6210	700	Washington	2730	
Hoke	4201	385	Watauga	129	
Hyde	1207	50			

NORTH CAROLINA cont.

County	Potential Negro Voters 1950	No. of Neg. Registered 1958
Wayne	15141	1500
Wilkes	1482	
Wilson	10964	1500
Yadkin	576	200
Yancey	116	80

**NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	1950 Potential Negro Voters	1956 No. of Neg. Registered	County	Potential Negro Voters	No. of Neg Voters Reg.
Abbeyville	3678	15			
Aiken	9896	1500			
Allendale	3891	350			
Anderson	9993	3000			
Bamberg	4485	500			
Barnwell	4776	750			
Beaufort	7624	2000			
Berkeley	8125	3200			
Calhoun	4437	0			
Charleston	34111	6000			
Cherokee	3692	1000			
Chester	6788	650			
Chesterfield	6059	35000			
Clarendon	9279	1200			
Colleton	6768	1200			
Darlington	10455	9000			
Dillon	6520	4000			
Dorchester	5772	800			
Edgefield	4312	800			
Fairfield	5931	550			
Florence	16650	1600			
Georgetown	7321	2100			
Greenville	17150	9000			
Greenwood	6782	2500			
Hampton	4607	350			
Hoory	6969	2700			
Jasper	3281	1100			
Kershaw	7065	1000			
Lancaster	5111	1500			
Laurens	7313	700			
Lee	6246	1500			
Lexington	4698	150			
McCormick	2625	0			
Marion	8668	1500			
Marlboro	7460	200			
Newberry	5896	775			
Oconee	2457	2000			
Orangeburg	19158	2200			
Pickens	2364	900			
Richland	28383	12500			
Saluda	2971	500			
Spartanburg	17546	7000			
Sumter	14807	1800			
Union	4879	1500			
Williamsburg	12121	900			
York	10904	2900			

** NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

TEXAS

County	1958 Potential Negro Voters	1958 No of Neg. Registered
Anderson	6,235	1,488
Angeline	4,143	2,336
Austin	1,875	112
Bailey	150	78
Bastrop	3,261	1,103
Bell	8,968	1,264
Bexar	51,144	15,497
Bowie	16,467	3,012
Brazoria	9,900	2,765
Brazos	8,795	2,504
Burleson	3,625	835
Caldwell	1,855	481
Camp	1,866	779
Cass	4,332	947
Chambers	1,105	339
Cherokee	6,772	986
Collin	1,642	350
Colorado	3,852	1,139
Dallas	108,900	15,626
Dawson	1,330	62
Denton	2,623	231
Dewitt	1,923	349
Ector	2,243	260
Ellis	7,090	1,711
El Paso	16,276	1,433
Falls	6,190	1,934
Fannin	3,399	638
Fayette	2,762	1,244
Fort Bend	6,461	858
Freestone	4,487	1,495
Galveston	26,806	6,490
Gonzales	3,572	896
Grayson	6,845	1,117
Gregg	16,042	2,398
Grimes	4,730	767
Guadalupe	2,875	699
Hardin	3,572	827
Harris	163,604	36,654
Harrison	12,872	3,914
Hays	817	210
Henderson	2,980	1,403
Hill	1,977	738
Hopkins	1,275	374
Houston	6,685	2,023
Hunt	3,715	1,157
Jackson	1,165	557
Jasper	5,563	1,273
Jefferson	47,916	10,567
Johnson	1,335	370
Jones	581	144
Kaufman	5,333	1,274

County	1958 No. of Neg. Registered	1958 Potential Negro Voters
Lamar	1,721	4,972
Lavaca	674	2,941
Lee	616	1,535
Leon	1,426	2,946
Liberty	1,626	5,734
Limestone	1,894	5,192
Lubbock	2,016	17,136
McLennan	6,038	25,371
Madison	561	1,359
Marion	913	2,541
Matagorda	1,174	5,179
Midland	1,023	7,195
Milam	1,182	4,177
Montgomery	1,361	5,342
Morris	422	1,483
Nacogdoches	2,015	6,782
Navarro	1,513	6,990
Newton	1,081	3,552
Nueces	2,684	13,814
Orange	1,536	6,618
Panola	1,264	4,821
Polk	913	2,368
Petter	712	6,344
Red River	533	3,297
Robertson	1,114	3,812
Rockwall	283	695
Rusk	3,163	8,182
Sabine	361	1,576
San Augustine	601	1,263
San Jacinto	572	2,146
Shelby	615	3,924
Smith	3,713	18,698
Tarrant	8,571	71,826
Taylor	739	4,634
Travis	5,268	27,855
Trinity	1,023	1,449
Upshur	1,369	2,772
Victoria	1,898	5,451
Walker	1,406	6,924
Waller	1,063	2,908
Washington	3,750	4,606
Wharton	1,963	4,937
Wichita	1,006	9,534
Willaimson	813	3,336

*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Texas has 254 counties. More than 90% of the Negro population resides in the 95 counties listed here.

VIRGINIA

County	Potential Negro Voters 1950	No of Neg. Registered 1952
Accomac	6,591	220
Albemarle	2,840	350
Alleghany	1,193	168
Amelia	1,999	555
Amherst	2,854	546
Appomattox	1,107	202
Arlington	4,248	1,185
Augusta	956	179
Bath	480	21
Bedford	2,916	1,066
Bland	79	12
Botetourt	891	—
Brunswick	5,503	705
Buchanan	6	—
Buckingham	2,493	290
Campbell	3,357	955
Carolina	3,086	406
Carroll	200	11
Charles City	1,930	704
Charlotte	2,702	284
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150
Clarke	746	255
Craig	13	—
Culpeper	1,907	452
Cumberland	1,996	340
Dickenson	163	57
Dinwiddie	7,879	395
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton
Essex	1,594	126
Fairfax	6,563	1,115
Fauquier	2,913	106
Floyd	236	104
Fluvanna	1,301	82
Franklin	1,750	307
Frederick	214	48
Giles	265	140
Gloucester	1,960	513
Goochland	2,515	657
Grayson	462	53
Green	357	87
Greensville	4,506	790
Halifax	8,675	521
Hanover	3,388	764
Henrico	3,253	814
Henry	3,474	400
Highland	103	11
Isle of Wight	3,957	735
James City	1,590	330
King & Queen	1,795	205
King George	987	325
King William	1,888	1,146
Lancaster	2,015	415
Lee	257	97
Loudoun	2,098	531
Louisa	2,602	361
Lunenburg	2,905	500
Madison	976	79
Mathews	1,139	150
Mecklenburg	7,655	335
Middlesex	1,568	212
Montgomery	959	465
Nansemond	8,931	1,148
Nelson	1,882	352
New Kent	1,150	240
Norfolk	8,898	1,426
Northampton	5,105	529
Northumberland	2,118	716
Nottoway	3,607	655
Orange	1,791	247
Page	313	110
Patrick	626	80
Pittsylvania	9,271	502
Powhatan	1,349	329
Prince Edward	3,468	725
Prince George	3,129	175
Prince William	5,724	
Princess Anne	1,524	1,800
Pulaski	1,165	695
Rappahannock	617	330
Richmond	1,077	235
Roanoke	2,321	539
Rockbridge	1,211	345
Rockingham	409	78
Russell	370	75
Scott	187	36
Shenandoah	231	75
Smyth	289	82
Southampton	7,972	575
Spotsylvania	1,470	335
Stafford	800	350
Surry	1,941	310
Sussex	4,034	540
Tazewell	1,667	267
Warren	663	137
Warwick	7,129	
Washington	741	148
Westmoreland	2,285	331
Wise	1,376	207
Wythe	663	169
York	1,699	607

VIRGINIA (Con't).

Independent City	Potential Negro Voters 1950	No. of Negroes Registered 1956
Va. Beach City		100
Warrick City		868
Alexandria City	5,129	1,640
Bristol City	704	110
Buena Vista	148	29
Charlottesville	3,079	2,110
Clifton Forge	645	171
Danville	6,517	1,448
Fredricksburg	1,224	357
Hampton	1,644	2,087
Harrisonburg	433	185
Hopewell	917	350
Lynchburg	6,506	2,506
Martinsville	2,825	352
Newport, News	11,754	3,341
Norfolk	42,028	9,328
Petersburg	9,399	1,407
Portsmouth	19,196	3,444
Radford	369	144
Richmond	48,257	11,569
Roanoke	9,420	2,408
South Norfolk	1,434	868
Staunton	1,397	285
Suffolk	3,004	476
Williamsburg	569	93
Winchester	722	91
Galax		15
Colonial H eights	7	—
Chesterfield Court House		
Fall Church	90	42
Waynesboro	564	130
Covington		310
Norton		135

*NOTE: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

June 7, 1957

Mr. Charles A. Goodrum
Librarian
Legislative Reference Service
The Library of Congress
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Goodrum:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation today, I enclose revised copies of our data on "Negro Voter Registration in the South." These supersede in every respect our earlier memorandum on this subject, and you will note that there is no longer any objection to quotation or public use of this material.

Please let us know at any time that we may be of service.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Negro Registration Data - 3 copies

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

June 7, 1957

Mr. Howard Schuman
Office of Senator Paul Douglas
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schuman:

Since we sent you the copies of our memorandum on "Negro Voter Registration" which you requested, we have carefully checked this material and found a number of typographical errors and other discrepancies. Rather than try to send you these corrections piecemeal, we decided that it would be best to do a revised version of the memorandum, copies of which I am enclosing. This version should replace both of the earlier versions which you have seen. I am sending this to you air mail special, so that it will reach you in time for the public use of this material that you are planning.

We have also sent copies of the enclosed to Mr. Charles Goodrum at the Library of Congress and advised him that the revised memorandum is available for any legitimate public use.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Negro Voter Registration Data - 3 copies

FILE COPY

Revised copy

June 7, 1957

M E M O R A N D U M

From: Research Office, Southern Regional Council

Re: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States

The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county. The registration figures are for 1956 except in Arkansas, where only 1955 figures were available. There have been newspaper reports that Negro registration has decreased in Mississippi, but the Southern Regional Council cannot supply accurate figures for this state. The State Times of Jackson conducted a survey of Negro registration in some Mississippi counties in 1956, and excerpts from its report are included.

We do not have registration data for Tennessee. Because of Texas' extensive geographical area, the consultant did not travel throughout the state's 254 counties. It is estimated that 90% of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in this report. The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean that there were no Negroes registered; we could not secure the number of registrants or a racial breakdown of registrants in these North Carolina counties. In all other states, a zero, blank space or dash means that there were no Negro registrants known to our sources of information. If a county has no Negroes registered, the column, "Nonwhite or Negro Population Over 21 (or 18)," should be checked to determine if there are potential Negro registrants. In some counties, persons other than Negroes are part of the nonwhite total, but the majority of the nonwhite persons in the South are Negroes.

The Southern Regional Council is aware of the excess of registrants over potentially eligible persons in some counties. However, these are the figures furnished from official records or other reliable sources. Where there is an excess, it may be due, in part, to the failure to purge registration lists and/or population growth since 1950.

ALABAMA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Autauga	4,042	73	Marengo	10,226	170
Baldwin	4,493	625	Marion	384	200
Barbour	7,158	220	Marshall	604	0
Bibb	2,801	235	Mobile	45,493	6,400
Blount	429	0	Monroe	5,914	140
Bullock	5,425	6	Montgomery	34,079	2,176
Butler	6,024	805	Morgan	4,641	0
Calhoun	8,304	1,800	Perry	6,351	300
Chambers	7,175	649	Pickens	5,547	600
Cherokee	736	250	Pike	6,866	720
Chilten	2,027	350	Randolph	2,728	1,171
Choctaw	4,822	112	Russell	10,135	560
Clarke	6,434	700	St. Clair	2,363	750
Clay	1,010	0	Shelby	3,356	375
Cleburne	380	60	Sumter	8,700	295
Coffee	3,114	600	Talladega	9,318	1,134
Colbert	4,519	921	Tallapoosa	5,083	0
Conecuh	4,435	960	Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500
Coosa	1,828	450	Walker	3,850	2,800
Covington	3,157	175	Washington	2,835	600
Crenshaw	2,801	600	Wilcox	8,218	0
Cullman	249	81	Winston	63	0
Dale	2,454	380			
Dallas	18,145	275			
De Kalb	443	0			
Elmore	5,543	226			
Escambia	5,425	1,606			
Etowah	7,672	2,000			
Fayette	1,497	326			
Franklin	700	200			
Geneva	1,686	300			
Green	6,628	157			
Hale	7,041	130			
Henry	3,929	600			
Houston	7,211	1,700			
Jackson	1,242	0			
Jefferson	121,667	7,000			
Lamar	1,204	100			
Lauderdale	4,022	495			
Lawrence	3,010	408			
Lee	8,954	500			
Limestone	4,013	800			
Lowndes	6,512	0			
Macon	14,539	1,100			
Madison	10,333	1,500			

ARKANSAS

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	0	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	0	0
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	6944	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prarie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Springs	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			

FLORIDA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alachua	9,430	3,153	Okaloosa	1,177	606
Baker	818	361	Okeechobee	406	348
Bay	4,028	2,012	Orange	14,321	3,137
Bradford	1,408	859	Osceola	958	358
Brevard	3,544	2,160	Palm Beach	22,253	6,520
Broward	12,234	6,958	Pasco	1,713	624
Calhoun	594	231	Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Charlotte	469	268	Polk	15,492	4,989
Citrus	879	580	Putnam	5,199	1,770
Clay	1,230	1,193	St. Johns	5,053	2,051
Collier	1,402	741	St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Columbia	3,357	1,645	Santa Rosa	928	730
Dade	42,682	19,048	Sarasota	2,896	783
De Soto	1,229	807	Seminole	6,881	2,242
Dixie	387	181	Sumter	1,703	790
Duval	55,832	27,368	Swannee	2,606	565
Escambia	14,521	6,733	Taylor	1,945	91
Flagler	872	64	Union	2,453	6
Franklin	904	521	Volusia	10,415	5,761
Gadsden	10,930	5	Wakulla	833	345
Gilchrist	203	29	Walton	1,051	954
Glades	584	262	Washington	1,056	743
Gulf	1,129	481			
Hamilton	1,983	507			
Hardee	404	375			
Hendry	1,034	135			
Hernando	869	622			
Highlands	2,054	1,243			
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856			
Holmes	326	130			
Indian River	1,764	427			
Jackson	5,843	3,430			
Jefferson	3,272	183			
Lafayette	176	0			
Lake	5,110	1,363			
Lee	3,017	1,818			
Leon	11,213	4,046			
Levy	2,107	603			
Liberty	333	1			
Madison	3,153	1,010			
Manatee	4,425	1,686			
Marion	8,387	4,324			
Martin	1,374	706			
Monroe	2,043	1,652			
Nassau	2,123	1,223			

GEORGIA

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Appling	1356	1068	Echols	379	15
Atkinson	897	408	Effingham	1838	211
Bacon	558	8	Elbert	3371	986
Baker	1819	0	Emanuel	3597	1657
Baldwin	8461	2487	Evans	1340	494
Banks	229	32	Fannin	47	63
Barrow	1235	413	Fayette	1261	11
Bartow	2404	702	Floyd	6046	2730
Ben Hill	2659	918	Forsyth	25	20*
Berrien	1107	738	Franklin	970	300
Bibb	25993	5140	Fulton	99347	24441
Bleckley	1588	39	Gilmer	14	6
Brantley	451	175	Glascock	470	21
Brooks	4693	707	Glynn	6069	2185
Bryan	1269	885	Gordon	641	348
Bulloch	4755	1795	Grady	3442	527
Burke	8797	399	Greene	3548	2586
Butts	2168	1414	Gwinnett	1751	1000
Calhoun	3232	126	Habersham	381	300
Camden	2062	1556	Hall	2357	1421
Candler	1494	1174	Hancock	4094	1850
Carroll	3578	939	Haralson	721	319
Catoosa	183	129	Harris	3380	275
Charlton	772	12	Hart	1803	327*
Chatham	38272	9720	Heard	867	388
Chattahooche	1510	8	Henry	3657	1529
Chattooga	1030	1020	Houston	3835	443
Cherokee	473	320	Irwin	2171	800
Clarke	6249	2866	Jackson	1571	436
Clay	2148	97	Jasper	2327	570
Clayton	2070	275	Jeff Davis	1034	42*
Clinch	1222	422	Jefferson	5588	237
Cobb	3935	1948	Jenkins	2899	891
Coffee	3133	980	Johnson	1717	416
Colquitt	4409	1047	Jones	2223	536
Columbia	2451	487	Lamar	2230	673
Cook	1861	750	Lanier	926	473
Coweta	5788	1348	Laurens	7298	3537
Crawford	1806	125	Lee	2456	29
Crisp	4390	835	Liberty	2825	2453
Dade	72	45	Lincoln	1617	3
Dawson	0	0	Long	695	1061
Decatur	6231	895	Lowndes	8350	2767
Dekalb	8694	2650	Lumpkin	82	73
Dodge	2863	2068	Macon	2914	141
Dooly	3887	1008	Madison	2056	126
Dougherty	11773	2130	Marion	4821	54
Douglas	1020	730	McDuffie	1158	356
Early	4790	226	McIntosh	1879	1197
			Meritwther	5727	1207
			Miller	1372	6

GEORGIA, Continued:

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Mitchell	5955	345	Washington	6387	1363
Monroe	2885	737	Wayne	1644	1448
Montgomery	1613	887	Webster	1313	0
Morgan	3264	738*	Wheeler	1101	476
Murray	96	28	White	192	189
Muscogee	20031	9987	Whitfield	859	951
Newton	3860	1539*	Wilcox	1841	258
Oconee	932	446	Wilkes	3748	263
Oglethorpe	2201	229	Wilkinson	2621	327
Paulding	602	418	Worth	4837	322
Peach	4270	640			
Pickens	255	80			
Pierce	1295	425			
Pike	1915	372			
Polk	2795	1390@			
Pulaski	2371	248			
Putnam	2295	531			
Quitman	1005	45**			
Rabun	71	17			
Randolph	4971	473			
Richmond	23694	5372			
Rockdale	1322	563			
Schley	1184	134			
Screven	5146	729			
Seminole	1631	22			
Spalding	5075	1151***			
Stephens	1268	514			
Stewart	3463	68*			
Sumter	7441	485			
Talbot	2757	210			
Taliaferro	1575	888			
Tatnall	2384	1681			
Taylor	2233	325			
Telfair	2375	101***			
Terrell	5054	105			
Thomas	8246	1700			
Tift	3576	913			
Toombs	2631	155			
Towns	3	0			
Treutlen	1041	18			
Troup	9423	2036			
Turner	2009	418			
Twiggs	2593	354			
Union	0	0			
Upson	3822	542			
Walker	1389	1136			
Walton	3236	598			
Ware	4979	1998			
Warren	2836	200			

*1954 data or 1956 totals divided on a basis of 1954 Negro-white ratio (some counties do not report racial breakdown for 1956).

**1952 Negro-white ratio applied to 1956 total.

*** 1954 data

@Estimate. Polk did not report a racial breakdown.

KENTUCKY

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Adair	657	550	Hancock	114	27
Allen	187	125	Hardin	2,441	450
Anderson	313	250	Harlan	3,620	3,500
Ballard	398	380	Harrison	478	150
Barren	1,505	867	Hart	993	500
Bath	368	300	Henderson	2,562	1,478
Bell	1,173	845	Henry	608	400
Boone	135	69	Hickman	602	450
Bourbon	1,976	1,000	Hopkins	2,654	1,800
Boyd	720	300	Jackson	2	0
Boyle	1,920	705	Jefferson	49,000	25,000
Bracken	98	363	Jessamine	818	450
Breathitt	56	13	Johnson	2	0
Breckinridge	463	451	Kenton	3,238	2,100
Bullitt	202	72	Knott	110	225
Butler	111	41	Knox	383	200
Caldwell	763	250	Larue	366	400
Calloway	575	350	Laurel	189	220
Campbell	1,043	829	Lawrence	57	30
Carlisle	82	50	Lee	24	15
Carroll	187	160	Leslie	9	5
Carter	29	10	Letcher	772	805
Casey	42	15	Lewis	25	15
Christian	7,072	3,759	Lincoln	777	515
Clark	1,343	851	Livingston	82	41
Clay	306	87	Logan	1,769	1,200
Clinton	40	20	Lyon	624	150
Crittenden	98	81	Madison	2,048	1,650
Cumberland	408	304	Magoffin	10	3
Daviess	2,141	1,125	Marion	1,021	700
Edmonson	84	45	Marshall	14	4
Elliott	0	0	Martin	0	0
Estill	64	45	Mason	1,350	1,000
Fayette	12,719	5,622	McCracken	4,451	2,036
Fleming	255	260	McCreary	24	15
Floyd	427	350	McLean	78	28
Franklin	2,022	851	Meade	212	159
Fulton	1,578	1,100	Menifee	12	5
Gallatin	64	40	Mercer	731	590
Garrard	759	525	Metcalf	304	302
Grant	64	40	Monroe	271	310
Graves	1,293	1,006	Montgomery	937	540
Grayson	62	42	Morgan	2	0
Green	509	275	Mohlenberg	1,140	900
Greenup	115	262	Nelson	1,095	700

KENTUCKY

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Nickolas	210	168
Ohio	284	180
Oldham	967	500
Owen	284	100
Owsley	45	15
Pendelton	71	50
Perry	990	700
Pike	837	500
Powell	93	140
Pulaski	565	500
Robertson	24	15
Rockcastle	13	10
Rowan	11	4
Russell	99	40
Scott	1,283	900
Shelby	1,573	1,000
Simpson	1,042	350
Spencer	261	125
Taylor	726	550
Todd	1,568	1,500
Trigg	1,002	800
Trimble	12	6
Union	936	700
Warren	3,469	2,500
Washington	826	296
Wayne	279	326
Webster	1,140	400
Whitley	140	90
Wolfe	6	5
Woodford	1,325	850

LOUISIANA

Parish	Estimated Negro population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	Parish	Estimated Negro Population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Acadia	4500	3448	Saint Tammany	4450	1997
Allen	2470	1811	Tangipahoa	9550	3749
Ascension	4180	1926	Tensas	4500	0
Assumption	3380	1992	Terrebonne	5880	980
Avoyelles	4810	1960	Union	3160	1600
Beauregard	1940	1120	Vermillion	2390	1916
Bienville	3980	587	Vernon	1470	891
Bossier	8020	495	Washington	6520	1806
Caddo	43770	5500	Webster	6940	1769
Calcasieu	14990	6244	W. Baton Rouge	3530	1017
Caldwell	1430	450	W. Carroll	1420	292
Cameron	250	236	W. Feliciana	4000	0
Catahoula	2070	330	Winn	2480	1430
Claiborne	5980	17			
Concordia	4560	587			
DeSoto	6480	762			
E. Baton Rouge	40700	8629			
E. Carroll	5150	0			
East Feliciana	6390	1361			
Evangeline	3290	3262			
Franklin	5070	650			
Grant	1680	864			
Iberia	7130	4225			
Iberville	7110	2411			
Jackson	2240	1113			
Jefferson	13690	6097			
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690			
Lafayette	8980	4549			
Lafourche	2950	1572			
LaSalle	860	742			
Lincoln	5420	1166			
Livingston	1630	1162			
Madison	6100	0			
Morehouse	8590	935			
Natchitoches	8350	2954			
Orleans	124600	31880			
Ouachita	16400	5782			
Plaquemines	2840	49			
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319			
Rapides	20500	3160			
Red River	2600	1512			
Richland	5230	740			
Sabine	2190	1385			
Saint Bernard	1140	802			
Saint Charles	2350	1949			
Saint Helena	2170	1694			
Saint James	3740	2117			
Saint John, The Baptist	3730	2426			
Saint Landry	16500	13050			
Saint Martin	4400	2583			
Saint Mary	7820	2668			

Mississippi

The State Times of Jackson, Mississippi surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 to determine changes in Negro registration since 1952. The 1956 and 1952 registration figures below are those released by The State Times.

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	NEGROES REGISTERED 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED 1952
Benton	1,749	35	35
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Choctaw	1,482	13	18
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Covington	2,354	440	311
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Issaquena	1,790	0	0
Itawamba	470	36	12
Marion	4,103	500	100
Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Smith	1,400	13	1
Tunica	9,123	38	3
Wilkinson	4,558	55	50

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alamance	6,897	3,300	Hertford	6,210	700
Alexander	516		Hoke	4,201	385
Alleghany	147		Hyde	1,207	50
Anson	6,143	1,560	Iredell	5,387	1,100
Ashe	154		Jackson	732	
Avery	151		Johnston	6,686	1,200
Beaufort	7,066	200	Jones	2,238	165
Bertie	7,016	400	Lee	3,214	585
Bladen	5,496	600	Lenoir	10,266	2,500
Brunswick	3,322	550	Lincoln	1,593	500
Buncombe	9,950	4,200	McDowell	796	400
Burke	1,824		Macon	198	
Cabarrus	5,169		Madison	105	50
Caldwell	1,574		Martin	6,117	1,500
Camden	991		Mecklenburg	29,472	8,750
Carteret	1,599		Mitchell	35	
Caswell	4,383	950	Montgomery	1,960	945
Catawba	2,878	1,000	Moore	8,900	1,002
Chatham	3,963		Nash	11,712	2,400
Cherokee	172	50	New Hanover	11,675	5,445
Chowan	2,681		Northampton	8,206	500
Clay	44		Onslow	3,316	500
Cleveland	6,652		Orange	4,385	
Columbus	7,897	350	Pamlico	1,549	100
Craven	8,446		Pasquotank	4,961	
Cumberland	14,275	1,200	Pender	4,180	
Currituck	1,102		Perquimans	2,290	
Dare	241		Person	4,118	1,400
Davidson	3,563	2,000	Pitt	14,057	500
Davie	1,143	325	Polk	799	400
Duplin	7,336		Randolph	2,273	600
Durham	20,101	9,500	Richmond	6,065	1,525
Edgecombe	12,845	600	Robeson	22,062	4,000
Forsyth	25,027	13,000	Rockingham	6,966	1,700
Franklin	6,643		Rowan	7,080	2,500
Gaston	8,163		Rutherford	2,828	
Gates	2,344		Sampson	8,660	
Graham	113		Scotland	5,791	488
Granville	7,179		Stanly	2,329	
Green	3,690		Stokes	932	
Guilford	22,309	8,000	Surry	1,372	
Halifax	14,350	950	Swain	706	
Harnett	5,924	900	Transylvania	385	
Haywood	488	125	Tyrrell	939	
Henderson	1,319		Union	4,666	1,095

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Vance	7,179	1,000
Wake	21,902	5,000
Warren	6,908	800
Washington	2,730	
Watauga	129	
Wayne	15,141	1,500
Wilkes	1,482	
Wilson	10,964	1,500
Yadkin	576	200
Yancey	116	80

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Abbeyville	3,678	15
Aiken	9,896	1,500
Allendale	3,891	350
Anderson	9,993	3,000
Bamberg	4,485	500
Barnwell	4,776	750
Beaufort	7,624	2,000
Berkeley	8,125	3,200
Calhoun	4,437	0
Charleston	34,111	6,000
Cherokee	3,692	1,000
Chester	6,788	650
Chesterfield	6,059	3,500
Clarendon	9,279	1,200
Colleton	6,768	1,200
Darlington	10,455	9,000
Dillon	6,520	4,000
Dorchester	5,772	800
Edgefield	4,312	800
Fairfield	5,931	550
Florence	16,650	1,600
Georgetown	7,321	2,100
Greenville	17,150	9,000
Greenwood	6,782	2,500
Hampton	4,607	350
Horry	6,969	2,700
Jasper	3,281	1,100
Kershaw	7,065	1,000
Lancaster	5,111	1,500
Laurens	7,313	700
Lee	6,246	1,500
Lexington	4,698	150
McCormick	2,625	0
Marion	8,668	1,500
Marboro	7,460	1,200
Newberry	5,896	775
Oconee	2,457	2,000
Orangeburg	19,158	2,200
Pickens	2,364	900
Richland	28,383	12,500
Saluda	2,971	500
Spartanburg	17,546	7,000
Sumter	14,807	1,800
Union	4,879	1,500
Williamsburg	12,121	900
York	10,904	2,900

TEXAS

County	Nonwhite population Over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Anderson	6,235	1,488	Lamar	4,972	1,721
Angelina	4,143	2,336	Lavaca	2,941	674
Austin	1,875	112	Lee	1,535	616
Bailey	150	78	Leon	2,946	1,426
Bastrop	3,261	1,103	Liberty	5,734	1,626
Bell	8,968	1,264	Limestone	5,192	1,894
Bexar	51,144	15,497	Lubbock	17,136	2,016
Bowie	16,467	3,012	McLennan	25,371	6,038
Brazoria	9,900	2,765	Madison	1,359	561
Brazos	8,795	2,504	Marion	2,541	913
Burleson	3,625	835	Matagorda	5,179	1,174
Caldwell	1,855	481	Midland	7,195	1,023
Camp	1,866	779	Milam	4,177	1,182
Cass	4,332	947	Montgomery	5,342	1,361
Chambers	1,105	339	Morris	1,483	422
Cherokee	6,772	986	Nacogdoches	6,782	2,015
Collin	1,624	350	Navarro	6,990	1,513
Colorado	3,852	1,139	Newton	3,552	1,081
Dallas	108,900	15,626	Nueces	13,814	2,684
Dawson	1,330	62	Orange	6,618	1,536
Denton	2,623	231	Panola	4,821	1,264
De Witt	1,923	349	Polk	2,368	913
Ector	2,243	260	Potter	6,344	712
Ellis	7,090	1,711	Red River	3,297	533
El Paso	16,276	1,433	Robertson	3,812	1,114
Falls	6,190	1,934	Rockwall	695	283
Fannin	3,399	638	Rusk	8,182	3,163
Fayette	2,762	1,244	Sabine	1,576	361
Fort Bend	6,461	858	San Augustine	1,263	601
Freestone	4,487	1,495	San Jacinto	2,146	572
Galveston	26,806	6,490	Shelby	3,924	615
Gonzales	3,572	896	Smith	18,698	3,713
Grayson	6,845	1,117	Tarrant	71,826	8,571
Gregg	16,042	2,398	Taylor	4,634	739
Grimes	4,730	767	Travis	27,855	5,268
Guadalupe	2,875	699	Trinity	1,449	1,023
Hardin	3,572	827	Upshur	2,772	1,369
Harris	163,604	36,654	Victoria	5,451	1,898
Harrison	12,872	3,914	Walker	6,924	1,406
Hays	817	210	Waller	2,908	1,063
Henderson	2,980	1,403	Washington	4,606	3,750
Hill	1,977	738	Wharton	4,937	1,963
Hopkins	1,275	374	Wichita	9,514	1,006
Houston	6,685	2,023	Williamson	3,336	813
Hunt	3,715	1,157			
Jackson	1,165	557			
Jasper	5,563	1,273			
Jefferson	47,916	10,567			
Johnson	1,335	370			
Jones	581	144			
Kaufman	5,333	1,274			

VIRGINIA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956	County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Accomac	6,591	220	King George	987	325
Albemarle	2,840	350	King William	1,888	260
Alleghany	1,193	168	Lancaster	2,015	415
Amelia	1,999	555	Lee	257	97
Amherst	2,854	546	Loudoun	2,098	531
Appomattox	1,107	202	Louisa	2,602	361
Arlington	4,248	1,185	Lunenburg	2,905	500
Augusta	956	179	Madison	976	79
Bath	480	21	Mathews	1,139	150
Bedford	2,916	1,066	Mecklenburg	7,655	335
Bland	79	12	Middlesex	1,568	212
Botetourt	891	0	Montgomery	959	465
Brunswick	5,503	705	Nansemond	8,931	1,148
Buchanan	6	0	Nelson	1,882	352
Buckingham	2,493	290	New Kent	1,150	240
Campbell	3,357	955	Norfolk	8,898	1,426
Caroline	3,086	406	Northampton	5,105	529
Carroll	200	11	Northumberland	2,118	716
Charles City	1,930	704	Nottoway	3,607	655
Charlotte	2,702	284	Orange	1,791	247
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150	Page	313	110
Clarke	746	255	Patrick	626	80
Craig	13	0	Pittsylvania	9,271	502
Culpepper	1,907	452	Powhatan	1,349	329
Cumberland	1,996	340	Prince Edward	3,468	725
Dickenson	163	57	Prince George	3,129	175
Dinwiddie	7,879	395	Prince William	1,524	---
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton	Princess Anne	5,724	1,414
Essex	1,594	126	Pulaski	1,165	695
Fairfax	6,563	1,115	Rappahannock	617	330
Fauquier	2,913	106	Richmond	1,077	235
Floyd	236	104	Roanoke	2,321	539
Fluvanna	1,301	82	Rockbridge	1,211	345
Franklin	1,750	307	Rockingham	409	78
Frederick	214	48	Russell	370	75
Giles	265	140	Scott	187	36
Gloucester	1,960	513	Shenandoah	231	75
Goochland	2,515	657	Smyth	289	82
Grayson	462	53	Southampton	7,972	575
Greene	357	87	Spotsylvania	1,470	335
Greensville	4,506	790	Stafford	800	350
Halifax	8,675	521	Surry	1,941	310
Hanover	3,388	764	Sussex	4,034	540
Henrico	3,253	814	Tazewell	1,667	267
Henry	3,474	400	Warren	663	137
Highland	103	11	Washington	741	148
Isle of Wight	3,957	735	Westmoreland	2,285	331
James City	1,590	330	Wise	1,376	207
King & Queen	1,795	205	Wythe	663	169
			York	1,699	607

Virginia - continued

Independent City	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Alexandria City	5,129	1,640
Bristol City	704	110
Buena Vista	148	29
Charlottesville	3,079	1,054
Clifton Forge	645	171
Colonial Heights	7	0
Covington		310
Danville	6,517	1,448
Falls Church	90	42
Fredricksburg	1,224	357
Galax		15
Hampton	8,617	2,087
Harrisonburg	433	185
Hopewell	917	350
Lynchburg	6,506	2,506
Martinsville	2,825	352
Newport News	11,754	3,341
Norfolk	42,028	9,328
Norton		135
Petersburg	9,399	1,407
Portsmouth	19,196	3,444
Radford	369	144
Richmond	48,257	11,569
Roanoke	9,420	2,408
South Norfolk	1,434	868
Staunton	1,397	285
Suffolk	3,004	476
Virginia Beach City		100
Warrick City	7,129	868
Waynesboro	564	130
Williamsburg	569	93
Winchester	722	91

June 15, 1959

Mr. Charles A. Goodrum, Librarian
Legislative Reference Service
The Library of Congress
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Goodrum:

In view of the press attention accorded the enclosed report on "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis," I thought you might like to have several copies on hand. As you will see, the report was jointly sponsored by this organization and two others.

I am enclosing six copies of the publication and one copy of the news release on which today's newspaper stories were based. If we can assist further, let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/hs

Enclosures - 7

October 6, 1961

Mr Charles A. Goodrum, Librarian
Legislative Reference Service
The Library of Congress
Washington, 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Goodrum:

Enclosed are two copies of the names and addresses of the Council's members. The Council has no general membership, therefore, these are the directors of the Council.

As with all of the Council's programs and activities the membership is a matter of public record and we are pleased for you to have this information.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb
Enc - -2-

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LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

October 4, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Legislative Reference Service has been asked by a Member of Congress for a copy of your membership list. I have no idea whether or not this is available for public distribution, but if it has been released we would be most grateful for a copy for the Congressman.

For your convenience I am enclosing a self-addressed mailing label which will bring us the information without further postage. We will appreciate your consideration of our request.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Goodrum

Charles A. Goodrum
Librarian
Legislative Reference Service

Enclosure